

1836

Letters on North America

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LETTERS
ON
NORTH AMERICA
by
MICHEL CHEVALIER

Translated by Steven Rowan
with an introduction by Steven Rowan and Carlos Schwantes



*Carte des États-Unis d'Amérique Gravé sur pierre par L. Bouffard [active 1833-1866], used as a map insert for Michel Chevalier, *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord* (Paris: Gosselin, 1836) as well as in two printings of "Lettre XXII" in French journals. Courtesy of the Map Division, Library of Congress, acquisition number rr000040-jp2.*

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by Steven Rowan

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Translator's Note

The basis of this completely fresh translation is the third edition of Michel Chevalier, *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord*, used in the version published in Brussels in 1838 by Hauman et Cie., Société belge de librairie, in three volumes, and compared by me with the 1836 Paris edition. To increase the practical use of the text, the "Notes" originally placed at the end of each volume have been moved to follow the "Letter" to which they refer. For the same reason the footnotes of the author have been preserved at the bottom of the page (and have been made continuous for the whole book). This makes the author's whole approach more understandable and opens up many of Chevalier's insights. The notes have never been translated before. I do not agree with the brilliant John William Ward that they are unnecessary for understanding the whole work.¹ The notes clarify Chevalier's thoughts at the time, both on America and on Europe. It makes the entire book available in English for the first time. I compared the Belgian edition with the first Paris edition of 1836 in order to understand changes the text underwent. The results of that may be seen in the table of contents and at the head of the notes themselves.

In Chevalier's extensive discussions of Andrew Jackson's attacks on the Second Bank of the United States, I have used an initial capital (Bank) to designate the Bank of the United States, while a lower-case initial letter is used for other American banks.

The reader should note that Chevalier occasionally uses the word "democracy" as a direct synonym for the Democratic Party. When that is clear, the word is capitalized. The party continued to speak of itself as "The Democracy" into the twentieth century.

The basic measures of distance and weight used in the text are metric, with only occasional references to English or American units. Prices have also been left in francs. The use of gold as a medium of value permits the conversion of a **United States Dollar** into **5.33 French francs**, and the **league** (*lieu*), an archaic unit of distance, was officially converted at the time into **four kilometers**.

This translation is uniform with my own translation of Chevalier's *History and Description of the Routes of Communication of the United States* (1840-1843), which I have also completed and is to be published by the Saint Louis Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri-St. Louis.

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¹ Michael Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States: Letters on North America*, edited and with an introduction by John William Ward, translated after the T. G. Bradford edition (New York: Doubleday, 1961, reprint Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967). Ward corrected what he saw as errors in the Bradford translation, but intentionally omitted the notes as irrelevant to understanding what he saw as Chevalier's strictly American narrative.

Foreword

Foreword by Carlos Schwantes and Steven Rowan

Michel Chevalier was a contemporary of his far-better known countryman, Alexis de Tocqueville. Both were part of a remarkable trans-Atlantic exchange of technical information that took place between the mid-1820s and the mid-1840s, and both produced detailed accounts of the young American republic during its effervescent 1830s. Many readers will only know this period in terms of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, originally published in 1835 and 1840. Chevalier had a view of the United States profoundly different from Tocqueville, and he asked very different questions during his visit to America. Where Tocqueville focused on the social, cultural, and political peculiarities of the new nation, Chevalier's primary assignment was to transmit information back to the French government on North American transportation and banking. He was, in short, to engage in "industrial espionage on a grand scale" as he prepared his report evaluating canals and railroads.

In his report to the government of France, Chevalier recorded his observations in great detail.² But along the way he also served as a journalist by sending regular messages to the French press describing all aspects of American life. Here he pursued a broad personal agenda observing what could be called the spirit of American politics and economic enterprise, as well as racial issues extending beyond the question of slavery in the American South. He was also vitally interested in the role of women in America as well as in Europe. Chevalier was particularly distressed at the direction of European life under the pressure of continuous preparation for war, and he saw one reason for the scale of American economic development to be, in part, the lack of any need to arm for an oncoming continental war. The time for that had not yet come, but ironically it would indeed come soon enough in a cataclysmic civil war.

His *Letters on North America* contain a great deal of simple reportage about life in the United States, but also much about Europe in general and France in particular. Some of this was lost on American readers because his extensive notes, some the size of essays, were not translated into English. Furthermore, while Tocqueville has become an object almost of worship to those who have him as their primary source for understanding America in the 1830s, Chevalier has been seen more as a reporter than a prophet. The separation of the *Letters* in English-language translations from their extensive notes has made the intensity of Chevalier's involvement with contemporary issues in England and France inaccessible to those who cannot read French. Remediating that long-standing

² See Rowan's translation of Chevalier's *History and Description of the Routes of Communication of the United States* (1840-1843), which is to be published by the John Barriger III National Railroad Library at the University of Missouri-St. Louis.

oversight is one primary purpose of Steven Rowan's fine new translation.³

Chevalier, who has been described as an engineer who became an economist, was hardly a disinterested observer: by 1835, the year he visited the United States, France had begun to spin a web of railway lines centering in Paris. One pioneer railway ran a relatively short distance from Paris to St. Germain en Laie, a village near the Palace of Versailles. In all likelihood Chevalier held a financial stake in that or other early railways and would invest in France's future rail projects.

In the mid 1830s, France had two national models its railway builders could choose to emulate: Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain, being a compact, densely populated, and rich country by American standards, chose to construct its rail lines and their support structures as if they were intended to last through all eternity, but the land-rich and cash-poor United States had little choice but to construct its rail lines in a manner that might easily be described as "quick and dirty." Chevalier thought the American model had clear advantages for France. The idea was to get tracks on the ground and traffic flowing as quickly as possible so as to make the money needed to reward investors and then to further extend the line.⁴

Let me share with you in Chevalier's own words what he recommended to the French government in terms of why it should emulate the British or the Americans as France was poised to create its own web of railways.

It is believed that North America will eventually have railroads for *all important* links for those that are served by Royal Roads of the first class in France. This system is obviously being established as we speak. The line from the Hudson to Lake Erie is one of those where this tendency is first revealed. The railroad from Albany to Buffalo is already three-quarters completed. It is worth remarking that this result has been achieved, not by virtue of a general plan drawn up in advance, but entirely by the effect of isolated enterprises provoked by local needs of some parts of the line. No one declared there to be a pure necessity to create a railroad from the Hudson to Lake Erie. The idea of this major link was presented to populations and speculators only after it had already been half-realized. In this way, the English-speaking peoples differ a great deal from the French; the Anglo-Saxon race only arrives at the general conception of an enterprise slowly and by degrees, when practice leads them there, when it is already partly completed. The French character proceeds in the opposite way. With an ability no other people can equal, we begin by tracing magnificent plans of the whole, always in keeping with need. But once the idea is launched, we stop, and often it is only our projects that offer the aura of grandeur that, in contrast, marks the actual accomplishments of our neighbors across the Channel and their descendants of North America.⁵

* * *

Let me now share with you the context vital to a clear understanding of Chevalier's visit to North America. During the 1830s and 1840s the familiar sounds that had long punctuated daily life in the United States noticeably changed. After 1844 the

³ Michael Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States: Letters on North America*, edited and with an introduction by John William Ward, translated after the T. G. Bradford edition (New York: Doubleday, 1961, reprint Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967). Ward corrected what he saw as errors in the Bradford translation, but intentionally omitted the notes as irrelevant to understanding Chevalier's strictly American narrative.

⁴ George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951).

⁵ Chevalier, *History and Description of Routes of Communication of the United States*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1840), pp. 274-275

clicking of the telegraph reminded listeners that communication no longer traveled at the speed of a horse or depended upon the visual cues of a semaphore. Now news traveled at the speed of lightning, and passing trains reminded listeners of thunder the roar of thunder. The sounds of new mechanical technologies powered by steam were distinctive: steam-driven locomotives hissed, sighed, panted, and snorted. No wonder people called them iron horses.⁶

Steamboats, the pioneering application of steam power to transportation in the United States, antedated railroad locomotives by a quarter century. Steam turned the large paddle wheels that steadily splashed along the rivers and lakes of the United States, even as the iron wheels of railway cars squealed around tight curves on tracks attempting to surmount the Appalachian Mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The modern railroad originated in Great Britain when the Stockton & Darlington Railway commenced operation in 1825, and inauguration of service on the Liverpool & Manchester Railway five years further affirmed the attractiveness of the latest means of transport. Steam power had long been used in Britain to run the pumps needed to keep coastal mines from flooding, but in the 1820s its application to transportation by rail was still largely a matter of hit and miss experimentation. To choose which steam locomotive design might be best suited to its railway, the Liverpool & Manchester staged a public contest in 1829 among four very different inventions. George Stephenson's "Rocket" won the Rainhill Trials, and he and his son Robert emerged as the world's much-sought-after "first family" of railway engineering talent.⁷

Observers from the United States occasionally crossed the Atlantic in the late 1820s to study the unfolding story of the Stephensons' successful marriage of steam power and a small mobile platform that ran on rails, just as French and German observers like Chevalier and Franz von Gerstner traveled to the United States in the 1830s to observe transport developments there that might have application in their respective home countries.⁸

In truth, in every aspect of railroad construction and operation no one knew what practices and techniques might work best, or what might not work at all. From the support structure comprising the ties, rails and tracks to the machines represented by locomotives and cars to the best practices for safe train movement, no one knew what might prove to be of practical benefit and what might be a dead end. At first many Americans believed that iron wheels on iron rails lacked the adhesion to climb grades. Some observers believed that a series of canal locks might be necessary for a railroad to surmount any sort of grade.⁹

That canal technology might be adapted to benefit the infant railroads is not surprising. Canals antedated railroads by several decades, and the successful, completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 inspired the construction of many additional canals across the

⁶ Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁷ Christopher McGowan, *Rail, Steam, and Speed: The "Rocket" & the Birth of Steam Locomotion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁸ Franz Anton Ritter von Gerstner, *Early American Railroads* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). The two-volume book's original German title was *Die innern Communicationen (1842-1843)*, and it was translated into English by David J. Diephouse and John C. Decker and edited by Frederick C. Ganst.

⁹ Horatio Allen, *The Railroad Era. First Five Years of its Development* (New York: Horatio Allen, 1884); Thomas Earle, *Treatise on Rail-Roads and Internal Communications* (Philadelphia: J. Grigg [etc.], 1830).

Northeastern and Midwestern portions of the United States. In fact, during the height of what contemporaries aptly described as "canal enthusiasm" it sometimes appeared that the main purpose of any railroad was to augment the nation's waterways, both artificial and natural. The name of America's pioneer railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, spoke to the desire of the seaport city to extend its commercial reach to the fertile lands drained by the Ohio River. The name of a later railroad, the Chesapeake and Ohio, was an expression of its intent to link Chesapeake Bay with the Ohio River valley. The list of early railroad names that suggest the carriers' intent to augment existing waterborne commerce is a lengthy one: Mohawk & Hudson; Delaware & Hudson; Mobile & Ohio.¹⁰

Completion of the Erie Canal across upstate New York in the mid-1820s to link the Hudson River at Albany with the Great Lakes at Buffalo greatly reduced the cost of shipping grain and produce from the fertile Midwest to the Eastern Seaboard. The 500-mile long "artificial River" so clearly benefited the port of New York that it created a sense of panic among competing seaports. None of them had the same advantage as the city and state of New York did in their canal's relatively low level crossing of the Appalachian Mountain barrier separating Eastern Seaboard ports from the Midwestern bread basket. The Atlantic ports of Boston, Baltimore, and Charleston all proposed to utilize the new railroad technology to surmount mountain barriers protect their trade in the competition with New York.¹¹

In the late 1820s and early 1830s it was widely believed that trade was like water: it always flowed along the path of least resistance, and in real terms that meant to the port of New York. In other words, they viewed the national economic pie to be a constant size, and if one city gained a larger slice it was at the expense of everyone else. This philosophy was seemingly embraced by the Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson in the early 1830s, and it helped fuel their distrust of monopolies and growing personal wealth. Their opponents, the Whigs, viewed the American economic pie as constantly expanding, and for this reason they believed that one person's financial gain did not necessarily come at the expense of anyone else. These competing beliefs enlivened politics in various ways during the 1830s and 1840s when canals, railroads, and other modes of transportation were not just ways to get from one city to another, but contributors to the expanding the economic pie.

The city that felt it had most to lose in the commercial competition was Philadelphia, formerly the nation's foremost city and busiest port. The city leaders faced an especially formidable set of challenges to their commercial hegemony. To the north lay New York and its highly successful trans-Appalachian canal, and to the south was Baltimore with its potentially threatening plans to use a railroad to redirect trade to Chesapeake Bay. The Baltimore-based railroad, should it find a way to cross the mountains, could likely extend its tracks to Pittsburgh, at the head of the Ohio River valley and a Pennsylvania city long considered by Philadelphia merchants to be part of

¹⁰ Peter L. Bernstein, *Wedding of the Waters: The Erie Canal and the Making of a Great Nation* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005); Gerard Koepfel, *Bond of Union: Building the Erie Canal and the American Empire* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2009).

¹¹ H. Roger Grant, *The Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Rail Road: Dreams of Linking North and South* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); Henry S. Tanner, *A Description of the Canals and Railroads of the United States* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970 reprint of the 1840 edition).

their exclusive trade network. Besieged from north and south, the Philadelphians determined to plunge directly west and beat Baltimore to the Pittsburgh gateway to the Ohio country. That would be no simple feat. To do so Philadelphia had to invest in a hybrid combination of canals and railroads to surmount the mountains of central Pennsylvania, which it eventually did.¹²

The state-owned Mainline adapted a technology long in use in Britain by resorting to incline planes to haul canal boats up and over the backbone of the Appalachian Mountains to protect Philadelphia's long-distance trade with Pittsburgh. But despite the complicated feats of civil engineering that severely strained Pennsylvania's budget, the Philadelphia merchants and manufacturers were not able to surmount the advantages of their New York City counterparts. When completed, the Pennsylvania Mainline did effectively shrink the distance and reduce the difficulty of getting people and goods between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but it was a big failure financially. Its utility was soon be greatly diminished by the privately financed Pennsylvania Railroad and its all-rail route that roughly paralleled the Mainline all the way from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and eventually destroyed it.¹³

This was the frothy mix of new transportation technologies with their often unpredictable and unintended economic, political, and social consequences that French observers like Tocqueville and Chevalier, German observers like Gerstner, and lesser-known observers from other nations came to see. Of these, Chevalier and Gerstner were the most meticulous in their descriptions of developments taking place in the young United States.

For one thing, the United States did not — and could not — replicate in detail the system of canals and railroads evolving in Great Britain, a small nation that in area was about the size of the American state of Michigan. England, the epicenter for British railway construction and finance, was smaller than the state of Missouri. Not only did the United States in 1835 sprawl across a far larger area than the “mother country” of railways, it also had far less capital to invest in building railways. Hence Chevalier’s interest in America’s banking and financial structures as well as transportation and communication.

There being no true civil engineers in the mid 1830s apart from the military, home-grown American “mechanics” were forced to experiment as they sought to develop less expensive ways of replicating what the British were doing. Where in England the railways laid arrow-straight tracks across imposing viaducts of brick and stone and bored through even the smallest hills to fashion what was appropriately called the “permanent way,” Americans admitted they were forced by circumstances to fabricate an “impermanent way.”

Railroad builders often spanned America’s many valleys by building spindly wooden trestles instead of investing scarce dollars into the massive structures favored by the British; their tracks often wound around tight curves as they climbed up and over the mountains rather than bore straight through them. Even the rails in America were often

¹² James E. Vance, Jr., *The North American Railroad: Its Origin, Evolution, and Geography* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

¹³ Albert J. Churella, *The Pennsylvania Railroad, Volume 1: Building an Empire, 1846-1917* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

cobbled together from wooden stringers topped with a bearing surface of iron instead of being fashioned entirely from iron as in Britain.

Photographs of North America's early trestles suggest flimsy structures that could barely support a train, and, indeed, some could not. The Pacific Railroad of Missouri building from Saint Louis toward Kansas City decided in 1855 to celebrate its completion as far as the state capital of Jefferson City by hosting a special train of Saint Louis luminaries. Alas, the trestle over the Gasconade River gave way under the weight of the train, and several of the railroad's guests plunged to their deaths. This sort of disaster reoccurred with depressing frequency on other railroads during those early years of cost-cutting and seat-of-the-pants civil engineering.

Early locomotives imported from Britain and engineered to that country's high standards often proved too heavy and too rigid for the insubstantial and serpentine rights-of-way typical of American railroads. Americans soon learned how to build locomotives more suited to the technological and financial shortcuts that prevailed on the early railroads of the United States. And Americans also built their early locomotives to burn the cheapest fuel, namely the wood that was readily available in the forests that lined the tracks across the eastern United States and which had gotten scarce in Great Britain. It did not take many years for the appearance of American wood-burning locomotives to diverge noticeably from British locomotives. The imposing smokestacks of the early American locomotives functioned as spark arrestors to keep embers of burning wood from igniting trestles and other wooden structures, or from setting fire to the forests and fields that lined the tracks.¹⁴

It was the American tendency to experiment, improvise, and innovate rather than simply implement what already prevailed in Britain that attracted European observers eager to see "Yankee Ingenuity" for themselves. Where the British favored imposing stations that resembled castles and were solidly fashioned from iron, brick, and stone, Americans usually had to be content with flimsy wooden sheds and smallish depots to accommodate railroad passengers and freight. Americans correctly surmised that their "impermanent way" could be rebuilt using more substantial materials as money permitted. In most cases they were correct: over time many a flimsy wooden trestle was replaced by more substantial structures of iron and steel, tight curves were eased or eliminated, and mountains were tunneled through instead of surmounted by tracks forced to use steep grades or cumbersome switchbacks. The cheap rails fashioned mostly from wood were eventually replaced by more substantial ones made from iron and then steel. In the larger cities like New York, Chicago, and Saint Louis the rudimentary early stations were replaced by imposing marble-accented cathedrals of commerce intended to project civic pride as well as railroad wealth and prowess.¹⁵

Chevalier was present in North America literally at the creation of its earliest railroads. His European perspective on the canals, railroads, and steamboats of the United States and Canada gives an especially valuable dimension to his observations in *Letters from North America*. Most obviously, he noticed and commented upon many an

¹⁴John H. White, Jr., *American Locomotives: An Engineering History, 1830-1880* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997 Revised and Expanded Edition).

¹⁵John H. White, Jr., *Wet Britches and Muddy Boots: A History of Travel in Victorian America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

odd detail that North American observers took for granted. His reflections on what he saw were shaped by his personal experiences in France, and if nothing else it is interesting for modern readers to note how Chevalier processed what he observed in North America on the basis of his first-hand knowledge of European history, and of French history in particular.

Professor Steven Rowan's complete translation of Chevalier's *Letters from North America* together with his tracking down the original illustrations makes this formative period in the history of the Young American Republic and future Canada accessible to modern readers. It is a story filled with possibilities that seemed promising at the time, but which for a variety of reasons failed in practice. But that was the nature of the "boundlessness" that typified North American life and thought in the 1830s and 1840s, a time before civil engineers were trained professionally by colleges and universities, before everything from railroad construction techniques to accounting practices was standardized, and before cold mathematical calculations replaced red-hot personal enthusiasm, intuition, and risky speculation.

And speaking of speculation, the United States in the mid-1830s abounded in the financial variety in addition to that of its technological dreamers. The cornerstone of the American financial edifice was the seemingly solid Second Bank of the United States, which functioned as the nation's central bank. When in the mid-1830s the "hard-money" President Andrew Jackson effectively destroyed the Second Bank of the United States because he considered that its assets included far too little bullion (or "hard money"), not to mention that in Jackson's eyes it was a corrupt institution that served as a bastion of privilege. But its private replacement in 1836 could no longer oversee the nation's finances. The result was a proliferation of state-chartered "wildcat" banks that in the aggregate formed a financial counterpart to America's rickety rail system, as the Panic of 1837 soon demonstrated. Occasionally a "wild cat" bank simply disappeared and was never heard from again. Any paper money it had issued was worthless. Chevalier found the saga of American finance worthy of study because of the lessons it might teach the French as they worked to develop a financial system capable of sustaining rapid industrial and commercial expansion.¹⁶

¹⁶ David S. Reynolds, *Waking Giant: America in the Age of Jackson* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008); Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

“Michel Chevalier began as a dreamer and ended as a solid man of affairs.”¹⁷

Jules Simon (1814-1896)

“I no longer recall who called Monsieur Michel Chevalier ‘the poet of political economy!’ He was never so to the detriment of the truth.”

Alfred-Auguste Cuvillier-Fleury [1802-1887]

Michel Chevalier was born in the industrial city of Limoges on 13 January 1806, the son of a tax official of moderate means. At the age of eighteen he was admitted to the *École polytechnique* in Paris, and two years later to the *École des mines*; he gained further professional experience as a mining engineer in southern France, Switzerland, and Germany. He began working in northern France in 1830.

In 1831 he joined the Saint-Simonians and began submitting articles to the movement's journal *L'Organisateur*. The Saint-Simonians were a cult-like utopian socialist movement that saw technical and industrial development as the best means to social improvement, inspired by the ideas of the Claude Henri, comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825). In 1832 Chevalier took over the direction of the Saint-Simonian journal, *Le Globe*, temporarily renouncing his professional career.

The result was a flood of articles by Chevalier about future technological transformation, most significantly his “Mediterranean System” (March 1832) advocating the construction of strategic canals and railroads to unite the West and the Muslim world in the Mediterranean basin.¹⁸

The transportation plans supported by Chevalier and the Saint-Simonians included canals at Suez and Panama to accelerate international movement. Chevalier himself also began as early as 1833 to promote a railroad tunnel under the English Channel to join Paris and London. These routes of communication were to be built by an authoritarian state to promote increased trade and travel. In this period Prosper Enfantin steered the Saint-Simonians in an increasingly radical direction, adopting a distinctive costume and promoting a neo-monastic ritualistic life in his large house in the Paris suburb of Ménilmontant.

Authorities of the July Monarchy of King Louis-Philippe grew increasingly alarmed with the cult when it began to promote equality of the sexes.¹⁹ The leaders of the cult were arrested for having formed a permanent association of more than twenty persons, in violation of the Penal Code. Chevalier was sentenced to a year in Sainte-Pélagie political prison, later reduced by half.

While in prison, Chevalier separated himself from Enfantin and other members of the cult, who turned their attentions to the court of the Khedive of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, to

¹⁷ Jules Simon, *Notices et portraits. Caro, Louis Reybaud, Michel Chevalier, Fustel de Coulanges* (Paris: C. Lévy, 1892), specific citation, p. 218.

¹⁸ Most of his pamphlets have the telling general title, *Religion Saint-Simonienne* ... See Taricone, *Il sansimoniano*, pp. 371-372.

¹⁹ In general, see Fiorenza Taricone, *Il sansimoniano Michel Chevalier: industrialismo e liberalismo* (Florence: Centro editoriale toscano, 2006). Taricone publishes several contemporary satirical cartoons making misogynist points against the Saint-Simonians. This is the context within which the phrase “Cherchez la femme!” was born (see “tavola 12” entitled “Je cherche la femme libre.” = “I am seeking the free woman”).

lobby for the building of the Suez Canal. After negotiating with the Minister of the Interior and of Public Works, Adolphe Thiers, Chevalier abandoned the cult, shedding its costume and cutting his beard, and after his release from prison he was commissioned by Thiers as well as Baptiste Alexis Victor Legrand, Director of the Corps of Bridges and Roads, to go to the United States to report in detail on the transportation system there, stressing canals and railroads.²⁰

Chevalier departed France for England and America at the end of 1833, intending to survey transportation in both the United States and Latin America. He began sending articles to the *Journal des débats* in Paris entitled “Letters on America,” which eventually became “Letters on North America.” He intended at the time to follow these with a series of “Letters on Hispanic America.” His first two “letters” were posted from London and Liverpool, and his first “letter” from the United States, from New York, was dated 1 January 1834. The final “letter,” number 34, also from New York, was dated 22 October 1835. Besides managing to travel extensively throughout the United States, notably both in the slaveholding South as well as in Canada, he briefly visited Mexico and Cuba before returning to France via New York. In 1836 *Letters on North America* was published to great applause.²¹ As Jules Simon declared, “Everything was new to us: it resembled the land of dreams.”²²

Yet it is important to realize that he was far from endorsing everything he encountered in the United States. He was horrified by the treatment of non-white people throughout the country, both in the slaveholding South and the “free” North; his understanding of the economic dynamics of slavery convinced him that it would continue to threaten national unity.²³ Like most European visitors at the time, he was also bewildered by President Jackson’s demolition of the Second Bank of the United States, an institution that Chevalier obviously admired and whose structure he explicated in detail in his notes. It appears clear that it inspired Chevalier’s thoughts about central banking institutions and the management of currency for the rest of his career.²⁴

Chevalier’s other formative experience in America was his exposure to “Jacksonian Democracy,” which he regarded as a threat to general economic progress. He saw the American “bourgeoisie” as dominated by a politically militant working class allied with

²⁰ See on Chevalier's Saint-Simonian days, Michael Peter Murphy, "Envisioning Romantic Political Economy: the Formative Years of Michel Chevalier (1806-1879)," Ph. D. Thesis, University of California Santa Cruz (June, 2011). Saint-Simonianism was one of the "Utopian Socialist" systems specifically condemned by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their *Communist Manifesto* of 1848; Saint-Simon was condemned by Isaiah Berlin, *Freedom and its Betrayal: Six Enemies of Human Liberty* (Princeton University Press, 2002).

²¹ Michel Chevalier, *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1836), with many subsequent editions in Paris and in Brussels, was translated by Thomas Gamaliel Bradford as *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States; being a series of letters on North America by Michel Chevalier, translated from the 3rd Paris edition* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, 1839). The American edition does not have the extensive notes of the French editions. The French-language editions include a large *Carte des États Unis d'Amérique 1836*, a lithographic print by L. Bouffard.

²² Simon, *Notices et portraits*, p. 218.

²³ See particularly letters XIV with its notes, XXIV, and XXXI, but really anywhere social questions are approached.

²⁴ The Bank was a central subject throughout the first part of the *Letters*, including the detailed notes. See particularly Letters III to VI, VIII, XIV, XVII.

“The Democracy” of Jackson and Van Buren.²⁵ He saw the financing of canal and railroad expansion in the 1830s by states as motivated by efforts of state legislators to avoid dependence on large financial institutions in New York and Philadelphia.²⁶ These experiences obviously reinforced his opposition to socialism in the first phase of the French revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic it created; they help to explain his enthusiastic support for the authoritarian régime of Napoléon III, which earned him bitter hostility from supporters of constitutional government.

The question of the position of women in French society had been one of the principal reasons the Saint-Simonians had been closed down and jailed in 1831, and the social and economic role of women in a modern society continued to fascinate Chevalier on his American tour. The largely female working force in the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, enthused him, although he surmised that its prosperity could be brief due to changing tariff conditions. The apparently fortunate position of the American wife as ruler of the household could hide a trap because after marriage her horizons became extremely restricted. Chevalier ended his investigation of women’s role by conditioning his original enthusiasm over the liberation of English and American women from the heavy labor in public that French women endured.

Throughout all his writings about America, Chevalier recalled that the French had once held much of that continent in its hands before relinquishing it all too easily in the mid-18th century:

If these lands had remained French, the population that would have developed there would have been gayer than the Americans. It would have enjoyed more of what it possessed, but it would have been surrounded with fewer riches and comfort, and centuries would have passed before one could have the right to call himself master to the same extent of soil that the Americans subjugated in less than fifty years.²⁷

Chevalier saw more of North America than appears in his “Letters.” Specifically, he made detailed study of public works in Canada, the results of which would only be published in his later work. He still had moments of insight about Canada that are truly precious:

[Canada’s] is not the ambitious prosperity of the United States, it is something much more modest, but if it has less drama, it has more contentment and well-being. Canada reminds me of Switzerland: it has the same physiognomy of calm satisfaction and pleasant enjoyment. They would speak highly of Canada if it were not next to the Anglo-American colossus; they would cite its developments but for the nearness of the prodigies of the United States.²⁸

In reflecting on the differences between the United States and France, one of his observations in 1840 on the way the two nations pursued great projects was particularly striking:

²⁵ See particularly Letters XXXI-XXXIV; Simon, *Notices et portraits*, p. 224: “... in the United States the ‘Democracy’ rules over the bourgeoisie, and soon universal suffrage will do the same to the French bourgeoisie.”

²⁶ Chevalier, *Histoire et description des routes de communication aux États-Unis* ... vol. 2 (Paris: Gosselin, 1841), p. 192.

²⁷ Letter XXIII, “Work.”

²⁸ Letter XXIII, “Work.”

It is believed that eventually North America will have railroads for all important links, for those that, in France, are served by Royal Roads of the first class. This system is manifestly being established. The line from the Hudson to Lake Erie is one of those where this tendency is first revealed. The railroad from Albany to Buffalo is already three-quarters completed. It is worth remarking that this remarkable result has been achieved, not by virtue of a general plan drawn up in advance, but entirely by the effect of isolated enterprises provoked by local needs of some parts of the line. No one declared there to be a pure necessity to create a railroad from the Hudson to Lake Erie. The idea of this major link was presented to populations and speculators only after it had already been half-realized. In this way, the English populations differ a great deal from the French; the Anglo-Saxon race does not arrive at the general conception of an enterprise except slowly and by degrees, when practice leads them there, when it is already partly completed. The French character proceeds in the opposite way. We begin by tracing magnificent plans of the whole, with an ability no other people can equal, and always in keeping with the need. But once the idea is launched, we stop, and often it is only our projects that offer the aura of grandeur that, in contrast, marks the positive acts of our neighbors across the Channel and their descendants of North America.²⁹

In 1837, after his return and the publication of the *Letters* in book form, Chevalier received the Legion of Honor (eventually becoming a Grand Officer) and the rank of a first-class engineer of the Corps of Mines. In 1838 he would win a position as a petition processor of the Council of State, becoming one of the forty full members of that central administrative body in 1840.

In 1845 he married Emma Fournier, daughter of one of the most important textile entrepreneurs in France, and her family château at Lodève in Hérault would become his country residence; it would also make him a permanent devotee of the South of France. The marriage made Chevalier a very rich man. The couple produced two daughters who married into the intellectual elite of France.

Chevalier continued an intense publishing campaign fueled by his American experience, and he used it to promote the rational reorganization of European transportation together with the system of industrial education and financing needed to support it. A flood of publications capitalized on the momentum begun by his “Letters” in the popular press, including an aggressive general plan for French railroads to reinforce the existing canal system in 1838, *On the Material Interests of France: Public Works. Roads, Canals, Railroads*.³⁰ Also in 1838, he gave a long address to the *Académie des Sciences morales et politiques* that strongly advocated the adoption of the American method of railroad construction in order to get a network for France more or less immediately.³¹

The primary fruit of the American visit, however, would be his massive *History and Description of the Routes of Communication in the United States and the Public Works Depending on them*, a work of over a thousand pages in two text volumes in 1840 and

²⁹ Chevalier, *History and Description*, vol. 1, [p. 274-275].

³⁰ Michel Chevalier, *Des Intérêts matériels en France. Travaux publics. Routes. Canaux. Chemins de fer* (Paris: Charles Gosselin et W. Conquebert, 1838), particularly pp. 327-28; 373-78, 384-92.

³¹ Michel Chevalier, “Du réseau des chemins de fer qu’il pourrait être établi aujourd’hui en France,” *Revue des deux mondes*, April 1838, Series 17, 1838/06, pp. 163-200. He particularly advocated a “mixed system” in which railroads would be coordinated with steamboats to achieve high-speed connections.

1841, with an “Atlas” of illustrations in 1843, and an alphabetic and systematic index in 1851.³² He had already sketched the framework of this description in Letter XXII, which ran to more than seventy pages, with a detailed map. To quote his good friend, the American railroad engineer Moncure Robinson [1802-1891], writing Chevalier's obituary of 1880:

Independently of his letters from America which first attracted attention to him as a writer, he published in 1840, a large work on the “Lines of Communication and Public Works of the United States,” with an accompanying atlas (two volumes in quarto and the atlas in folio), which has never been translated in English, but which made the internal improvements of the United States, at that time, better and more accurately known to Europeans than they were to ourselves.³³

In 1842 he published a book on American steam engines used for steamboats as well as locomotives, with extensive illustrations.³⁴

Throughout his entire career, Chevalier portrayed the United States as a serious competitor to European economies both at the time and in the future. More than any other economist or engineer of the time, he was convinced of the rising economic and political significance of the Americas. At the same time, he perceived the unstable dynamism of America as a threat to the Latin peoples in the Americas, expressed in the pursuit of “Manifest Destiny” on the North American continent and beyond. In the end, this caused him to warn against an American aggression running in all directions. The preface to *Letters on North America*, obviously composed after his return to France, already contains heavy misgivings about the danger of the United States to the continued existence of Latin-American autonomy: the seed of his support for French intervention in Mexico in the 1860s was already planted and growing.

While Chevalier always went out of his way to speak highly of Alexis de Tocqueville (*Democracy in America*, 1835, 1840), with whom he shared a publisher, Chevalier spent a much longer time than Tocqueville (22 months rather than nine) examining a very distinct America that Tocqueville had no eyes to perceive.³⁵ Like Tocqueville, he

³² Michel Chevalier, *Histoire et description des voies de communication aux États-Unis et les travaux d'art qui en dépendent*, 3 vols. (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1840-1843) with a *Table analytique et alphabétique des matières* (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1851), a translation by Steven Rowan has been completed. The only comparable survey at the time is by F. A. von Gerstner, done at the behest of the Russian government: *Early American Railroads: Franz Anton Ritter von Gerstner's Die innern Communicationen (1842-1843)*, Fredrick C. Gamst, ed., David J. Diephouse, John C. Decker, tr. (Stanford University Press, 1997).

³³ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 19, no. 107 (March-December 1880).

³⁴ *Des Machines à vapeur aux États-Unis d'Amérique particulièrement considérées dans leur application à la navigation et aux chemins de fer, accompagné des plans des machines à vapeur et de renseignements fournis par M. Chevalier* (Paris: L. Mathias, 1842).

³⁵ Letter XXVI (from Pittsburgh, dated 24 November 1834) in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 21 January 1835, pp. 2-4, appeared together with a notice on page 2 of the publication of Alexis de Tocqueville, *On Democracy in America*. He appended a note to his last “Letter,” “Democracy,” dated 22 October 1835, declaring, “It is impossible to speak of American democracy without citing the recent work of Monsieur de Tocqueville. I send to it those who desire to know in detail the attractions and instincts of this democracy, the empire it practices over the bourgeoisie as well as the laws by which it has created and affirmed this empire.” In his essay on *Liberty in the United States* (1849), he remarked, “I am occupied here with political liberty; I want to speak of the law that the American possesses and exercises to take part in the governing of his country, his state, his county, his commune. This subject has also been well treated

continued to follow economic and political events in America for years after the completion of his visit. He merits being considered as “the other Tocqueville,” although their interests in America were profoundly different because of Tocqueville’s lack of interest in transportation and industry.³⁶

He assumed the Chair of Political Economy at the *Collège de France*, presenting his first course in 1841-42 commencing with two orations on the social and technical obligation of economic development to improve the fortunes of the working poor of France. He declared that only state-supported economic development, combined with social welfare for the poor, could lift the remnant of the old Third Estate out of poverty. The higher classes of the French bourgeoisie had profited handsomely so far in the nineteenth century, but they had abandoned the peasantry and workers to their fates.³⁷ Successive editions of his *Course in Political Economy* would promote his views on the duty of the state to advance infrastructure as well as general social well-being.

His French allies among economists would be Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) and Charles Coquelin (1802-1852), but particularly his predecessor at the Collège de France, Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832).³⁸ In England he was in continual contact with John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), as well as with Richard Cobden (1804-1865) and John Bright (1811-1889). On their visit to France after 1860, Chevalier was photographed together with Cobden and Bright in a sort of international free trade trinity.³⁹

The Revolution of February 1848, led to Chevalier immediately losing all his offices because he had strictly opposed the socialist doctrines then briefly in the ascendant. He published a series of articles on labor questions, opposing the theories of Owen, Cabet and Blanc. After the stabilization of the government of the Second Republic and the violent repression of the Left, he recovered most of his offices. His return to his Chair at the *Collège de France* was launched by a triumphal address entitled, “Political Economy and Socialism.”⁴⁰ In 1849 he published a short essay on *Liberty in the United States*.⁴¹ In 1851 he was elected a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, but he would never be elected to the *Académie française*.

with such a great superiority and with such elaboration by Monsieur de Tocqueville that it would be rash to go there.”

³⁶ On Tocqueville vs. Chevalier, see James T. Schleifer, *The Making of Tocqueville's Democracy in America*, 2d ed., (Indianapolis: The Liberty Fund, 2000), pp. 97-111 with notes. See particularly Darwin R. Stapleton, “Neither Tocqueville nor Trollope: Michel Chevalier and the Industrialization of America and Europe,” in *The World of the Industrial Revolution: Comparative and International Aspects of Industrialization* (Andover, MA: Museum of American Textile History, 1986), pp. 21-34.

³⁷ Michel Chevalier, *Cours d'économie politique fait au Collège de France*, ed., M. A. Broët, *Année 1841-42* (Paris: Capelle, libraire-éditeur; Charles Gosselin, libraire, 1842), pp. 33-54. Chevalier later conditioned some of these opening remarks as having been overly stressed by his “leftist” editor. See Simon, *Notices et portraits*, p. 238, note.

³⁸ It is significant that Chevalier avoided mentioning in his inaugural lecture his immediate predecessor at the *Collège*, Pellegrino Rossi [1787-1848], an outspoken economic liberal. See Simon, *Notices et portraits*, p. 243.

³⁹ This *carte de visite* by Paul Pierre Maujean of Paris, is found both at the National Portrait Gallery, London, and in the Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library. Maujean made *cartes de visite* at the same time of Bright and Cobden as well as of Cobden alone (*ebay* offers).

⁴⁰ Dated 28 February 1849.

⁴¹ “La liberté aux États-Unis,” *Revue des deux mondes*, anno XIX, July 1849, separately published as a pamphlet in 1849; Steven Rowan has translated it for his students.

The overthrow of the Second Republic by a *coup d'état* by President Prince Louis Napoléon (soon titled Emperor Napoléon III) on 2 December 1852 found Chevalier a prominent supporter from the first hour. He had never been a democrat, and Louis Napoléon promised the leadership that he felt France needed.⁴² Chevalier's principled opposition to protectionism, however, prevented him from achieving higher office. His greatest political success would come with his secret negotiation of a "free trade agreement" with England, sometimes called the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty, ratified in January 1860.

In 1863 he published *Mexico, Yesterday and Today*, a book of over six hundred pages, supporting the disastrous French intervention in Mexico undertaken during the American Civil War.⁴³ He was also believed to have authored a discussion of the American Civil War that was taken in America to show French support for the Confederacy, although the anonymous pamphlet assumed to be his does not do so directly.⁴⁴

In the 1870s, even after his political fall for opposing the war with Prussia, Chevalier continued to promote the construction of a tunnel under the England Channel, and he formed a company to dig it. The project faded due to English misgivings, but in 1875 he received a gold medal of the Royal Society presented in England by HRH Edward, Prince of Wales, recognizing his efforts. The company he founded would be used to construct the Channel Tunnel in the mid-twentieth century.

In 1878 he would pass his lectureship at the *Collège de France* to his grandson, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and he would die at his estate at Lodève on 28 November 1879.

⁴² For Prince Louis Napoléon's "manifesto," see *Des idées napoléoniennes* (London, 1839 and after).

⁴³ Chevalier, *Le Mexique Ancien et Moderne* (Paris: Hachette, 1863), growing out of new articles in *Revue des deux mondes* and a much shorter work of 1845 extracted from an encyclopedia.

⁴⁴ M[onsieur] M. Chevalier, *France, Mexico, and the Confederate States*, tr. William Henry Hurlbut (New York: C. B. Richardson, 596 Broadway, 1863), deriving from an anonymous pamphlet with the same title published in Paris by E. Dentu, Palais-royal, 17 and 19, Galerie d'Orléans, 1863, which states that French intervention was to protect Catholics and "Latin" Mexicans from Anglo-Saxon aggression. The editor of the American pamphlet was not convinced that Chevalier had written the French pamphlet, but American readers thought it revealed thinking at the highest level of the French government. For a direct attack on the pamphlet, see Vine Wright Kingsley, *French Intervention in America, or, a Review of La France, Le Mexique, et les États-Confédérés* (New York: C. B. Richardson, 1863).

**Preface of the Publisher
For the First Edition (1836)**

This work was at least roughed out, if not completed, during a voyage to America from the end of 1833 to the end of 1835. Several of the letters, forming about a third of this publication, appeared in the *Journal des Débats* [*politiques et littéraires*], to which they were addressed sequentially. The author was not limited to visiting the United States: he also passed several months in the Spanish part of the New World, in Mexico and on the island of Cuba. His intention at first was to combine his observations on the Hispanic Americans with those on the United States, as well as on the Blacks and the Redskins with whom they are mixed. After reflection, he believed it would be more useful to separate what he had to say on two such different subjects as are the two Americas, Spanish and English. Hence, these two volumes deal exclusively with the United States, or at least were made entirely on their occasion. The same thought that determined the author to keep back his notes on Mexico and Cuba also moved him to preface the letters on the Union with two letters on England prior to his embarkation for New York at Liverpool.

INTRODUCTION

BY

MICHEL CHEVALIER

The civilization to which the peoples of Europe belong marches across the earthly globe from the East to the West. From its base in old Asia and Upper Egypt, its double cradle, it has advanced through a series of stages to the coast of the Atlantic, along which it is ranged, from the southern extremity of the Spanish peninsula to the northernmost cape of the British Isles and Scandinavia. It appeared to be at the end of its journey when Christopher Columbus opened the path to a New World.

At each stage along the way, it has adopted different beliefs and different mores, different laws and different usages, another language, another custom, another hygienic and nutritive regime, another public and private life. Each time, the great question of the relations between humanity and God, and with the universe, that of the political and social hierarchy, of the family, all of them having received a solution at the beginning of the halt, have all been thrown into dispute after a certain interval, and civilization, resuming its march, has gone on to give them a new solution, a bit further toward the West.

This current, moving from East to West, results from the reunion of the two distinct elements deriving from the two great races of the Bible, that of Shem and of Japheth, proceeding and concentrating, one in the South, the other in the North, renewing themselves from their respective sources at each period of our civilization, through episodes that distinguish and vary this majestic pilgrimage.

Turn by turn, each of these pressures of North and South result in the motive force pushing humanity forward, one pressing on the other. This is why our civilization, rather than advancing in a straight line from the East to the West, has librated from North to South and South to North, describing a sinuous line, gathering in turn the purer bits of the blood from Shem and from Japheth. It is indeed this difference between North and South, which the South has often urged on the North, sending germs of civilization without imposing its race upon it, and which the North, reawakening slumbering civilization in the South when the populations there are enervated, has vomited out swarms of energetic barbarians, *audax Japeti genus* [“the daring race of Japheth”]. It is thus that the great prophecy on Japheth is fulfilled without cease, *et inhabitet in tabernaculis Sem* [“and he shall occupy the tents of Shem”].

Independent of our civilization there exists another on the earth that embraces populations no less numerous, since it is counted in the hundreds of millions. It is that of the most distant Orient, of which the advanced posts are in Japan and the central army corps in China.

As the reverse of our own, this one marches from the West to the East. Its capacity for movement across the globe is very limited. One might almost compare the respective paces of the two civilizations to that of the two great revolutions of the globe: its annual rotation contrasted with the motion producing the equinoxes.

Just as is the case with the West, Eastern civilization is regenerated at various epochs by a new mixture of peoples from the North with those of the South. The race of Japheth, which has given us the Barbarians, and prior to the Barbarians the Pelasgians, the Syths, the Celts, and the Thracians, and after them the Turks and the Slavs, furnished the East with the Mongols and Manchurians. It happened that the family of Genghis Khan conquered the East at the same moment that his hordes appeared as far afield as the region of the Rhine.

The civilizations of the East, less mobile or active than that of the West, probably because they do not have the blood of Shem and have too much from inferior races, is not elevated to the same degree of perfection as its sister. It is still necessary to render it justice by recalling its glory of many capital inventions such as the compass, printing, and gunpowder, of which we ourselves boast. Above all it is necessary to recognize that it has solved the problem of maintaining a more considerable population under a single law for an indefinite series of centuries than Europe. The Roman Empire, smaller in population than China, did not survive entire for more than three centuries. The purely spiritual authority of the popes extends over a smaller space than that of the Roman Empire, and it was not recognized except between the time of Charlemagne to that of Luther.

The two civilizations, West and East, are massed in serried ranks at the two extremities of the old continent, each turning its back to the other, separated by an extreme space prior to the first civilization establishing itself in America. Today more than half the distance has been crossed: Mexico and South America have been converted by offshoots from Western civilization, both the side looking toward Asia and that facing us. The United States will not for long delay extending itself from one sea to the other. The islands of the Southern Sea begin to be peopled by Europeans.

From this point of view, it is clear that America, poised between the two civilizations, is chosen for a high destiny, and that the progress realized by the populations of the New World has great significance for the general progress of the species.

The contact of the two civilizations, West and East, is without contradiction the largest subject with which the human spirit can occupy itself. It is the event that is, in the eyes of a friend of humanity, of the grandest importance. It embraces:

Politically, the association of all peoples, the equilibrium of the world, of which European equilibrium is only a detail;

Religiously, the law of the entire human family, a true *Catholicism*;

Morally, the most harmonious balance of the two opposed natures that divide each race, each sex, each family, and that the Bible has represented with the two figures of Cain and Abel;

Intellectually, the sum of learning and a universal language;

Industrially, a definitive plan for the exploitation of the globe.

In our own days, this question has ceased to be purely speculative. Henceforth it is more than a pasture for the dreams of philosophers; this must be a subject of meditation for statesmen.

Since Louis XIV merchants, the pioneers of politics, have been trying, with ever-increasing ardor, to open relations with China, since they sense the importance of a

regular system of exchanges between Europe and a mass of producers and consumers rising to two hundred million.

The emancipation of North America, as well as the very recent suppression of the monopoly of the English company of the Indies, have given commerce an insurmountable intensity. In their presence, the laws on which the Celestial Empire is founded are without force. China is besieged, from the south by the English via India and its tributaries, and from the north by the Cossacks, the vanguard of Russia. British fleets and American squadrons spy out the coast of the ocean; the drowsy Spaniards of Mexico and the Philippines, remembering their galleons, watch with lidded eyes. The human race is achieving new means of communications that shrink distances to unhoped-for dimensions. The two civilizations do not delay their joining and mixing. This will be the greatest fact in the history of the human species.

Before the perfection of the art of navigation, before Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama, Europe communicated with China, beside the caravans traversing central Asia, through the intermediary of the Arabs. Conquerors and missionaries, the Arabs, placed between the two civilizations, were connected to the East and the West in turn. This people, so intermittently restless, was the messenger of the West for the East, and particularly for the West it was the courier and trader of the East. Unfortunately, ever since Western civilization began to shine brighter in our Europe, Arab society has only sent off a feeble glimmer. Since Providence stimulated all-consuming activity in us, the Arab peoples have fallen into profound idleness. From this side therefore, communications, never very lively or rapid, have become today almost nothing.

But if, as some persons suppose, the Arab race approaches the end of its long passivity in response to the voice and interest of western Europe, Europe will find it to be a powerful partner in its efforts to seize and extend Asia by transmitting to it the instrument by which it will revive itself. And this illustrious race will contribute powerfully to the marriage of the two civilizations.

Our civilization, then, in its march toward the East, has also returned to the Orient. It is thus as with the Argonauts, Agamemnon, and Alexander, as well as with the heroes of the crusades, and the Portuguese captains. These movements, of a subordinated order, have only briefly interrupted a solemn advance toward the regions of the East. They were counter-currents entirely comparable to what one always finds in the general course of rivers. Until now, Europe has not established anything of real value and durability. To the extent that our civilization advances to the West, the lands left behind it drain away its influence and the space between itself and the civilization of the East expands. Alexander was the sole person capable of alarming China, and he passed like a flash. The Parthians, the Saracens, or the Turks were irremovable obstacles to the Orient. The supreme mission of Europe was, above all, to colonize the new hemisphere.

Currently, the incontestable superiority acquired by the West in riches, mechanical resources, means of transport, the art of administration and war, permits it to open the way to furthest Asia across the Old World. The people we have the habit of calling Orientals, who are in fact only the *Little Orient*, have ceased to be redoubtable adversaries. They have surrendered their swords definitively at Heliopolis, Navarino, and Adrianople. Today at last, the colonizing of America has been completed, from

Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn. Europe can and must move in the direction of the Levant as if toward the setting sun. The Isthmus of Suez has as much chance as the isthmus of Panama to become the chief route of Occidental civilization for its expeditions toward the *Greater Orient*.

Our civilization proceeds from a double origin, the Romans and the Germanic peoples. Putting aside for the moment Russia, which is a new arrival, and which today equals the most powerful of the ancient peoples, this civilization is divided into two families, of which each distinguishes itself by its special resemblance with the two mother nations that have competed to bring forth the one and the other. Hence, there is a Latin Europe and a Teutonic Europe. The first includes the peoples of the South. The second includes the peoples of the north of the continent and of England. The one is Protestant, the other Catholic. The one uses idioms in which Latin dominates, the other speaks Germanic languages.

The two branches, Latin and German, are reproduced in the New World. South America is, like southern Europe, Catholic and Latin. North America belongs to a Protestant and Anglo-Saxon population.

In the vast enterprise of encounter of these two great civilizations of Europe and Asia, the Germans and Latins both find in the other a task to perform. They both have occupied in Europe and in America a land in the midst of seas, admirable advanced bastions and excellent positions over against the immobile Asia that must be overcome.

But for a century now, the superiority that was once on the side of the Latin group has passed to the Teutonic one, both by the efforts of the English in the Old World, and by that of their sons in the New, as well as by the weakening of the religious and moral ties among the Latin nations. The Slavic race, recently emerging and constituting in our Europe a third distinct group, appears to leave the Latin peoples nothing but the lowest rank. Today it is only the Russians and the peoples of Anglo-Saxon origin that are preoccupied with the extremes of Asia, and who press on its frontiers by land or by sea.

The people of Latin origin must not remain inactive in what is coming. To do so would only be to accept defeat. It is the right moment to retake the rank they have lost.

In our three-headed Europe, Latin, Germanic and Slav, France and Austria⁴⁵ present themselves with a character less specific, and with faculties less exclusive than the others. France participates in two natures, Germanic and Latin; in religion it is Catholic in sentiment, Protestant in humor; it reunites the intellectual nerve of the Germans with the elegant taste of Southerners. Austria, by education and origin from the populations of its diverse states, is half-Slav, half Germanic. It has a tie to the Latins through religion.

France and Austria are the natural intermediaries, one between the Germanics and the Latins, the other between the Germanics and the Slavs. Austria also has long pretended to extend its patronage over several members of the Latin families. It is by virtue of this tendency to the South that it today rules the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

While Austria is principally Germanic, France ranges itself with the Latin group by the whole of its distinctive traits.

⁴⁵ Various recent publications, among others *Deux Mondes* [Paris, 1836], by Monsieur Gustave [Séligmann] d'Eichthal [1804-1886] have as their object the description of the true character of Austria.

From the mixed nature of France and Austria, one might conclude that they hold the balance of Europe, harmonizing the efforts of all Europeans toward a determined goal, one and the other exercising decisive influence, that their loyal association will produce an irresistible force.

Austria has a more central position in Europe than does France. It possesses a great multiplicity of points of contact with diverse types of Occidental civilization, including those that their relations with the Turks have imposed. But France combines the inestimable advantages of a more homogeneous constitution with a more flexible temperament. It has a physiognomy that is better designed, a mission better accomplished, and above all a stronger sociability. It forms the pinnacle of the Latin group: it is its protector.

In the events that appear bound to occur soon, France's role could indeed become great. France is the guarantor of the destinies of all the nations of the Latin group on two continents. France alone can prevent this entire family of peoples from being devoured by the double assault of the Germanics or Saxons or Slavs. It is France's duty to awaken them from the lethargy into which it has plunged in the two hemispheres, to raise them to the level of other nations, and to bring them up to the size to make a figure in the world. France is called, perhaps more than any other nation, to favor the rise of vitality that appears reanimating the Arabs, and to aid the far Orient through them.

Thus, the political scene, examined from the French point of view, offers at the second level, still at a distance, contact of the two civilizations of the East and the West to which we are called to contribute as intermediaries, and, going forward, France's education of all the Latin peoples, and of a large part of the neighboring Arab populations of the Mediterranean.

One might differ in opinion on the degree of imminence of the revolutions that will have the territory of Asia as its theater. I am one of those who see this as happening soon. I also conceive that one might desire to retrace the circle of French influence and concentrate on the lands south of Western Europe, while France appears called to exercise a benevolent and fruitful patronage on the peoples of South America, who are now not in any state to suffer by themselves, and with the old memories of the crusades, the conquest of Algeria and the memories of the expedition to Egypt, seem to promise us one of the premier roles in the drama that must take place on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean.

So far as the European nations of the Latin family, I do not suppose that anyone doubts the supremacy we exercise concerning them, nor the duties that we have to do for them in their own interest. We have been known as the head of this family since Louis XIV. We cannot refuse either the benefits or the costs of our position. Our seniority is recognized by the members of the Latin family. They accepted our protectorate when offered, without any expectation of our abusing it. Happy indeed is France if, satisfied by this high prerogative, its princes, as well as those who have sounded again the high call of the name of the emperor, remain dedicated to the efforts against their very nature, to establish in the end their suzerainty over the nations of the Germanic family!

Since the preponderance of the balance of the world has passed to the peoples of Saxon origin, since the English race has overawed France and Spain in Asia, in America

and in Europe, new institutions, new rules of government, new ideas and new practices, touching social, political, and individual life, have developed among the English, and even more among their continuators of the New World. Everything concerned with work, as well as the condition of the largest number of workers, has been perfected by them to a point hitherto unknown. It appears that as a result of these novelties, the preeminence of the Anglo-Saxons over nations of the Latin group has tended to grow even more.

We French are the best placed of the entire Latin family — in fact we are the only ones well placed — to assimilate these advances while modifying them to suit the demands of our nature. We are full of energy, our intelligence has never been more open, and our hearts have never demanded us more to fight for noble causes.

It is indispensable that we commit ourselves to this enterprise without further delay. This is necessary, putting aside every concept of universal politics, and on the more or less immediate contact of the two great civilizations. For us it is a need, a rigorous necessity, even if we think we have none of the improvements their situation demands to be given to the Southerners, of whom we are the eldest, or to those inhabiting the east of the Mediterranean, and which they are disposed to receive from us. It is a question for us all, henceforth, for our hearts whether to be or not to be,.

How and under what form will we manage to absorb the innovations of the English race? This difficult, complex question was my principal⁴⁶ preoccupation during my visit in the New World. I make no pretension to having resolved it, even imperfectly. I call myself happy if the ideas suggested to me an order of things so different from our own, falling under the gaze of a man both better and more clearly sighted than I, may contribute to put him on the path of the solution.

⁴⁶ My voyage to America had as its object the examination of public works in general and railroads in particular. Since I enlarged the circle of my studies, the time I was assigned, which was very short in any case, proved inadequate. Monsieur [Adolphe] Thiers [1797-1877], then Minister of the Interior and of Public Works, and Monsieur [Baptiste Alexis Victor] Legrand [1791-1848], General Director of Bridges and Roads, have repeatedly prolonged my mission with good grace that I am obligated to recognize publicly.

[First publication in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 13 November 1833, “Variétés, Chemin de fer de Paris à Londres.” dated London, 10 November 1833; article signed “M.” Reference to earlier publication of the first two letters by Chevalier in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, Paris, 29 January 1834, p. 1.]

I

THE RAILROAD FROM PARIS TO LONDON

London, 1 November 1833

While they talk about railroads in Paris, here they build them. The railroad from London to Birmingham is being built. It will have 45 leagues, and the total of the shares, amounting to 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ million [francs], has already found its subscribers. This railroad will be followed by another one, almost as long, from Birmingham to Liverpool. In five years Liverpool and London will only be eight hours apart. While English capitalists make such vast enterprises real, Parisian capitalists who want to do so are making no moves; they are not even making plans. None of them appears to have made a serious comment on the fact that today, in the current state of affairs, the number of travelers between Paris and Versailles is more than twice the number of travelers between Liverpool and Manchester in 1833, three years after the railroads were put in operation.⁴⁷

Further, in London they appear to be counting on the aid of French capitalists to establish a railroad from London to Paris. They desire it, they are ravished by the idea of being able to travel from one capital to the other in fifteen hours, cheaply. In all the classes a great celebration is planned in advance. But it is sensed that it is neither proper nor possible for such an undertaking to take place except with the agreement of both countries, and since they do not dare to believe in the cooperation of France, they say little of the matter.

Among all the gains that have increased the domain of the sciences of observation since the end of the last century, none has opened a larger field than the conception of Volta on the development of electricity through contact and through its movement. The phenomena resulting from the communication of the two poles of a Voltaic battery offer scientists an endless area to explore. There is nothing in the science of fact more general than that when two bodies contact one another, they immediately react to one another, forming a more or less active battery. The consequences of this inspiration of genius are incalculable, even after the brilliant discoveries of [Humphrey] Davy [1778-1829], the admirable works of Monsieur [André-Marie] Ampère [1775-1836] and the ingenious experiments of Monsieur Becquerel.⁴⁸ This physical, material, fact has an obvious analog in the moral order. When one brings together two persons who have previously lived far apart, when these persons have some eminent quality, their interaction inevitably produces some sort of spark. If in the place of two persons, the two poles of your battery are two peoples, the result is enlarged on the scale of a people compared to one person. If the two persons are England and France, that is the two richest nations in the universe, the richest in intelligence and power, this sort of Voltaic phenomenon takes on a

⁴⁷ There are a million passengers per year between Paris and Versailles, both going and returning. Between Manchester and Liverpool this is only 350-400,000. Before the establishment of the railroad it was a third of this (see Note 1).

⁴⁸ See Note 2.

prodigious intensity. It implies no less perhaps than the revived health of an ancient civilization or the birth of a new civilization.

It is easy to recognize that the qualities and faults of France and England can be disposed into parallel series with the terms corresponding to one another. England shines in its genius for business, and by the virtues that accompany it, such as coolness, economy,⁴⁹ precision, method, perseverance. The lot of France is more the genius of taste and the arts with ardor, abandon, the prodigal lightness at least of time and talk that distinguishes artists. On the one side is reason with its sure advance and its dryness, good sense with its feet on the ground. On the other hand there is imagination with its striking audacity, but also with its ignorance of practice and facts, its digressions and mistakes. On the one side, an admirable energy for struggling against nature and transforming the material aspect of the globe, and on the other side an intellectual activity without equal, and the gift to warm the heart of the human species with his thought. In England, there are the treasures of industry and heaps of money, in France the treasury of ideas, wellsprings of science, torrents of enthusiasm. In the chilly Albion of regulated but somber mores, a reserve restrained to the point of unsociability; in our beautiful France, mores facile to the point of license, the often jolly gaiety of the old Gauls, an expansive limitlessness that borders on promiscuity. From one side to the other, an enormous dose of pride. Among our neighbors, a calculating and ambitious pride: the pride of the statesman and merchant who does not profit except in power and riches. This is one who seeks conquests, vast colonies, all the Gibaltars and all the Saint Helenas for his country, eagles' nests that dominate the banks of all seas. For himself he seeks opulence, an aristocratic park, a seat in the House of Lords, a tomb at Westminster. For us, a pride that is vain but immaterial, we who savor ideal joys. In the place of applause for oneself, glory for the fatherland; who will content themselves with the admiration of the peoples for France, for ourselves a castle in Spain, a ruby, an epaulette, a verse by [Pierre-Jean de] Béranger [1780-1857] for our funeral; it is the pride of an actor on the scene, a paladin in a private field. North of the Channel, there are populations combining religion and positivism; in the south is a race at once skeptical and enthusiastic. Here, a profound sentiment for order and hierarchy allied with a sentiment of human dignity exaggerated unto death. There, one finds a people impassioned for equality, irritable, unquiet, restless, sometimes docile, often to the point of becoming jaunty, confident to the point of credulity, easily enchanted by flatterers, and allowing himself to be trampled like a corpse, such is his lethargy, and who is inclined at times to the most whorish obedience. Among the English, the cult of traditions; among the French, the enchantment of novelty. Among one, respect for law and obedience to man, one of the conditions that the law be the supreme rule. Among the others, idolatry for great men and submission to laws assuming that Caesar's sword serves to protect them. On the one hand, a people sovereign on the seas; on the other hand, the arbiter of the Continent, lifting the universe when it pleases them, one with a lever of gold, the other by the sheer sound of their voice. Certainly, the reciprocal association of these two peoples, made and positioned as they are in the world, will result in great effects for the general cause of civilization, as well as for their own betterment.

⁴⁹ By the word "economy" I mean the administrative faculty and nothing touching on parsimony. Economy always consists of giving much. It is thus that English merchants understand in their business and the English government understands in its dealings with its servants.

Industrial development is not all of human development, but to this moment in the nineteenth century, no people can consider itself in the first rank of nations that has not advanced industrially if it does not know how to produce and work. No people can be powerful unless it is rich, and one cannot get rich except through work. In the matter of work and production, we have much to borrow from the English, and it is a variety of a loan made better by the eyes than by the ear, by observation better than reading. Once there is a railroad between London and Paris, we Frenchmen, who hardly work at speeding our affairs, will go and learn in London, where the instinct of administration is in their very blood. Our speculators will go there and see how great enterprises are conducted simply, quickly and without diplomacy. Our retailers and their salesmen will learn from the English that overcharging and haggling are not necessary to buy or sell well. Our capitalists and our negotiators, who have no durable security for their capital where credit is not established, will see the Bank of England functioning with its branches and the private banks, and perhaps they will have enough envy to import it to their fatherland, comfortably modifying these institutions, productive for the public and for its shareholders. They shall imbibe the spirit of association, since, at London, it penetrates through all the pores.⁵⁰ All of us will see there the contents and way of realizing this *comfort*, this cult of the person so essential to calmness of life, and then probably Paris will shake off the general dirtiness that once gave it its name, and against which Voltaire campaigned in vain eighteen hundred years later, which the old monarchy and the faith of our fathers could not resist. Since we are a people petrified in self-love, we will receive from England, entirely scornful of the state of our agriculture, our communications and our elementary schools, entirely humiliated by the narrowness of our exterior commerce, and we will have the heart to equal our neighbors. I will not bother to detail what the English will come to get from us: they have already been converted so far as this goes, since they already arrive in crowds, so that one may anticipate, particularly in Paris, as the same number of French going to London. Without saying what the English find in Paris, one could say that they leave behind their *sovereign* coins in abundance. For Paris, a city of consumption and pleasures, the earthly paradise for foreigners, this would be a goldmine. And the English shall also make themselves at home and find good opportunities there, creating essential enterprises.

The railroad from Paris to London would be a commercial establishment of the first order. It would also be a political foundation, a chain of close alliance between France and England. But it is entirely as an instrument of education that it is vital to recommend it, since the two other points of view are not about to be neglected. Industry, I say, understands this at a glance. It is especially true for workers, since for them, due to their way of life, the world of sensations dominates the world of ideas. But now the advancement of industry depends no less on the progress of workers than on that of directors and chiefs of shops. It thus would be good to send a certain number of workers to spend some time in England, just as the Corps of Bridges and Roads does regularly

⁵⁰ It is for this reason that London traders do without each having a personal money chest. That would be a source of embarrassment, of discomfort, and it would absorb a great deal of capital unproductively. In London, all movements of funds pass through the intermediary of a small number of bankers locally called *clearing houses*. The mass of transactions thus regulated often rises, according to what a person worthy of belief tells me, to £15 million (375 million francs), besides transactions that are not properly commercial and retail commerce that does not even pass through the hands of bankers (See Note 3).

today for a few engineers. The railroad, dramatically reducing the cost and trouble of the voyage, will probably provide the means to send workers by the trainload from France to England, particularly those workers judged worthy of this favor. A little while ago, I heard a businessman of Lyon, a man of great sense, who had returned from England and who conceived of a plan that would result, for a really modest sum of money, in organizing these workers' expeditions on a rather large scale. In this project, which was at least very inventive, these voyages would be financed partly by schools for adults, partly by chambers of commerce, by councils of leaders in manufacturing centers, or by municipal councils, or by general councils in agricultural regions. The minister of war could also grant leave to soldiers with the best conduct, or who have shown the best industrial aptitude, and these expeditions would then be connected with applying the army to public works. He conceived of this as a reciprocal system between the two countries, by means of which French and English workers would work, the first in England, the second in France. It would not be impossible that one day this idea would form the basis of an addition to our excellent law of primary instruction. But first of all it is necessary to have the railroad from Paris to London.

Among the small number of French⁵¹ who have visited England, only a minority has made the voyage for purposes of industry or a positive art. Most have made the trip out of vague curiosity, some for pleasure. What they have sought everywhere is what is picturesque, poetic. They have visited the gothic ruins of monasteries and strong castles, the grotto of Fingal and the lakes of Scotland. They have admired the costumes of Highlanders, the horses and jockeys of the great lords, the pink complexion of the women. They have visited one or two parks, passed through the greenhouses where all the plants of the universe are gathered, braving the gray sky of Great Britain behind glass windows. They have walked through military arsenals escorted by a sergeant, if they could obtain permission. They have passed in review the young beauties of the Almack Club balls and the antiquities of the Tower of London. They have made their voyage to England as they do to Italy or Switzerland. If industry has occupied them for a moment, it is in the fashion of scenery at the opera. Hence they have been amazed by the thousands of vessels whose masts extend to the horizon on the Thames or on the docks.⁵² They are excited by the immense size of the manufacturing cities, the dimensions of the factories and the height of their chimneys, on the splendid lighting, on the solid bridges of stone or iron, or the phantasmagoric vision of the fires of forges in nighttime. They are less informed as to why England came to have so many vessels, multiplying their manufactures to infinity, creating towns with such simple architecture, and yet magnificent in the size and cleanliness of their streets. They have seldom asked after the source of so much prosperity and opulence.

In England the monumental and the picturesque are nothing but accessories to what anyone going there should seek or ask of England. If you want picturesque, go to Switzerland; if you long for old buildings, go to Italy, cruise down the Rhine, promenade through the naves of Flanders and Belgium. If you have no fear of plague or the disgusting insects that were in Egypt before Moses' wrath, cross the Mediterranean, travel the banks of the Nile, the Orient, Greece. You may climb up the Pyramids, sitting at the feet of the columns of the Parthenon that Miltiades and Pericles saw. You may

⁵¹ See Note 4.

⁵² It is estimated that there are 25,000 vessels in the port of London every year.

gather a bit of the sacred soil the Scipios trod, that drank the blood of Caesar. If you have to have monumental cities, remain on the Continent and visit the capitals of Germany that their kings have enviably embellished. If you love museums, if you are an idolater of painting and sculpture, set out for the Eternal City, or go see what is left of Murillo in the cathedrals of Spain. If you prefer majestic festivals and solemn ceremonies, take a post-chaise and be at St. Petersburg the day when the emperor reviews his guard, or return to Rome during Holy Week, and you will see the successor of Saint Peter give his blessing to the universe, since this is the most imposing spectacle there is in the entire world.

Those who return satisfied to England must go to visit it as the queen of industry. This person should see *The City* rather than *Regent's Park*, the headquarters of the *India Company* rather than *Windsor Castle*, inform himself at the *Bank* rather than *St. Paul's*, at the *Clearing House* rather than *Somerset Palace*, be busier at the *docks* and the *Commercial House*⁵³ than among the sets of armor at the *Tower*. He would have to introduce himself in the warehouses and the counting houses, and cruise the shops at the summit of genius of Great Britain. He should experience the magnificent hospitality of the English countryside so as to have more time to dedicate to the forges that supply industry with its daily bread, coal⁵⁴ and iron.⁵⁵ It is necessary to rub shoulders with this robust, active working population at least as much as with the more refined society of the salons of the nobility. For me, I have never found anything in London more original and pleasant than the sales establishment in the *Old Change*, where the stores contain twenty times the merchandise of the largest store in Paris, and where there are sales of 45 millions a year, and above all the huge brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Company near London Bridge, of which the distribution and order are even more curious than its vast extent.

I found myself in this brewery on a floor where there were ranged in a file 99 casks of which each has a capacity of 500,000 to 600,000 bottles, and I recalled the famous cask of Heidelberg that I saw some years ago. It is the sole object that is reasonably preserved of the delicious castle of the Counts Palatine, and it receives the faithful visit of all travelers who come to admire this ruin, perhaps the most beautiful of all feudal ruins. What a difference today between old Heidelberg Castle with its one cask and this gigantic factory brewery with its battalion of casks!

The old castle deteriorates; the rich gothic sculptures decay. Vainly a French sketch artist (bizarre coincidence! This sketch artist is another remnant of feudality, an émigré with a zeal worthy of grander quarters, who has been named for some time as guardian and *cicerone* of this fine monument), solicits the government of Baden, which owns the castle, to perform some measures of conservation. Every year there are new disasters from the spring thaws and the storms of autumn. Soon the castle will be an

⁵³ This is an establishment where the samples of all the exotic commodities are gathered. Each merchant there has a small apartment consisting of an antechamber and a room where he keeps his samples. The merchandise itself is on the docks. The sales are made on the basis of the samples and confirmed by the delivery of *warrants* or receipts delivered to the owners of merchandise by the dock companies. The businessmen are thus freed from having storerooms and even offices. Transactions thus take place with admirable rapidity and security (See the work of Monsieur Stephane Flachet, *Canal maritime de Paris à Rouen*, vol. IV, p. 90).

⁵⁴ See Note 5.

⁵⁵ See Note 6.

unformed mass from which are sold cut stones in public sale, and of which nothing will survive but the happily numerous sketches of Monsieur Charles de Graimbert. The hall of knights is lacking a floor; the vaults supporting the superb terrace from which one the view extends long the course of the Neckar and the lovely hills that border it, these vaults damaged by the barrels of gunpowder placed by [François Michel Le Tellier de] Louvois [1641-1691], will fall one day. No one, not even Monsieur Charles de Graimbert, dreams of raising the *split tower* from the midst of the brambles where it rests. As this is happening, the brewing factory expands its building with a new steam engine. And, if some problem arises, such as the fire that recently devoured one aisle, the problem is repaired at once. In the place of the burned building another, more splendid, is rising, where the iron used will largely prevent the future ravages of fire.

The statues of the palatine electors have fallen from their niches; none of the sons of their vassals will take the trouble to put them back. With the brewer, everything is in the best order. Each tool is on its hook, each kettle on its boiler, rubbed and shining. Of the stables of the noble prince nothing remains but ruins; in the brewery stables, rivals of those at Chantilly, where the *grand Condé* hosted dinner for princes, 150 horses, true mounts of Goliath, are the objects of care as delicate perhaps as that surrounding the first electors and their knights. The old cask has been empty for a century and a half; the curious may enter it and measure its sides. Only once did Monsieur Charles de Graimbert see the wine served; it was 1813, for the Emperor Alexander and his allies, the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia. But this was nothing but a pious fraud: the old cask was not full. The wine came from a fake barrel inserted the night before. The 99 barrels of Barclay, Perkins and Company are always full of beer slowly fermenting. The beer that is tapped daily and distributed throughout the United Kingdom and North America, which is sent to East India, would be enough to fill the classic cask of the Palatine Casimir (250,000 liters).

The secret of this contrast is easy to explain: the gross feudal cask only held the product of seigneurial rights while the casks of the brewery are filled by the free efforts of three hundred men who are assured to receive every day the fruit of their labor. The cask of Heidelberg was only emptied for the sole pleasure of the prince or his favorites, while the casks of the brewer have to remedy the thirst of a numerous population that works with energy, reinforced by good salaries, and pays its furnishers well.

The silence and misery of the old castle, opposed to the activity and opulence of the English brewery, is an emblem of the feudal order, as well as the times that produced it, compared to modern power of peace and creative labor. All peoples, insofar as they have the power to transform their virtues as feudal warriors into qualities as workers, or if they are deprived of the energy needed to make themselves this way, can read their coming destiny in the current condition of the flourishing factory or in that of the deserted, decaying castle. Happy are the peoples who, like France and England, have the force to help the past, and who, tranquil in their liberties, have nothing to concern themselves with except the future! Unhappy the people who do not desire or cannot detach themselves from the past! The latter is a used people: it will die of consumption, and nothing will remain but ruins that might be poetic, but will still remain ruins, that is, death and desolation if new blood does not enter its veins, that is at least if it is not conquered like unfortunate Poland.

Note 1 [Vol. 1, Note 1, 1836 edition]

Two railroads from Paris to Versailles

During the last session (1836) the Chambers voted to plan two railroads from Paris to Versailles, one on the right bank, the other on the left bank of the Seine.

Note 2 [Vol. 1, Note 2, 1836 edition]

On Voltaic electricity

It is known that the phenomena due to the motion of electricity were first observed by the physician [Luigi] Galvani [1737-1798] in his experiments on frogs. This discovery, unproductive in the hands of Galvani, who did not understand it, inspired in [Alessandro] Volta [1745-1827] the invention of the electrical instrument known as the Voltaic Pile or battery, which has since been made in a thousand forms and at all scales, from a microscopic dimension to that of the most voluminous apparatus, and which has become an admirable agent of experimentation. Today one considers most chemical phenomena to be accomplished under a Voltaic influence. Monsieur [André Marie] Ampère [1775-1836] has proved, through wise calculations and fine experiments, that all magnetic phenomena are nothing but a product of electricity in motion. In geology, the transformations that enormous masses have undergone in their composition in place, whole countries, could be explained naturally through the influence of electrical currents, for example, the conversion of a considerable portion of the Alps from carbonate and chalk to dolomite. The same cause accounts for a multitude of phenomena of crystallization slowly accomplished in the course of centuries and continuing under our very eyes. Physiologists have only begun to play with Voltaic electricity. They have quasi-resuscitated persons recently executed, they have made cadavers walk and gesticulate. They have even caused them to digest. So they have proved that there are close relationships between Voltaism and vital functions, but they have not determined these connections.⁵⁶ They have furnished irresistible arguments for the use of whomever undertakes to demonstrate that this new fact should regenerate physiology, but they have not begun this regeneration. Voltaism could be regarded as a second vitality, the sole one that can raise the body from the mineral realm, which perhaps dominates in the vegetal world, and which plays a great role in the economy of animals. All the branches of natural history have something to gain from the notion of the polarity of the *couple*.

Note 3 [Vol. 1, Note 3, 1836 edition]

Clearing House in London

Merchants of London, instead of each having one's own cashier, make their payments and receipts through the intermediary of bankers. All financial transactions properly so called are thus concentrated in the hands of bankers, which is a primary and major simplification. The bankers have simplified it again through the institution of the *Clearing House* or bureau of settlement. Here is how it works.

⁵⁶ Monsieur Dr. Donné has established that the external envelope and the interior materials of a human, the skin and mucus, form a Voltaic pile or *couple*, in which the skin is the positive element or acid, and the mucus is negative or base. It is probable that one will discover many similar *couples* in the human organism, and that one may cast light on many functions, for example on all those where a secretion of some sort operates.

In a large hall located in Lombard Street about thirty bookkeepers attached to various bank houses in London take their places on pulpits in alphabetical order around the room. Each bookkeeper has a small open box besides him, and the name of the house to which he is attached is written in large letters on the wall above his head. From time to time, other bookkeepers pertaining to various London houses enter the hall, cross it, and drop in the box of each house the draw orders on it to the profit of their own house. The bookkeeper-banker placed at each box writes the various orders in a book prepared in advance, and he adds the name of the drawer.

The boxes are not opened to receive the orders until four o'clock in the afternoon. Some minutes before the moment the hour sounds, this tranquil hall, offering nothing but the silence of work, commences to come alive. Several bookkeepers arrive, pressed to deposit in the boxes the orders their houses have delivered, up to the last moment,

At four o'clock all the boxes are taken from their place. Each bookkeeper adds up the orders deposited in the box, payable by his own house to the other banking houses. Thus he receives from this same bank another book containing the total of all orders that its bookkeeper has placed in the boxes of all the other bankers. He compares the two sums for each banking house and writes the balance that his house must pay or receive, with the name of each of the bankers in question. He verifies this amount, comparing it with what the bookkeepers of other houses have presented. Finally, he sends to his house the general balance resulting from this calculation and if, according to this general balance, his house owes the others, he pays them, in the form of bank bills.

At five o'clock, the inspector takes his place in his chair. Each bookkeeper who, according to the results of all calculations, must pay a difference to other houses, pays the inspector, who gives him a receipt equal to the sum paid. The bookkeepers of the various houses to which these payments are due receive what is owed from the inspector, who receives from each of them a receipt of equal value. Hence the totality of payments is done by a double system of balance, with only a very small number of bank bills, and very rarely any coin, changing hands.

It is difficult to form an exact evaluation of the sums that pass through this office in a day: it varies from £2 to £15 million (50 to 375 million francs). The average can be £2 1/2 million in bills and £20 in specie. By a convention made between the various banking houses, all orders that bear the name of one of the London houses has to pass through the Clearing House, so that if one of these orders goes astray, the house on which it is drawn will refuse to pay, which is another guarantee for commerce.

If all the banking houses have open accounts with the Bank of England, it will be possible to accomplish all the adjustments with an even smaller amount of currency in circulation.

([Charles] Babbage [1791-1871], *de l'Économie des machines*,
translated by Monsieur Biot, n. 173, 174.

Note 4 [Vol. 1, Note 1, 1836 edition]

Communication between France and England

Communication between France and England is not very active. Through Calais, and it is principally through there that it takes place, it has fallen to 40,000 travelers total counting round trips. In 1835, 950 packet boats entered this port with 15,019 passengers, 485 vehicles and 605 horses. The number of departing packet boats was 924, which

transported 18,161 passengers, 368 vehicles and 66 horses. Adding the 6 or 7000 passengers transported by sail, one finds a total of 40,000 passengers passing through Calais last year.

It is no more than between Le Havre and New York.

Here is the number of emigrants passing from England to Québec and to New York (from 1831 to 1834) according to the data received from America by Mr. Porter of the *Board of Trade* in London.

1831 — 72,872

1832 — 80,029

1833 — 37,852

1834 — 57,473

(*Progress of the Nation*, vol. 1, p. 129)

The largest number of emigrants end up settling in the United States.

Note 5 [Vol. 1, Note 6, 1836 edition]

[Published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 21 November 1833, “Variétés,” pp. 2-3, in a longer form as “On the question of irons,” dated “Stourbridge, Staffordshire, 12 November 1833,” signed “M.”]

Usage of Iron

It is necessary to go to England to appreciate the utility of iron. The necessity in which the English find themselves to use it, in the place of the wood they lack, forces them to make it for a very low price and to apply it to a number of works to which we would not believe one could use it. It is cast iron, iron bars, sheet iron and steel that one finds at every step in entirely new forms: machines, pillars, columns of all dimensions, from small dimensions to four feet in diameter, conduits for water and for gas, decorative borders along the streets, grills, boundaries, bridges, ceilings, roofs, entire anchorages and roads. Without cast iron and irons, these well-aired and well-lit constructions, so light in appearance, but which support enormous weights, like the six floors of warehouses of St. Catherine’s Dock at London, would be heavy, dark bastilles, with heavy posts of wood, of surfaces and buttresses of brick. The gas, which comes from three leagues away, is brought up by cast iron, it is wrought iron that distills it. These propped-up bridges, these elegant footbridges on the canals, between the basins, are cast iron and wrought iron, all like the channeled columns that border *Regent’s Street*.

The present manufacture of England rises to 900,000 tons of cast iron, whether in molds or refined. In France from 1820 to 1833, it was always about 225,000 tons of cast iron. The amount of forged iron obtained in France, including that of the Catalan forges that produce wrought iron directly without being cast, was 150,000 tons a year in the same time. In 1834 we fabricated 269,000 tons of cast iron and 177,000 tons of wrought iron. This increase was sustained in 1835. The common quality of wrought iron, which, in ordinary times, is worth 175 francs a ton, costs almost double with us, 320 francs. For cast iron, the relative difference is about the same.

I do not think that this French inferiority has to last forever. If England is richer than we are in coal, we are much better supplied in minerals, double theirs in quality and quantity. We have believed that progress in our iron industry consisted of imitating English forges. This is an error. We cannot make most of our iron using the English method, that is, from coal, because coal is rare in our territory. All of our considerable

coal mines, with the exception of the Anzin group on our northern frontier, are contained in a triangle that has the line of the Rhône and the Saône as a base, and its summit at the corner of the départements of Lot, Cantal and of La Corrèze. Our best sources of minerals are precisely outside this area, in the center and north of France. It is necessary to continue to exploit them either in whole or in part with charcoal. The improvement of our iron industry will therefore consist of transforming the use of charcoal, which is obviously a barbarous practice.

The high price of iron affects the price of everything else. Improving the manufacture of iron therefore has very extensive economic consequences. The thinking that the government has shown over the last fifteen years to develop our iron industry is very wise. It is to unfortunat that this has been undertaken by means that are only very modestly effective. A prohibitive entry fee is an encouragement that, alone, does not boost production, or moves it very slowly. Twelve years after the Restoration Customs Law, France produces no more iron, and not at a lower price. The current duties on irons weighs down the country with an annual tax of 25 to 30 millions to the benefit of the forge industry. An annual fund of 500,000 francs or of a million, applied to large-scale experiments well conducted would give, according to every indication, entirely different results. A considerably lower cost would be needed to establish and run a large model forge that could also serve as a practical school for the Corps of Mining Engineers. Under the Empire, this Corps had two operations that were destroyed by the events of 1814 and 1815.

Lowering the price of iron could have important consequences for art. Perhaps it would result in nothing less than a revolution in architecture.

Up to our days architecture employs no material but stone, particularly when it concerned permanent works. Stone is endowed with a force of cohesion much lower than iron, and it is not well adapted except to forms already employed by the Egyptians, Romans and Greeks. In the pierced style of the Middle Ages, in the open bell towers, the flying pilasters, the open balustrades, stone was employed against its own nature. These elegant forms, subtle, flowing, vaporous, could not suit any material but one possessing a large force of resistance in a small volume, that is, metal. Note the attempts that have been made in constructions in the Gothic style, such as the Cathedral of Rouen,⁵⁷ and in some German towns.

They have made as much use of stone as is possible to hope. It is not possible to do anything new in architecture without a new material. I believe that wrought iron and cast iron will furnish this element for the regeneration of art. Both of them are low enough in price to replace stone in the construction of bridges. At this moment, to be sure, brute cast iron is very inferior to what is cast in molds, made in England for 90 francs per 1000 kilograms. It is possible that this is not the last word from the masters of forges. At this price, it appears that an entire building could be constructed in cast iron at the same price as a building in cut stone. To appreciate how low this figure is, recall that brute bronze costs thirty times more. I do not pretend to determine what forms architecture will adopt to make use of cast or forged iron as an ordinary material, nor at what point it would be possible and convenient to associate it with marble and stone. I

⁵⁷ Rouen was not a success. The carpentry at the foot was too slight and too open. It is not a tower but a cage.

only wanted to submit an idea to competent persons that I think be worthy of their attention.

The ten piers of the Cubzac Bridge, on the Dordogne, 30 meters high, will be in cast iron.

It is to be regretted that they did not prefer cast iron to bronze for the popular monument of the Bastille.⁵⁸

Note 6 [Vol. 1, Note 5, 1836 edition]

The Extraction of Coal in France, England and Belgium

Coal extracted in England is estimated by Mr. Mac Culloch (*Dictionary of Commerce*) at more than 600,000 tons exported overseas. The evaluations by Mr. Porter causes the figure to rise to nearly 17,700,000 tons, not including what is consumed in the mines; 750,000 tons are transported either to the colonies or overseas. The profound research of Monsieur Le Play, mining engineer, who carefully visited all the coal basins of England, leads him to a much higher figure. One could estimate the production of coal in England at 30,000,000 tons, of which 5,000,000 are consumed by iron mills.

Mr. Mac Culloch estimates the capital engaged in this industry at 250,000,000 francs, and the number of persons employed there at 160-180,000. Other evaluations place this last number at 206,000, of which 121,000 are in the mines.

In 1834 France extracted 2,500,000 tons. The number of workers in the mines is about 18,000. France further imports Belgian and English coal, which elevates the national consumption to 3,200,000 tons.

After England, Belgium is the European land most involved in coal mines. It extracts 3,200,000 tons from the three great basins of Mons, Charleroi and Liège, and from some others less important, of which it consumes three-quarters.

⁵⁸ The bronze of which it is composed is to be paid for at the price of 4 francs a kilogram, or 4,000 francs for 1000 kilograms. The drums, 4 meters in diameter and in one cast, are very lovely pieces. They do great honor to the Fourchambault foundry, where they were cooled, but one could have made it just as well in cast iron for a price five or six times cheaper.

[Published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, “Variétés,” pp. 2-3, “Le chemin de fer de Liverpool,” dated Liverpool, 16 October 1833, signed “M.” Reference to earlier publication of the first two letters by Chevalier in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, Paris, 29 January 1834, p. 1.]

II LIVERPOOL AND ITS RAILROAD

Liverpool, 7 November 1833

I am returning from Manchester by railroad. It is a very fine work. I hardly know what could give as high a concept of the power of mankind. There are impressions that one cannot describe here, such as what one experiences when one feels himself moving at a speed of a half-mile an minute or 12 leagues an hour (that is the speed of our departure from Manchester)⁵⁹ without feeling at all uneasy, and in the most perfect security; for there has been only one serious accident since the railroad has been in service. One passes above the roads, rivers, canals; they pass under us. One connects with other railroads and one over a rather large number of footpaths on the same level, all of it with an ease that marvels. Extreme foresight and the spirit of order, taken in with mother’s milk in England, presides over everything, rendering impossible the collision of the train and shock of the wagons against vehicles coming the other way or with the carts of cultivators. Everywhere there are barriers that open and close automatically, everywhere there are guards at their stations. How many people are there in France to whom this little trip would be grand just as a lesson in order and foresight! Besides, the cut at Mont Olive is really as good as the *Brèche de Roland*. The tunnel at Wapping could be seen as parallel to the grottoes of the valley of Canpan. The road across the Chat Swamp offers, it seems to me, as much interest as the remnants of the most famous Roman roads, even the Via Appia itself. There is found that column serving as the chimney of a steam engine that is not only as elegant, in the same proportions, as perhaps Pompey’s Pillar. Many tourists, those not rendered blasé by the marvels of Switzerland and Italy, find that the bridge at Chester, not on the railroad but not far away, to be worth visiting, even after the Devil’s Bridge. This does not include the thrill of seeing the fragments of burning coke the machine seeds along the route, without submitting to the imagination and persuading one that he is being transported on a chariot of fire, which is of all vehicles the most poetic.

Currently since there is the question of establishing a system of railroads in France, and since it is generally admitted that the execution of this would be impossible without the intervention of the government, an opposition begins to form against the railroad. Some say or will say now that 20, 30, 50 millions added every year to public expenses are a crushing blow, in view of the heavy budgets imposed on France over the last three years. One may respond to them that this would be a productive expenditure, and that the mere growth of receipts from the development of these transactions and consumption will produce for the treasury, by every appearance, a sum at least equal to the interest on the capital that the government has consecrated for its part to the establishment of railroads, and that in the last analysis, if railroads contribute little to the treasury, they will contribute a great deal to the public, which is truly the state. Others object that in the place of pompous enterprises, it would be better to concentrate on

⁵⁹ The average speed is ten leagues an hour: to go 13 leagues takes an hour and 25 minutes, since one stops for a few minutes at Newton, and the speed is reduced on approaching it (see Note 7).

regional roads, whose maintenance is so indispensable for the progress of our agriculture. To these one might respond that, eventually, regional roads are the object of the major concern to the government and to communes. Also, that regional railroads and roads form the extreme ends, equally essential, of a series of arteries of transport, and that it is no more a question of sacrificing regional roads to the railroads than it is of giving up railroads for regional roads. In France there are enough arms to take over the establishment of our local communications, the achievement of our system of interior navigation and the construction of the main lines of railroads. These works, as gigantic as they seem, do not demand two hundred thousand men to be carried out. During the winter, the country population is inactive, and everywhere they work to help local roads. Two hundred thousand men are not even half of our army. It is further clear that France produces plenty of bread to feed these workers, and enough cloth to clothe them, which goes to show that it possesses sufficient capital to support this colossal enterprise. It only lacks one thing, which is the will.

Finally, there is the class of excessively prudent men, of whom it may be said that in the system of gears whose play produces social movement, they support stopping the machine itself. They say that it is important not to start anything, and that it is wise to wait before building railroads, that this will be a subject that will clarify through long practice, and that we will profit by the experiences of other nations. They continually cite the efforts made over the years in England, and of which each day they promise infallible success for the next day, whose end is to apply steam to cars for ordinary roads, whose operation will render the expensive construction of railroads superfluous. Without doubt railroads, like any other innovation, are destined to experience many improvements, but they will always be very expensive. And as other nations continue to produce *schools* in the manner of the railroad from Manchester to Liverpool⁶⁰ while we sit with crossed arms as observers, we end up at the end of the line in Europe, at least in industrial and commercial reputation.

So far as the steam vehicles of Mr. Gurney, Mr. Dance and all the others, it is not to be hoped that they will supply the means to avoid the expense of machines that, on roads as perfectly kept as those of England, could replace horses. But on a road, such as it is, and such as is the motor used, machine or horse, to obtain high speed, such as ten leagues an hour, it is absolutely necessary to reduce the grade by cutting mountains and crossing valleys with the aid of bridges or high roads, exactly as one does with railroads. Further, this high speed forbids free access. It demands that one avoids crossings at the level of these frequented routes, and that they should cross over or under by tunnels or bridges. In this system, one would have all the inconvenience and all the needs of a railroad. One would have practically all the costs, since what costs the most on a railroad are the works of terracing and cutting, the construction of bridges and viaducts. The

⁶⁰ It is certain that this railroad is very expensive to build and that in construction it has developed some amount of luxury. But even though Mr. Stephenson spent 2 or 3 millions more than the sum rigorously necessary, he still had the immense merit of having been the first to have been aware and rendered palpable to the whole world what could be derived from railroads, previously consecrated exclusively to the transportation of merchandise. The dividends, besides, are very large. Shares originally sold for £100 now cost £210.

price of iron for rails is not even a third of the cost.⁶¹ One also has the same cost of surveying.

Very well, once the road is planed down and made flat, one would still improve it by putting *rails*⁶² on it, that is make it a complete railway for little, so that the mass of transport is of some importance. This is because on a paved macadamized road the force necessary for locomotion is ten times greater than on a road superimposed with a band of iron. That is to say, that one horse on a road so altered can transport the same weight as ten horses on an ordinary road. The use of the new steam cars can never render the same services as railways, and they can never replace them on the large lines.

What is happening in England proves this clearly. At the same time that the new steam cars are preparing one regular service, railroad companies are already operating or organizing everywhere. One sees under construction one, or rather two roads being constructed joining Manchester and London through Birmingham. Their combined length is 78 leagues. While the new car is being tried on the route from Birmingham to London, the shares for the railroad that is to unite the two cities may be bought for no less than 100 francs, with a repayment value of 250 francs. Another very serious company, of which Mr. Brunel, Jr., is the engineer, intends to undertake the line from London to Bath and to Bristol, with a length of 46 leagues. There is a company to go from London to Southampton, like going to Paris via Le Havre, another to go from London to Brighton, like a route from Paris via Dieppe. One wants to join London and Windsor, London and Greenwich.⁶³ And it is not that the invention of Mr. Gurney or Mr. Dance is ignored or that one disdains it; on the contrary, it wins all the prizes! Journals are full of it; it even excites a certain enthusiasm. In this country, where it is admitted in principle that every service is worth trying, I see that a few days ago, on the route from London to Birmingham, in place after place, casks of water were placed by the inhabitants *gratis* to supply the machine. Unfortunately, the machine failed their expectations that day. It lost the race; it will arrive much later.

The railway from Manchester to Liverpool owes its striking success to the perfect solidarity that joins the destinies of these two cities. It is impossible to see a division of labor more radically established. Manchester, with its region eight or ten leagues around, is one vast workshop. Liverpool manufactures nothing; it sells what its neighbors have produced. Liverpool is not what the travel guide of the place proclaims as another Venice, lined up along canals. Rather, it is a counting house, nothing but a counting house — but a vast counting house — the best organized in the universe. All its business is done in a space less extended than the *Place du Carrousel*, which includes the fine edifice of the exchange, the city hall and all the offices.⁶⁴ In the evening, everything is settled by four or five o'clock. Everyone closes his cell (the offices merit this name) and returns to his house in the city or even in the countryside, since there are many homes on

⁶¹ In a two-track route, supposing the iron and the foundation to be more expensive than they are now in France, the expense for the rails and their pads should be 250,000 francs per league, with the total cost per league being around 800,000 francs. In the prices obtaining in England, it would be half of that.

⁶² Raised bands of iron on which the wheels are supported.

⁶³ See Note 8.

⁶⁴ To give an idea of the mass of business contracted in this restricted space, it is enough to say that recently ground-floor land was sold for 10,000 francs per square *toise* [fathom]. I do not know of any quarter of Paris where the land is sold for half this price (see Note 9).

the other side of the Mersey. Liverpool and Manchester have double and triple belts of canals: the canal of the Duke of Bridgewater, the canal from Leeds to Liverpool, those of Sankey, Leigh, Bolton and Bury, of Mersey and Irwell, not counting the little rivers that form noble bays at their mouths, and which are small water routes that are yet more regularly navigable than our superb rivers, the Irwell, the Mersey, the Weaver, and the service of this navigation is conducted with a speed unknown in France. Since the peace, the prosperity of these two cities has risen so much that ten years ago, these means of transportation, together with a splendid road, proved insufficient. The counting house and the factory wanted to draw nearer. On 20 May 1824 a declaration signed by 150 businessmen confirmed the need for new routes, and a railroad was called for. Works began in June 1826, and on 15 September 1830⁶⁵ it was solemnly opened. One knows by what act of fate Mr. Huskisson, representative of Liverpool and commerce minister, perished during this ceremony. They have now completed a tunnel of nearly a half-league that conducts the railroad to the center of Liverpool, costing four millions.

The principal commerce of England, in which it knows no rival, and which opens to it all the ports of the world, consists of cotton goods of all natures. The total value of agricultural exports of the United Kingdom has risen regularly over the last ten years⁶⁶ to 900 or 920 million francs.⁶⁷ Cotton goods make up 429 to 450 millions, and the largest part of these English cotton goods are fabricated in Manchester or its environs.⁶⁸ This fact alone explains the commercial importance of the port of Liverpool.⁶⁹ It is to be added that Liverpool is close to the foundries and forges of Staffordshire and Shropshire, factories of all kinds of Birmingham and Sheffield. Whoever traces the 53rd degree of latitude in England touches his hand to both the western and eastern coasts, which is the center of relations between Ireland and Great Britain. He touches at once Scotland and Wales. It is the general residence of English steamboats, and you would conceive that Liverpool is the seat of a gigantic commerce that does not take a second seat to London's. Eleven thousand ships, representing 1,400,000 tons, come every year to take their places in the nine basins. Two fifths of English exports take place through Liverpool. More than a fifth of the product of the British customs is raised there (near to 100 millions, that is, equal to the revenue of all French customs). Since the revision of the charter of the India Company, businessmen of Liverpool hope to capture a large part of the commerce of Asia, which hitherto took place exclusively through London. They pretend to nothing less than to equal the commerce of their capital, and it must be agreed that they are on their way.

⁶⁵ The rapid completion of a railroad depends principally on the availability of capital. The railway company from London to Birmingham reports completing 47 leagues with a delay of four years, that is in 1837. Parliament accorded it only five.

⁶⁶ One must not conclude from this that English commerce is stationary. The mass of imported objects grows continually, but the prices fall in almost the same proportion, producing an apparent equilibrium.

⁶⁷ France currently passes half of this figure (see Note 10).

⁶⁸ From 1801 to 1831, the population of the county of Lancaster, where Liverpool and Manchester are located, rose from 672,731 inhabitants to 1,336,854, in other words doubled. The growth of the whole population of the United Kingdom in the same period was 50 percent.

⁶⁹ From 5 December 1830 to 5 January 1831 the value of cotton goods exported from Liverpool rose to 37,500,000 francs.

Following along with the series of developments of Liverpool, Manchester and every other English city, one easily recognizes a fact that is a good augury for the France of 1830: a people does not commit itself with ardor and commercial and manufacturing success until it feels itself freed of every political or religious despotism. But once confirmed on this point, it moves rapidly and well along the industrial path. Just as England felt itself restricted by its franchises or in belief, it was possessed by a fixed idea to overthrow the obstacle and cause it to bend and break. Once freed of this concern, it industrialized as no people had ever done. At the beginning of last century, after the expulsion of the Stuarts, Liverpool had no more than five thousand inhabitants, without any commerce other than some coastwise trade, while some bourgeois sought to compete with Bristol, which had the monopoly on commerce with the West Indies. Bristol transported striped and checked stuffs made in Germany and the products of the fisheries of the North Sea to America. The bourgeois of Liverpool tried cargoes of Scottish cloth, but the Scottish goods were of inferior quality. Manchester saved them. There were already some manufacturers who imitated and surpassed German cloths. Supplied with these products, Liverpool businessmen competed profitably against the businessmen of Bristol. This is the origin of the increasingly tight solidarity that unites Liverpool and Manchester. Contraband trade with the Spanish colonies as well as trade in Blacks, an enterprise in competition with Bristol, consequently continued to enrich both Liverpool and Manchester. In 1764, while Bristol armed 32 vessels for Africa and 74 for America, Liverpool sent 105 and 141 ships to the same respective destinations. In the same year the port of Liverpool received 1,589 ships, while only 675 arrived in Bristol. Today Bristol is only a secondary port compared to Liverpool. It is not that Bristol has fallen: on the contrary, it is an opulent city that has withdrawn from commerce for perhaps half a century, but, in the midst of general progress, Liverpool has advanced to the lead. The count there is 180,000 residents, not counting visitors and sailors, and 225,000 including the suburbs. This town, that at the time of the siege of Calais, when Edward III gathered all the forces of England,⁷⁰ could barely supply one bark manned by six men, in 1829 possesses 806 ships in a port totaling 161,780 tons, manned by crews of 9,091.⁷¹ During the wars of the French Revolution, it was able to do its part in the taxes imposed on England, and annually spent 880,000 francs in construction and public embellishment. In addition, it voluntarily supplied a cavalry squadron and eight infantry companies at its own expense in 1797. In 1798 a regiment of volunteers and a sum of 425,000 francs in 1798; in 1803, when Napoleon menaced England with invasion, two infantry regiments and 600 artillerists. At the same time a mass of establishments of public utility and charity was raised by subscription. It is at this time that the Exchange was built that cost almost three million. This creation was the work of one century. Immediately after the revolution, James II was barely at Saint-Germain when the first dock at Liverpool was opened. Thirty years later, the Mersey and the Irwell were canalized. It was the same throughout all England. One must not abuse these historical comparisons, but at least when one closes his eyes, it is impossible not to see a striking analogy between the situation of England after the fall of the Stuarts and that of France since 1830. With both peoples, it is a profound security in their liberties, an intimate conviction that this is a

⁷⁰ Edward's fleet had no fewer than 700 sail; it was manned by 14,151 sailors.

⁷¹ See Note 11.

definitive conquest that neither the government nor any religious corporation can alter. It is the same desire to see political improvements translate themselves into material and palpable improvements, and the same good will in the government to declare and realize this desire.

The ancient dynasties of France and England have fallen more for having wished to give political influence to the clergy, which would have been a negation of Christianity, than for having attempted to restore feudalism with its brutality and demands. This is because the fallen princes were neither violent nor greedy. It means a great deal that the English revolution has not produced irreligion: Liverpool offers a proof of this, which is not to say that it reflects today what England was in the sixteenth century, or the fourteenth, or what it was in the eighteenth century, but what it is today. There is no town in France that has as many churches as Liverpool: there are thirty-seven of the Church of England, not counting the forty-three churches, temples or chapels of diverse dissident cults, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Methodists, Unitarians, Quakers, Jews, and Catholics. These last have five chapels. The construction of most of the Anglican churches does not date before 1750, and many, almost half, come after 1800. I have a list right here, and I see the dates: 1803, 1810, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1815, 1815, 1816, 1821, 1826, 1826, 1827, 1827, 1830 and 1831. Is it necessary to believe that by analogy that as France becomes richer through work it will return to religious belief? I believe and hope. Today we are far from the times when atheism was in good taste in France. But it is certain that it is not to the flag of Anglicanism or any other Protestant sect that France will rally. It needs a more pompous and solemn cult.

Note 7 [Not in the 1836 edition]

On Speed on Railroads

This speed has certainly been exceeded on English railroads. I learned from a person worthy of belief who visited England in 1836 that, on the route from Newcastle to Carlisle, at times they traveled at a speed of 24 leagues an hour.

Note 8 [Not in the 1836 edition]

Railroads in England

Here, according to the latest information published in England, the state of railroads that were completed or under construction at the beginning of 1836.

COMPLETED RAILROADS

Designation	Length In leagues/4 km.	Cost francs
From Balton, Kenyon, Leigh	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,750,000
Canterbury to Withstable	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	750,000
Carlisle to Newcastle	24 $\frac{1}{4}$	13,500,000
Cromford to High Peak	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,500,000
Leeds to Selby	8	8,750,000
Leicester to Swannington	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,375,000
Liverpool to Manchester	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	30,000,000

Stockton to Darlington	15	5,000,000
Whitby to Pickering	$6 \frac{3}{4}$	3,000,000
	<hr/>	
	$93 \frac{1}{4}$	72,625,000

To which must be joined the following railroads for which I do not know the cost:

Railroads from Clarence	12
Dublin to Kingston	$2 \frac{1}{2}$
Area of Glasgow	14
Various lines	<u>20</u>
	$48 \frac{1}{2}$
Total of completed railroads	$141 \frac{3}{4}$ leagues

RAILROADS IN CONSTRUCTION

Designation	Length In leagues/4 km.	Cost francs
London to Bristol	$45 \frac{3}{4}$	62,500,000
Birmingham to Manchester	33	27,500,000
London to Birmingham	$44 \frac{3}{4}$	62,500,000
London to Greenwich	$1 \frac{1}{2}$	10,000,000
London to Southampton	$30 \frac{1}{4}$	37,500,000
North-Union	$8 \frac{1}{2}$	12,500,000
Preston to Wyre	$7 \frac{3}{4}$	<u>3,250,000</u>
	$171 \frac{1}{2}$	215,750,000

The total of railroads completed or under construction is $313 \frac{1}{4}$ leagues.

The bill for the Bristol railroad was only voted last year. The other railroads above have been in construction for two, three or four years, and are expected to be completed in 1837.

The railroads projected are about forty in number. Many are very extensive; the capital necessary to their construction, according to acts submitted to Parliament, will amount to £26,000,000, or 650,000,000 francs.

Note 9 [Not in the 1836 edition]

Price of land for building

In rue Richelieu and rue Saint-Honoré, the price per square *toise* [fathom] is from 1500 to 2000 francs; from 1000 to 1200 francs for rue Lafitte, in the rue de Londres, Tivoli Quarter, from 500 to 600 francs; near la Madeleine, from 800 to 1000 francs. In the old rue Vivienne, there was a forced sale at 1500 francs; in the rue Vivienne, land has mounted to 2500, 3000 and even 3500 francs.

At Philadelphia, in the best locations on Market Street, land is worth 3000 to 4000 francs a *toise*.

In New York, on Wall Street, in 1834, it was worth about 4000 francs.

Note 10 [Note 7b, Vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Table
of the value of exports of native products from France, England and the
United States, from 1820 to 1835

Years	France Francs	England Francs	United States Francs
1820	545,100,000	910,600,000	275,400,000
1821	450,700,000	917,500,000	232,700,000
1822	427,600,000	925,000,000	265,800,000
1823	427,100,000	890,000,000	251,300,000
1824	505,800,000	960,000,000	269,900,000
1825	543,800,000	972,500,000	356,800,000
1826	461,000,000	787,500,000	282,700,000
1827	506,800,000	930,000,000	314,000,000
1828	511,200,000	920,000,000	270,000,000
1829	504,200,000	895,000,000	296,800,000
1830	452,900,000	955,000,000	316,900,000
1831	455,500,000	930,000,000	326,600,000
1832	507,400,000	910,000,000	336,500,000
1833	559,400,000	992,500,000	374,700,000
1834	509,300,000	1,041,000,000	432,100,000
1835	577,400,000	1,184,200,000	539,700,000

England exports nearly as much of products of its own manufacture and of other origins.

The United States exports principally the products of its own soil. Raw cotton forms half the value of its exports, just as manufactured cottons form the majority of that of Great Britain. Agriculture furnishes three quarters or four fifths of their indigenous exports; manufactures are a tenth of that.

The native exports of France consist to an extent of two thirds of manufactured products, and a bit less than a third of natural products.

Note 11 [Note 8, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the Merchant Marine

Here, according to the official documents, is the tonnage of ships pertaining to the various English, American and French ports:⁷²

Ports	Nations	Tonnage
London	England	572,833
New York	United States	298,832
Newcastle ⁷³	England	202,379
Boston ⁷⁴	United States	171,045

⁷² This information is for France in 1834, for the United States in 1832, and for England in 1829, when there was a new census of the merchant marine.

⁷³ The tonnage of this port is almost entirely engaged in hauling coal, in coastwise shipping.

Liverpool	England	161,780
Sunderland	England	107,628
Philadelphia	United States	77,103
White Haven	England	72,967
Hull	England	72,248
New Bedford	United States	70,550
Bordeaux	France	69,690
Marseille	France	68,314
Le Havre	France	68,070
New Orleans	United States	61,171
Nantes	France	51,528
Bristol	England	49,535
Portland	United States	47,942
Baltimore	United States	47,129

To make the comparison more conclusive, it would be proper to add about a quarter to English and American tonnage due to the different modes of measurement. The French method gives more exact results, but it turns to the disadvantage of our commerce, since it makes us pay customs on more tonnage. By the law of 1836, French administration was allowed to substitute the old mode that is less mathematical, but more favorable to our captains.

One should not judge the extent of the commerce of our ports by the tonnage of the ships that pertain to them, since foreign vessels carry much of our external commerce. In 1835, of 1,824,000 tons representing ships charges for entry or departure for foreign commerce, not including fishing and colonies, 573,000 or only 31 percent were part of the French merchant marine. In this regard we fall more and more behind. In 1820, of 1,233,000 tons the French merchant marine counted for 469,000 or 38 percent.

In 1834, of 5,025,000 tons forming the capacity of loaded ships that entered the ports of the British Isles, or departed them, 3,748,000 or 75 percent were English.

In the United States from 1817 to 1830, foreign ships formed less than 15 percent of tonnage of exterior commerce. In 1831, they formed 26 percent, and in 1832 30 percent; this left to the national fleet a proportion of 70 percent.

We are therefore, in the case of navigation, deplorably inferior. This state of things, which gets worse every day, demands a prompt remedy.

In 1832, the total tonnage of the French merchant marine was

	670,000 tons
that of the English merchant marine ⁷⁵	2,225,000
that of the American merchant marine	1,440,000

For France and for England, the figure for tonnage varies little from year to year, although it tends to rise. The rise is more considerable for the United States. In 1834 the tonnage of this last land was 1,759,000 tons.

⁷⁴ The ships of Boston take up the commerce of various other ports, notably of New York and New Orleans. The commerce of New Orleans is considerably larger than the tonnage tends to indicate.

⁷⁵ Including all English possessions in Europe, except Hanover.

The total movement of ports of each of the three countries, entry and exit combined, is as follows, counting only loaded vessels:

	Exterior commerce ⁷⁶	Total commerce
France (1834)	2,132,000	6,571,000
England (1834)	5,025,000	25,223,000
United States	2,700,000	

It must be commented that all the commerce between England and the United States takes place by sea. A great part of French commerce takes place over land. In 1834, of 715 millions of exportations composing general commerce, 217 or 30 percent of the total was over land. The proportion is the same for imports. The use of coal for all domestic purposes in Great Britain gives place for an immense navigation that could not occur here. Mr. Marshall estimates that in 1832 the tonnage of ships loaded with coal entering the port of London, counting all the voyages of each one, was 2,150,000 tons⁷⁷, which, figuring eight voyages a year, supposes an effective tonnage of 268,000 tons.

⁷⁶ Including foreign commerce, colonies and fishing.

⁷⁷ *Digest of the commerce, etc., of the British Empire.*

[First published without title or notes in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*. Paris, 29 January 1834, pp. 1-2, with a prefatory note from “MC “ dated New York, 3 January 1834. He remarks that he arrived in New York on 22 December 1833 after a rough crossing from Liverpool. He found the country in a state of “ferment” (*émoi*). “I will keep you abreast of events from here and from Washington.”]

[Chevalier wrote a long essay on Jackson in *Revue des deux mondes*, 4th series, vol. 8 (October – December 1838), pp. 129-62, “Présidence du général Jackson et choix de son successeur” (“The Presidency of General Jackson and the Choice of his Successor”)[http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Pr%C3%A9sidence_du_g%C3%A9n%C3%A9ral_Jackson_et_choix_de_son_successeur].

III

THE WAR OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE BANK

New York, 1 January 1834

This country is suffering currently from an industrial crisis that has also taken on a political character and is very serious, since the industrial interest is first of all here. Last year, after problems raised over the customs rates⁷⁸ between the Southern states and Northern states were settled, the wise men of the country rendered thanks to Providence that the danger that had menaced the country had been happily dissipated. It seemed to them that henceforth nothing could stand in the way of the United States resuming its fruitful career of conquering nature rapidly and with ever-increasing success. A series of causes seemingly of little importance has changed their hopes into horror.

Incidents of little significance have reanimated old quarrels between the Democratic Party, to which the current president belongs, and the Bank of the United States.⁷⁹ Each side is aggravated with the other. President Jackson, an assertive man, zealous for the well being of his homeland, but too prompt to respond to those contradicting him, has declared a war to the death with the Bank. And he makes this war from start to finish, like he did with the English and the Indians twenty years ago. He has imposed his veto on the act by which the two houses of Congress renewed the Bank’s charter,⁸⁰ which expires in three years. Not satisfied with having struck the Bank’s future, he proceeds to deliver it an immediate blow by withdrawing the government’s funds placed with them by virtue of its charter, giving it the unique means to extend its operations, for the surplus over its services does not rise to more than \$ ten million (53 million francs).⁸¹ The Bank, which has to pay, by the terms of its charter, \$1,500,000 (8 million francs) for the right to be the deposit for treasury funds, emitted loud cries, and these complaints are justified, since no one can deny that it is the most solvent in the

⁷⁸ See Note 12.

⁷⁹ See Note 13.

⁸⁰ “Charter” is the name given in England and the United States to legislative acts that authorize corporations analogous to our *sociétés anonymes*.

⁸¹ The dollar is nothing other than the Spanish piaster of an ounce of silver, Castilian weight, with a content of $\frac{11}{12}$, which was once the currency of almost the entire world, and which is still the most sought-after in Asia and Africa. The piaster is worth 5 francs 43 centimes, and the usual exchange rate is 5 francs 33 centimes.

entire Union. It has restrained its accounts, since the withdrawal of the funds of the government reduces the sum of cash in its vaults, and also they say, whether rightly or wrongly, because of its existence being gravely menaced by the president's veto. It is thus prudent that it holds its reserve and even prepares in advance for liquidation. Since it is the one setting the tone in the financial world, the other banks, those to which the public deposits were transferred, are in turn obligated to restrain their own operations. Not only do they not dare to extend their accounts due to the treasury funds they could receive in the place of the Bank of the United States, since they are not certain to keep them, but they even reduce them because they find that, due to the favor received for these deposits, they enter into a state of hostility with the Bank of the United States. And with such an adversary it is best if they keep their guard up. As a result, the sources of credit dry up immediately. This is because credit is the primary element in the prosperity of the United States: they live on credit. Without credit, its populous cities that sprout up on all the coasts as if by enchantment, these rich states found far from the Atlantic, to the west of the Alleghenies, along the Ohio and the Mississippi, will again become nothing but deserted places, savage forests and bottomless swamps. The city of New York alone has twenty banks. The average annual size of accounts that were made over the last eight years is \$100 million or 533 million francs. In Paris, where there are certainly many more transactions in the Bank of France than in New York, the total of accounts was 223 millions in 1831, 151 millions in 1832.⁸² In Philadelphia in 1831 the total bank of accounts was 800 millions. A general fall of credit, for however long it lasts, is more frightening here than the most dreadful earthquake.

If I were not afraid of lengthening this letter beyond measure, I could trace here some details on the conflict that has already taken place between the two sides, their tactics or their defeats within and outside the Congress, on the addresses of Mr. [Henry] Clay [1777-1852, Senator from Kentucky] and on the stunning reply of General Jackson. For it is not just his own hatred that he expresses: it is obvious after the latest elections that, in keeping with the law adopted in almost all of the states, on a basis of the principle of universal suffrage, the numerical majority of the population at this moment is opposed to the Bank.

North Americans have used and abused institutions of credit since the time of English domination. Once they had conquered their independence, they became more daring in their enterprises, more confident, or if you will rash, in their speculations. They had a very great need of credit. Banks multiplied, and many abuses were introduced. The legislators of various states⁸³ showed themselves extremely flexible toward whoever demanded authorization to found a bank. In this relationship they have never changed their habits. Even when they fix a few restrictive conditions, they have no means of verifying or overseeing conscientious execution. Thus it often comes to pass that banks issue masses of bills utterly out of proportion with their actual capital. It was not just

⁸² The *maximum* of accounts of the Bank of France took place in 1810. It rose then to 715 millions. It was 640 millions in 1813, 689 in 1826; in these two circumstances the Bank has made great efforts to sustain commerce. It has not shown the same courage during the crisis of 1831-32.

⁸³ Each of the states of the Union being sovereign at the same time that it is a member of the Union, local legislatures have the power to pass laws authorizing local or state banks. The Bank of the United States exercises its privilege on the territory of the entire Union, receiving its charter or act of authorization from the federal legislature, that is, Congress. (See Note 14.)

twice or two and a half times, but ten times, twenty times the value of their cash and other positive assets. Rather often the founders elect themselves bank directors that they are authorized to create, discounting all paper other than their own, or they often loan themselves the totality of the paper money of the bank on a simple deposit of the shares of the aforementioned bank. It is an ingenious process of the first order to mint money with value without ingots of gold or silver. Sometimes the disorder of administration was such in banking companies that one sees employees, using their private authority, opening credits to themselves and having their friends participate in this favor. It is thus that it was discovered one fine day at the City Bank of Baltimore that the cashier had lent himself \$166,548. He had bestowed a credit of \$185,382 on one of his friends. All the other employees, except for the bookkeeper and the cashier boy, had done the same.

Banks abuse their facility to issue bills, that is, to lend, and some abuse that of the borrower. This is the source of mad speculations, leading to losses for the loaner and the borrower. Banks dissimulate theirs by new issues of paper, the customers by new loans. But from one party to the other, they pull back only to jump better. There are many bankruptcies of speculators, and some bankruptcies of banks. They excite public indignation without correcting anyone. Honest, modest workers, cultivators and workers (*farmers*⁸⁴ and *mechanics*) who find themselves, in the last analysis, dupes of stock jobbers by depreciation of paper money that they have accepted as valid currency, assuming a part of the losses without having participated in the benefits, that is, in dividends, and they conceive a violent hatred of the *banking system*. Joining with this special cause of antipathy is that aversion that one finds in Europe and everywhere among men of simple habits, gaining little by little through rude labor, but regularly gaining, against those who are impatient to make a fortune, which they do by all means, only to waste it through wild luxury and foolish enterprises more quickly than they had acquired it. They now have the jealousy of simplicity against cunning, of bluntness against finesse, of a slow, heavy intelligence against another's insight. There is finally this hateful defiance against every influence that lifts itself, against every power that aspires to take root, a defiance that is essential to the American, and which is the origin, the expectation and the safeguard of his republican institutions. Briefly, in 1811, when the old Bank of the United States, an institution much smaller than the current bank, demanded the renewal of its charter, there was an appeal to the *farmers* and to *mechanics*; they evoked in their presence, as one does today, the phantom of this *new aristocracy, the worst of all, the aristocracy of money*. The renewal of the charter was rejected.

Shortly thereafter, in 1812, war broke out between the United States and England. The natural effect of the war was to reduce confidence, rendering merchants more timid, speculators more prudent. Most banks that had lent without circumspection during good times were now suddenly unable to satisfy demands for specie that came from the public. They solicited and received from their respective legislatures the faculty to suspend payment in coin. Their bills could not be exchanged for specie.

With the peace in 1815, banks were unable to resume payments in specie. The regime of paper money continued. It is figured that there were altogether 246⁸⁵ varieties of paper money in circulation, all with unequal value according to the more or less

⁸⁴ Americans have reserved the English word of *farmer*, which literally means renter, although with them the cultivator is the owner of the soil he converts into value.

⁸⁵ This is the number of banks that existed then.

passable reputation of the bank that issued it. This one had lost 20 percent, that one 30 percent, the others 50 percent of their value. Gold and silver had completely disappeared. There was no longer any way to set prices or value. The mass of bills in circulation had grown without measure.⁸⁶ In addition to paper money, banks have added a mass of small obligations of yet worse standing than what they issue hither and thither for particular matters. These pass from hand to hand in their neighborhood. It is an appalling confusion, a Babel, where every transaction is impossible for lack of a means to extend itself.

One sensed that there was need for a regulating power capable of commanding confidence to reestablish order to this chaos, both in the form of funds to revive payment in specie and, in necessity, the authority to call local banks to do their duty at all times. The present Bank of the United States was authorized by Congress for twenty years in 1816, with a capital of \$35 million (187 million francs). It began operations on 1 January 1817. Its chief seat is at Philadelphia; it has twenty-five branches on the territory of the Union.

Through its intervention, and with its support, payment in specie was resumed starting on 20 February 1817 at banks in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond and Norfolk. Little by little, step by step, all the banks in the Union had to take the same tack. This resumption of payments in specie was, for the banks first of all, and for individuals in turn, the signal, occasion and order for a liquidation of the past. Since there had been much prodigality, unfortunate speculations, and dry losses successively accumulated over twenty years, this had to be a debacle, and it was one. A great number of banks failed or totally suspended operations. From 1814 to 1830, 165 banks were found in one or the other category.

This liquidation lasted three years, three years of crisis, three years of torture for industry, which is to say for the American people, since this nation is identified with commerce. The misfortunes of this epoch left profound memories. The hatred for speculators and for the banking system was engraved on the heart of the masses, and today it rises against the Bank of the United States that, in the eyes of the greater number, represents the system, although it is innocent of the evil and it alone has the power to prevent a return.

The antipathy of the majority against banks has a reason to exist, but it is still blind and unjust. They only count the abuses and close their eyes so as not to see the good. The extreme extension of credit arising from the multiplicity of banks and their freedom of action profited everyone, the *farmers* and *mechanics* as well as the large-scale traders. Banks served Americans as a lever to create for them, to the profit of all classes, the agriculture and industry of Europe and to cover their soil with roads, canals, mills, temples and, in one word, everything that constitutes civilization. Without banks, the cultivator would have neither the first advances nor the tools needed to clear his farm, and even if the credit system permitted speculators to pull tricks, it also permitted him, indirectly (to say the truth), to buy land for one, two or three dollars an acre⁸⁷ and to put to use soil that, in his hands, with him as cultivator, increased its value tenfold or a hundredfold. The *mechanics* that accuse the *banking system* forget that they owe to it the

⁸⁶ In 1816, there was at times more paper money in circulation than in 1834, with business otherwise overextended.

⁸⁷ Five acres is equivalent to two hectares.

industrial activity that lifts their salary from six to ten francs a day. They forget that it is what furnishes them with the means, of which many of them profit, to rise up to comfort or riches, for here every man is an entrepreneur, presenting moral guarantees, who is sure of finding credit, and from that point it only depends on him to find a fortune.⁸⁸

At the end of 1819 commerce revived, and the financial system of the United States appeared to be saved. Since then, in 1822, there were some shortages. In 1825 there was a reaction to the English crisis, but in both cases the storm soon passed. The radical evil was cured the day the Bank of the United States was definitively constituted. This great institution that, at its beginning, committed some errors and paid its penalties, has operated for a long time with consummate prudence. The majority of the commercial notables, that is, the leaders of the country, are attached to it as directors. As correspondents or investors overseas it has bankers whose credit is the most solidly established, the Baring house in London, the Hottinguer house in Paris. It exercises an indispensable control over all the local banks. It obliges them to control their emissions by demanding payment in specie or by refusing their bills whenever it judges them overextended. It is through the Bank that the system of circulation⁸⁹ of the United States has been so largely extended in the last years, so that in 1831 the banks properly so-called were able to open a mass of accounts that, in the principal cities of the Union, achieved the figure of 4,300,000,000 francs and which is supposed to be over six billion for the whole Union.

And now at one blow this prosperous situation appears about to evaporate. Here, in New York, bankers have ceased their advances. They no longer want to deposit good paper with two or three months to run, in many cases without a discount of 15, 18, 24 % per year (the rate of the Bank of the United States and most local banks is 6 %). At Philadelphia, one trades excellent values with a short due date with a discount of 18 % per year. In Boston, businessmen who are behind their affairs by 1,000,000 francs and more are obliged to suspend payments. No one is buying any more, and no one wants to sell any more. Orders for foreign manufactures have ceased. As with everything in business, this state of affairs compromises all interests, menaces all existences. It is the subject of all conversations, all writing, all preoccupations.

God willing, the sight of danger approaching will cause passions to calm and the common sense of the population to do justice to prejudice without foundation and vain terrors! God willing, one part and the other will forget their complaints and think only of the well-being of the country. We French must desire this not only due to the interest that attaches to the destinies of a great nation, but also because our factories, silk weavers, and wine producers will pay a portion of the cost of this campaign against banks in general, that the radical party will commence through a duel to the death against the Bank of the United States.

⁸⁸ The *mechanic* or the *farmer* have no open credit with banks, but the merchants, from whom they buy their tools, first supplies and provisions, by having it, do present them with the best of terms and accord them long delays. Despite enjoying bank credit only at the second or third hand, the *farmer* and the *mechanic* still participates in it.

⁸⁹ The English use the word *currency* to designate the whole of means employed as tender in transactions. This has a larger and more precise sense than that of a *representative sign*. That is what they want to describe by the *system of circulation*.

Note 12 [Note 9, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

The Nullification Affair

The states of the South are exclusively agricultural. The states of the North, near the coast, contain almost all the manufactures of the Union. There they manufacture stuffs of linen and cotton, draperies, leathers, boots, furniture, etc. To protect these manufactures against English competition, and also to create public revenue, various increasingly restrictive laws were passed in 1816, 1818, 1824 and 1828. These established the tariffs that, except for some articles principally of linen or cotton and for iron, were generally below 40 percent. In 1852, as a result of complaints of the Southern states, the tariff of customs was revised, but the modifications were insignificant, and the claims of the South became more dramatic than before. In October, 1832, the legislature of South Carolina called a convention of delegates of people from the state for 3 November of the same year to remove a part of the laws of Congress concerning customs, as well as those of the same nature that might be made in the future that the federal government could enact to make them to be observed. On 19 November, this same convention passed an ordinance by a majority of 136 votes to 26 that was to take effect after 1 February 1833 if the Congress had not reduced the tariff, saying that the various laws of Congress on customs, particularly those of 19 May 1828 and 14 July 1832, not being authorized by the constitution, violated its spirit, and as a result were null and void. To support this resolution, South Carolina armed and mustered its militia. During this period, some other Southern states, notably Virginia and Georgia, continued observing, not without showing the interest they took in the cause of South Carolina. There was talk of an alliance among all the Southern states. The Union was hanging by a thread.

On 2 December the Congress went into session and occupied itself continuously with the situation. They could not, however, reach a conclusion satisfying all interested parties before the fatal date of 1 February 1833. Despite that, South Carolina showed patience and, with the advice of the other Southern states, permitted customs to be collected while reserving its military attitude. President Jackson, on his side, made an appeal to the patriotism of the South while ordering military preparations should force be used to resist the law of the Union. Finally, Mr. Clay, the defender of American manufactures, proposed a new customs law that was accepted by both Houses [of Congress] and approved by the president on 1 March. This law, currently in force, stipulates the gradual reduction of the tariff every two years by a tenth of the difference between the current tariff and the definitive figure, with a considerable reduction of five tenths of this total by 30 June 1842. Customs should not surpass 20 percent for any article After 1 July 1842.

Some days later, the South Carolina convention repealed its ordinance of November. Still, to maintain its rights, it believed itself bound to conserve the legislature's law on the militia and even passed an ordinance that *nullified* an act of Congress called the *Force Bill* or *Enforcing Bill*, of which the object was to grant the president certain powers to assure the collection of customs due to the federal treasury. This pretension that a state may annul a law of the government of the Union derives from a doctrine that carries the name of *nullification*. The political party that professes this doctrine appeals to that of the *nullifiers* or the rights of particular states (*states' rights party*).

Despite the second ordinance of nullification, and while the party of nullifiers was in power in the South, the new customs law in fact reestablished harmony in the Union so far as customs were concerned.

Note 13 [Note 11, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the Bank of the United States

All American banks, like the Bank of France in Paris, are at the same time lending banks as well as banks of accounts, banks of deposit and banks of circulation, that is:

1. they advance funds based on public effects and other values that are loaned on mortgages, which are regarded as commercial paper;
2. they receive on deposit funds of individuals and corporations, ordinarily without paying interest;
3. and they issue paper money.

Almost all the representative currency of the United States consists of paper issued in that fashion. The precious metals that exist in the country are mostly stored in the vaults of the banks without the intent of circulating them, while their bills are exchangeable on presentation for gold or silver specie.

The old Bank of the United States, founded in 1791, had a capital of \$10 million (53 million francs). The federal government had a 20 percent interest in the Bank.

The current Bank of the United States was authorized in 1816 until 3 March 1836. Its principal establishment is in Philadelphia. It also has *branches* in the most important towns of the Union, to the number of 25. It has the right to establish as many others as it wishes. The Bank of England also has branches in commercial centers of England properly so called. In 1835 these branches existed at Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Gloucester, Bristol, Hull, Newcastle on Tyne, Norwich, Swansea and Exeter — eleven towns in all. The Bank of France has the right to establish branches, and it had two of them for a brief period of time twenty-five years ago, but it has none as of 1 January 1836. In the first six months of 1836, it has founded two, one at Saint-Étienne, the other at Reims.

The capital of the Bank of the United States is \$35,000,000 (187 million francs), divided into 350,000 shares of \$100.⁹⁰ That of the Bank of England was, originally, in 1694, for 30 million; it was 294 million from 1782 to 1816; it was then raised to 294

⁹⁰ In 1836, a quarter of the shares of the Bank of the United States was owned by foreigners, almost all English, which led to extravagant denunciations; it was called the *British Bank*. It was said that it was an association of foreign aristocrats who wanted to enslave the country; being represented to the people as a curse, this intervention of foreign capital in the affairs of the Union, although one must welcome it highly, since it is a sort of subsidy that Europe pays to America to hasten civilizing enterprises for its inhabitants. The charter granted to the Bank of the United States in 1816 gives foreign shareholders the right to vote by proxy in the assembly of shareholders. In the new charter, issued to the Bank by the state of Pennsylvania, which makes of a national bank a local bank, at least in appearance, it is stipulated that only American citizens are permitted to vote in person or by proxy. Only French shareholders of the Bank of France have the right to vote, and they cannot vote by proxy. The result is that Monsieur Rothschild, the chief of the premier banking house in France, has no right to vote and cannot exercise any function at the Bank, although he is one of the largest shareholders. This regulation, contrary to the cosmopolitan spirit of commerce, bears the mark of the time the Bank was authorized and of the man who then presided over the destinies of France.

Voting by proxy is not permitted in France.

million from 1786 to 1816; then it was raised to 367. After the new charter of 1833, it was due to be reduced to 275, by a partial reimbursement to shareholders. It is divided into shares that have a value of £100. That of the Bank of France is 90 million, divided into shares of 1000 francs, of which 22,100 were repurchased by the Bank. It was then at 80, then at 45 million. The shares of the Bank of the United States were at 25 or 50 percent of prime before General Jackson's hostilities. Those of the Bank of France were at 2,290 francs, that is, 129 percent of prime on the original capital. That of the Bank of England was at 216 pounds, that is, 110 percent of prime on the nominal capital; on 18 December 1817 it was at £294 ¹/₂.

The operations of the Bank of the United States consists of discounting commercial paper with two endorsements, to make advances on public effects and other values, and to trade in precious metals. It is forbidden to speculate on public funds⁹¹ and to possess real estate other than that on which its offices are or of those that will be located, property abandoned as the result of a mortgage legally subscribed and accepted, or assigned by a judgment. It is for this reason that the Bank has become owner of a great deal of real estate in the West, notably in Cincinnati, Ohio.⁹²

The Bank of France discounts commercial paper with three endorsements. Until recent times, it loaned on commercial obligations with two endorsements, guaranteed by an equal value and titles to rents, or some other public obligations; this still operates today for shares of the Bank itself. Currently it is authorized to loan four-fifths of the face value of public obligations with the sole guarantee of the holder. It also loans on deposits of ingots and foreign currency, with a commission of ¹/₈ percent for twenty-four hours, which makes 1 percent per year.

The condition of three endorsements required by the statutes of the Bank of France is too rigorous. It helps make it difficult to establish branches in our départements.

The commercial attributes of the Bank of England are even more restrictive than those of the Bank of France. It does not make advances on public obligations except during the interval when the books of transfer are closed, which lasts a certain time in London. During the crisis of 1825-26, the Bank of England made advances on merchandise under the same conditions as an ordinary account, but under these conditions it advanced only very small amounts.

The rate of interest paid by the Bank of the United States on its accounts is 6 percent. The Bank of France pays 4 percent. The Bank of England varies the rate of its accounts; it is rare for it to be less than 4 percent, which is very high for London.⁹³ Since

⁹¹ This ban was removed in the charter the state of Pennsylvania extended to the Bank in 1836; the new Bank is authorized to buy and sell public effects of the United States and of Pennsylvania and shares of public works executed in the state.

⁹² For a long time the Bank of the United States has avoided business that could lead to acquiring real properties.

⁹³ In ordinary times, the Bank of England has very few accounts. It does not extend operations with commerce except in times of crisis. It is above all a bank for the use of the government. The major part of accounts that operate in England are with *private bankers*, or by associations called *joint-stock banks*. In its relation to private credit, it deals rather as a reserve than as a permanent force. In 1831 it accounted for only 163 million in value. In 1825, it accounted for 495 million. During the suppression of payments in specie, its accounts were incomparably larger. In 1810 they were for 2 billion.

1704, when it was between 3 to 4, it was sometimes at 4, sometimes at 5. In 1836, it rose from 4 to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, finally to 5.

The Bank of the United States makes internal and exterior exchanges. So far as interior exchange goes, it operates on a grand scale, but without profit, in view of the fact that by means of its bills and the orders to its branches, the movement of funds operates almost without fee. It is satisfied to deduct from the account proportionally at the time it sells the obligations for its account, and does not take a large commission to recover for another account. Concerning exterior exchange, it controls the rate and exploits it to its profit. The Bank of France only operates at Paris, and one feels that any internal exchange is impossible. The Bank of England handles the transfer of funds between the provinces and London for free, for which it has current accounts on hand. It does not involve itself in exterior exchange.

Bills of the Bank of the United States in circulation vary over several years from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000 (53 to 107 million francs). In October 1835, it rose to almost \$25,000,000 (133,000,000 francs). This circulation was largely in bills of 5 and 10 dollars. The average amount was about \$15,000,000 (80 million francs). Several years ago, the Bank of England had a circulation of 450 to 500 million in bills. In 1826, it was 760 million. Since 1830, the Bank of France has for more than 200 million in circulation. Before 1820, it was rare for it to surpass 100 million. Hence, the Bank of France, and particularly the Bank of England, play as banks of circulation a much more important role than the Bank of the United States. In America, this service is performed principally by the five or six hundred local banks, of which the total paper forms, in ordinary times, a mass five or six times larger than the national bank. This coexistence of more than five hundred paper currencies is the largest vice of the financial system of the country. The *joint-stock banks* that have had a great development for several years, tend to establish, or rather reestablish, the same confusion in England, since they already created disorder in the country in 1815, in 1825, and other times as well.

The Bank of the United States ordinarily has 40 to 50 million in coin. At several moments of its struggle with General Jackson, it had a sum at least equal to that of bills in circulation, 80 to 90 million. The Bank of England is obliged to have on hand 200 to 250 million; it sometimes descends to 150. The Bank of France constantly has more than 100, often more than 200 million. In 1831, it had 265 million, and in 1832, 281, that is, much more than it has paper in circulation.⁹⁴

The Bank of the United States does not take obligations for more than four months of maturity, although there is no regulation to that effect. The majority of its transactions are obligations of two months. The Bank of France can only accept obligations for less than 90 days. The same limit operates for the Bank of England.

The bills of the Bank of the United States circulate throughout the entire Union. Agents of the federal treasury are obligated to receive them as legal tender. In exchange, the Bank is restrained to pay the bearer in coin, on a penalty of 12 percent per year and even the suspension of its charter. It is true that a branch is compelled to exchange only bills of that branch for coin, but in fact this is a rigorous rule that is not used. All bills of all branches circulate without distinction, as well as certain drafts of one branch on another, finally in order to avoid the problem for the president or cashier of Philadelphia

⁹⁴ See Note 20.

of requiring an excessive number of endorsements are, in ordinary practice, considered by the Bank and everyone else as in coin, and taken at par everywhere in exchange for gold and silver. This is the reason that external exchange is so easy. The Bank does not make use of its right except in the case where some conspiracy has taken place to oblige one of the branches to suspend payment.⁹⁵

The bills of the Bank of the England are legal tender in England; with the exception of bills of branches, they are not by law exchangeable for gold except at London. Bills of the Bank of France are valid only in Paris and do not have a compulsory rate.

The Bank of the United States and the Bank of France only have bearer bills. The Bank of England has a certain quantity of *bank post bills* valid for seven days, which are sent to the provinces to investors, for example, every semester after the payment of the national debt. It is for a tenth or a twelfth of its total annual value.

The Bank of the United States receives deposits of funds. It does not pay any interest in return. It is known that the Scottish banks paid interest that was once 4 percent and is now from 2 to 2 1/2 percent. The Bank of France does not pay any interest on deposits in current account, but it does book payments, without charge, on all obligations drawn on Paris that are sent to it by depositors. It is estimated that half of all commercial obligations are booked by means of the Bank. In 1834, it booked 909 million for current accounts.

In England and in the United States, bookings are much easier than in France, where the money constitutes a very clumsy currency. Bookings at London operate through the *Clearing House*, through *private bankers*, who are to all purposes mere cashiers. In the large towns in the United States, bookings cause no problems for individuals, both because a large part of the bills is in the hands of the banks that have accepted the account, and partly because the businessmen and manufacturers have their offices in the same quarter, next door to one another.

The number of current accounts permitted by the Bank of the United States is indefinite. In America as in Scotland, most citizens have a current account with a bank. They free you from carrying the money on yourself. You retain only the amount required for household needs for a few days. When you have a payment to make, you issue an order to the bank. Banks are hence everyone's cashiers. The idea is that no one wishes to take more from the bank than the sum registered to one's credit. This concentration of all disposable funds of the country in the hands of banks provides the means of extending their operations. The bank renders capital active that otherwise would be distributed without effect. It creates an association that, one cannot say strongly enough, is the condition of force for capital as well as for persons.

Here is a list of the various establishments of the Bank of the United States and the total of bills issued by each of them in 1830, giving a rough measure of their importance.

⁹⁵ See at footnotes 26 and 27 above.

BILLS OF THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

In circulation in the month of September 1830, with indication of the branches⁹⁶ where they are payable.

TOWNS WHERE BRANCHES ARE ESTABLISHED	BILLS IN CIRCULATION Dollars
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1,367,180
Portland, Maine	79,280
Portsmouth, New Hampshire	101,985
Boston, Massachusetts	271,180
Providence, Rhode Island	113,920
Hartford, Connecticut	171,532
New York, New York	834,733
Baltimore, Maryland	528,638
Washington, federal district	647,602
Richmond, Virginia	469,440
Norfolk, Virginia	532,400
Fayetteville, North Carolina	713,760
Charleston, South Carolina	835,840
Savanna, Georgia	522,605
Mobile, Alabama	940,825
New Orleans, Louisiana	2,623,320
Saint Louis, Missouri	228,700
Nashville, Tennessee	1,235,275
Louisville, Kentucky	662,375
Lexington, Kentucky	908,625
Cincinnati, Ohio	647,240
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	554,102
Buffalo, New York	258,130
Burlington, Vermont	96,595
Agencies at Cincinnati and Chillicothe, Ohio ⁹⁷	<u>2,375</u>
	15,347,657

On almost £25 million, representing the sum total of paper money in circulation by the Bank of England and its branches, the branches have more than £3,500,000 at the end of 1833.

The dividends of the Bank of the United States are maintained regularly at 7 percent; those of the Bank of France vary between 8 and 10 percent of the original capital. In 1833, it fell below 7. Those of the Bank of England are currently 8 percent of

⁹⁶ The reason the bills of the New Orleans branch are in greater quantity than those of Philadelphia is because the Bank has the most transactions in this town. The nearness of Mexico makes coin more abundant at New Orleans than elsewhere, which is probably why so many bills are payable at New Orleans. The same cause probably contributes to the strong proportion of bills drawn on Nashville and Lexington.

Two further branches have been created, one at Natchez, Mississippi, and the other at Utica, New York.

⁹⁷ These agencies administer the sale of real property that the Bank has acquired due to the bankruptcy of its debtors.

nominal capital, which is the original capital successively modified by acts of Parliament. Independent of ordinary dividends that were originally 7 percent, which were 10 from 1807 to 1822, and which is currently 8, the Bank of England has often given extraordinary dividends. In 1816 it augmented the nominal capital on which dividends are paid by 25 percent. Mr. Mac Culloch raised the total value of extraordinary dividends and of those accompanying the increase in capital from 1 June 1799 to 1 November 1831 to 437 million francs, with the reimbursement ordered by the new charter, this sum reaching the figure of 529,000,000. In two extraordinary payments, the Bank of France has issued 23,561,500 francs.

The relations of the Bank of the United States with the federal government before 1834 consisted in it being charged to guard the revenues that various receivers remitted it and of which it remained the depositor, in that it operated all the movements of funds for the service of the treasury, and in servicing the debt and pensions. It is barred from loaning the federal government more than \$500,000 and more than \$50,000 to the governments of the particular states. In this it differs from the Banks of France and of England, which make and have made enormous advances to the state. That is the principal purpose of the Bank of England.

The total capital that the last-named bank has loaned the state was at the rate of three percent. Besides, the Banks of England and France receive, the first *bills of Exchequer*, the latter the *bons du trésor* [treasury bonds] that pay a modest interest. In times of war, these two banks have made advances to the state far above what would seem possible. The Bank of England had a debt with the state for the sum of 880,000,000 at the end of the war on 31 August 1814. It is true that it had to deduct from that the state funds deposited at the Bank, which had risen to almost 300,000,000. In 1831 the gross advances of the Bank of England to the government was not more than 170,000,000.

The Bank of France has extended to the treasury a credit of a hundred million on current account. After the July Revolution, this account bore 4 percent interest, and the treasury made extensive use of it in times of crisis: advances made to the treasury by the Bank were 292 million in 1831, and 256 in 1832. In 1823, it was 357, and in 1813 343. Since the reestablishment of order, the accumulation of funds of communes and deposits in the savings fund, as well as the funds for amortizing debt, have so reduced the needs of the treasury that, when the Bank lowered the rate of interest to 3 percent for the treasury alone, the treasury ceased to have need of the Bank. On the contrary, it currently has a deposit at the Bank of a considerable sum that is to approach 40,000,000 by the end of August 1836, and which produces nothing for the state, because the interest is not reciprocal. This excess will be absorbed by the semester payment on the debt that falls on 22 September.

It is therefore through their operations with the public treasury that the Banks of France and England, particularly the latter, have realized to this day a large part of their profits.⁹⁸ It is true that the federal government does not present anything analogous to

⁹⁸ These treasury bonds and bills of the Exchequer currently only produce a very small interest, 2 1/2 to 3 percent. In France in 1836, they yield no more than 2; but, since they furnish to the banks the occasion to issue paper money in large quantity without running any of the risks to which one is exposed by advances to commerce, these transactions with the treasury produce a great benefit to these banks as banks of circulation. Suppose there is a bank whose capital consists principally in titles to rents only paying 3 percent, which is the case for the Bank of England. If it has these titles of rent to the amount of 250

bills of Exchequer or to our *bons du trésor*. For a long time there has been a surplus of receipts. Currently the Bank of France appears not to have much to do with the treasury, at least for a while, partly because the treasury has little need of advances, partly because it seeks to place its *bons* at the rate of 2 percent, which is too low for the Bank. Also, the Bank has made the wise decision to extend its commercial business. In the summer of 1836, it had portfolios of obligations for 143 million, without including 20 million in advances on deposits of public funds. In 1826, it had a maximum portfolio of 163 million: since then it has not passed 129 million, and from 1830 to 1835, it was held below 85 million.

In the United States, state banks are organized according to principles analogous to those of the national bank. Banks have a charter and are *incorporated*, that is, a special law bestows on them privileges that *sociétés anonymes* enjoy here.⁹⁹ Since they hold their powers from particular legislatures, they can only exercise them in their state. Yet further, their bills are not accepted by the public outside the town or village where they are issued. These are institutions of credit and circulation that are almost exclusively for the use of businesses. Not having the resources for exchange and ordinarily receiving few funds on deposit,¹⁰⁰ they seek to profit through their circulation by an excessive development of accounts and advances, very often producing a superabundance of paper money. Their capital is rarely more than a million dollars (5,300,000 francs), and most often less, until recent times. They are in the process of creating banks with a capital of \$3, 5, 10 and 12 million, particularly in the South, in Louisiana for example.

For several years, various states have become shareholders in some local banks, whether to profit from the benefits of these institutions, to oversee them, or to simplify their own financial service. The state of South Carolina and the states of Georgia and Alabama, each has a bank in total ownership. The state of North Carolina has subscribed to $\frac{2}{5}$ of the shares of a bank of the same name. In 1834, the state of Indiana organized a bank with ten branches, of which it is a shareholder for $\frac{2}{5}$. The state of Illinois has done the same for a bank that will have seven branches. In 1834, the state of Kentucky created one (the Bank of Kentucky) with seven branches, of which it is shareholder of $\frac{2}{5}$. In 1835, it created the Bank of Northern Kentucky with five branches, of which it is

million, and for 150 million in coin, it could loan 500 million in paper money because of the 3 percent, which produces a revenue of 15 million, which, joined to its $7\frac{1}{2}$ million in rents, makes $22\frac{1}{2}$ million. If the commercial business, properly so called, produces 12 million, its total revenue reaches $34\frac{1}{2}$ million. It would then be easy to pay dividends of 7 percent, all costs paid, which would be a great deal in a country where public funds only pay between 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ million. But one sees that, for things to happen as I am supposing, this means that the country should be ready to receive a large amount of paper money from the bank in question. This is something that cannot be done in a country such as the United States, because of the large number of local banks and their excessive emissions. It is also difficult in France on a large scale, since the population is not used to paper money, even when it can be exchanged for specie, and the Bank of France has done nothing to redeem the bills in the départements. It is different in England, where the population is used to using paper money, and where the bills of the Bank circulate everywhere and are accepted everywhere in payment.

⁹⁹ The principal of these privileges consists in the shareholders not being personally responsible beyond their shares. In Massachusetts, however, incorporated companies do not have that advantage.

¹⁰⁰ Since 1834, treasury funds have been distributed arbitrarily among local banks designated by the secretary of the treasury. They have risen to 200 million in 1836. In some states, the banks are depositors of local funds of the treasury that, in New York, for example, are considerable because of the income from the canals, but they pay an interest of $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 percent.

shareholder for a third. The state of Louisiana has become a guarantor of the loan of one of the largest banks to be founded there (*Citizen's Bank*), contracted in Europe.

Here is a table showing the development of local banks since 1811, based principally on the documents supplied by Mr. [Albert] Gallatin [1761-1849, Treasury Secretary] (*Considerations on the Currency and Banking System of the United States*) for the years 1811, 1820 and 1830. For the year 1834 I have used information contained in a document produced under the supervision of the secretary of the House of Representatives of Congress, according to the materials gathered by Mr. [Richard Henry] Wilde [1789-1847], representative for Georgia, and submitted to Congress on 24 June 1834. All the tables are stated for 1 January of each year.

		1811 ¹⁰¹		
Number of banks		Capital deposited francs	Bills in circulation francs	Coin francs
A ¹⁰²	50	131,200,000	70,200,000	30,300,000
B ¹⁰³	38	95,900,000	51,000,000	22,000,000
	88	227,100,000	121,200,000	52,300,000

		1820		
Number of banks		Capital deposited Francs	Bills in circulation francs	Coin francs
A	212	334,600,000	142,000,000	56,670,000
B	95	210,400,000	88,000,000	35,000,000
	307	545,000,000	230,000,000	91,670,000

		1830		
Number of banks		Capital deposited Francs	Bills in circulation francs	Coin francs
A	281	478,500,000	208,800,000	64,000,000
B	48	81,000,000	34,000,000	10,000,000
	329	559,500,000	242,800,000	74,000,000

		1834		
Number of banks		Capital deposited Francs	Bills in circulation francs	Coin francs
A	405	743,500,000	346,650,000	76,000,000
B	101	163,700,000	67,400,000	15,080,000
	506	907,200,000	414,050,000	91,080,000

The following table indicates the number and situation of American banks on 1 January 1835.

States or Territories	Banks	Capital	Portfolio ¹⁰⁴	Circulation	coin
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¹⁰¹ For the years 1811, 1820 and 1830, they have calculated here the figure for bills and coin, for B banks, supposing that they were in a situation similar to A banks. It is to be assumed that they have less coin than A banks.

¹⁰² Banks for which there are official or semi-official accounts.

¹⁰³ Banks for which there are no official reports.

¹⁰⁴ Bills discounted in the portfolio. Inferring an average delay of two and a half months, the annual sum of accounts would be 9,700,000 francs.

	/Branches	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	
Maine	36	3,199,850	5,249,509	1,709,320	171,923	
New Hamp.	26	2,655,008	3,929,235	1,389,970		
Vermont	18	921,815	1,870,813	1,463,713	50,958	
Mass.	105	30,409,450	48,901,142	7,868,472	1,180,564	
Rhode Is.	60	8,097,482	9,694,331	1,290,785	473,641	
Connect.	31	3	7,350,766	8,899,656	2,685,400	129,108
New York	87	2	31,381,460	62,775,200	16,427,963	7,221,335
New Jersey	24		50,000	43,189	30,247	
Pennsylv.	44		17,958,444	28,739,130	7,818,001	3,476,462
Delaware	4	4	730,000	1,232,830	622,397	173,183
Maryland	15	4	7,542,639	9,520,683	1,923,055	972,090
Federal Dist.	7		2,613,985	3,115,524	692,536	474,199
Virginia	5	17	5,840,000	11,277,304	5,593,198	1,160,401
N. C.	4	7	2,464,923	3,360,977	2,241,964	275,660
S. C.	8	2	2,156,318	3,886,441	2,288,030	754,219
Georgia	13	10	6,783,308	7,714,851	3,694,329	1,781,835
Florida	3		114,320	233,209	133,531	14,312
Alabama	2	4	5,607,623	9,219,506	3,472,413	916,135
Louisiana	11	31	26,422,145	37,388,839	5,114,082	2,824,904
Mississippi	5	11	5,890,162	10,379,650	2,418,475	359,302
Tenn,	3	4	2,890,381	6,040,087	3,189,220	290,472
Kentuck.	6	10	4,898,685	7,674,066	2,771,154	72,368
Missouri		1		85,707		153,341
Illinois	1	1	278,739	313,902	178,810	243,223
Indiana	1	9	800,000	531,843	456,065	751,083
Ohio	31		6,390,741	10,071,250	5,634,048	1,906,715
Michigan	7	1	638,980	1,336,225	636,676	112,419
TOTAL	557	121	184,607,226	293,485,179	81,763,854	26,741,852
Banks B ¹⁰⁵			11,643,111	19,737,619	4,588,844	1,487,404
Total of B	557	121	196,250,337	313,222,798	86,352,698	28,229,256
B. of US	1	25	35,000,000	51,941,036	17,339,797	15,708,369
General total			231,250,337	365,163,834	103,692,495	43,937,625
Ditto in francs			1,233,335,000	1,947,532,000	533,026,000	234,334,000

Since 1 January 1835 the number of banks has increased even more.

In England *private bankers* have the right to issue bearer bills, provided that they are not within a radius of 60 miles (24 leagues) of London, except in the case where there are fewer than six partners. It would be as if these banking houses at Paris circulated bills to the bearer. In fact, no one asserts this right within the radius cited. The quantity of bills issued by private bankers is rather constant for the last three years at £8,500,000

¹⁰⁵ These are the banks that do not have an official accounting. They are included in the number of banks listed above by states. They are 43 in number, with five branches, specifically one bank in Maine, one in Vermont, one in New York, 23 in New Jersey, one in Pennsylvania, one in Maryland, one along with a branch in Delaware, six in South Carolina, one in Florida, one in Louisiana, three with three branches in Mississippi, one in Tennessee and one branch in Alabama.

(215 million francs). A certain number of them use only bills of the Bank of England. In Paris the Bank of France has the sole privilege of issuing bearer bills.

The *joint stock banks* of the United Kingdom are establishments that exist without special authorization and without public control. All the associates, ordinarily a large number, are personally responsible. They differ in this from the Bank of England, from that of France and the national and local banks of the United States, all of which have the privileges of what we would call *compagnies anonymes*. There exists a large number of joint stock banks in England. They perhaps present less security than American local banks. At all times of crisis, in 1792-93, 1814-15-16 and 1825-26, a large number of these *joint stock banks* went bankrupt or suspended their payments. In the crisis from 1814 to 1816, 240 were in one or the other category. Their issuance of paper money was nearly £24,000,000 (600,000,000 francs), in 1808 and 1809. It fell to £8,000,000 (200,000,000 francs) in 1821-22-23, and it rose to £14,000,000 (550,000,000 francs) in 1825. Since then, the suppression of bills smaller than five pounds has considerably reduced this figure. It is less than 90 million in England proper. Currently (1836) these establishments are multiplying in a manner so as to inspire serious fears in all wise men.

An investigatory commission, created by the House of Commons at the last session, will make a report (dated 20 August 1836) on the absence of guarantees presented by *joint stock banks*.

Scotland and Ireland have their own separate systems of credit. Scotland has three incorporated banks, the *Bank of Scotland*, the *Royal Bank of Scotland*, and the *British Linen Company*. It also has many small non-incorporated banks with a large number of shareholders.

Ireland has one incorporated bank, the *Bank of Ireland*, and many joint stock banks, of which many are large with numerous branches.

Belgium has a very remarkable financial system. In 1822, King William created the *Société Générale* there, issuing bills from 25 to 1000 florins (53 to 2,116 francs), making loans and keeping accounts, and of which the paper circulates throughout the country, because it has established agencies in all the important towns. Its nominal capital is 50 million florins (106 million francs). The real capital is 32,000,000 florins. Its 500 florin shares are at 815.

The *Société Générale* replaces the *Receveurs-Généraux et Particuliers* in the Kingdom of Belgium, by means of a commission of $\frac{1}{4}$ percent, which was no more than $\frac{1}{8}$ before 1832. It also performs the functions of a general savings fund.

By itself, or by the *Société de Commerce* that its directors created in 1835, and which also issues paper money, it operates as a company supporting industry. It is also interested in the most flourishing companies of the country, contributing powerfully to the prosperity of national industry. The *Société de Commerce* makes advances on merchandise and also exports the products of Belgian manufactures on its own account. But it is principally interested in coalmines, iron production and railroads. Its capital is only 10 million, but it is greatly expanding its operations beyond what one might expect from this figure.

Most recently a company similar to the *Société de Commerce*, the *Société Nationale*, is being formed in Brussels, with a capital of 15 million. It places itself under the patronage of the *Société Générale* and concerns itself with industries different from those to which the *Société de Commerce* is dedicated.

Finally the *Société de Commerce de Bruges*, also founded by the *Société Générale*, has as its object the special exportation of Belgian products and the development of maritime commerce.

This organization of all of Belgian industry under the auspices of a powerful financial association is one of the most remarkable facts accomplished in Europe in the last twenty years.

In 1835, to balance the influence of the *Société Générale*, the Belgian government has favored the creation of the Bank of Belgium, with a capital of 20 million, and whose attributions are extensive. It is not organized on the same structure as the *Société Générale*. Because of the peculiar position of its interested principals, it disposes of considerable capital.

In France, local banks have yet to be created. We have banks at Bordeaux, at Rouen and at Nantes; they are being created at Marseille, at Lyon and at Lille, but their capital is very limited. As a whole it does not exceed 14,050,000 francs, thus:

Rouen	2,000,000
Bordeaux	3,150,000
Nantes	900,000
Lyon	2,000,000
Marseille	4,000,000
Lille	<u>2,000,000</u>
Total	14,050,000

It is not desirable that these banks, independent of one another, should multiply too much. The creation of branches of the Bank of France, conducted more along the principles of those of the Bank of England than according to the rules of the decree of 18 May 1808 would be more helpful to the country.

The privilege of the Bank of France expires in September 1844. It will without doubt be renewed, but not without essential modifications.

Note 14 [Note 10, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the Political Organization of the Union

The various states of the American Union were isolated one from another under the colonial regime. Each of them had its separate government. With independence, they each acquired their individual sovereignty, and they exercised it without permitting it to be absorbed in the collective sovereignty of the Union. These two sovereignties coexist without being confounded, and it is not always easy to tell where one ends and the other begins. In this way, the new states have been assimilated to the old ones. Each state therefore governs itself in its interior; it has its own laws and its magistrates; it votes and administers its taxes as it pleases. It is only required to observe some general principles of individual liberty and public law inserted into the federal constitution. The federal government has almost no purpose except to the exterior, but exterior action is reserved to it alone; the particular states do not have the right to enter into relations with foreigners.

The customs are a federal institution, as is the post, the mint, and weights and measures. The federal government has the exclusive right of peace and war with all peoples, including the Indians. It has an army and a navy. It provides for regulations and

armament of the militia, but in times of peace the militia obeys the authority of their respective states. It also pertains to it to pass general laws regulating exterior trade and navigation. It has the right to contract loans and establish direct or indirect imposts for federal needs. Meanwhile, at this moment it does not collect any taxes except customs. The post office is not considered as a source of revenue, it is just a way to join two points: this is the principle and the fact. The federal government also deals with the sale of the public lands of the West, save for a small amount retained for the profit of the states in which the lands sold are located, for their public schools and their roads.

Every time Congress has desired to collect other taxes, it has encountered a great deal of resistance. There was even a considerable insurrection in 1794 in the state of Pennsylvania, called the *Whiskey Revolt*, against an impost on distilling. To reestablish order, it was necessary to send an army of 15,000 men against the malcontents.

There is a federal judiciary in three degrees: 1) District Court, 2) Circuit Court, 3) Supreme Court, to which are reserved all cases where the United States is a party. It pertains to this judiciary to pronounce on all matters controlled by federal laws, such as exterior commerce and navigation. It applies penal laws for crimes and misdemeanors that are under federal jurisdiction (treason, piracy, infraction of customs laws, etc.). The Bank of the United States was placed under federal jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court pronounces on disputes between two or several states. The cases where an ambassador is a party devolve to it. Originally, it pronounced between a state and the citizens of another state, or between a state and a foreigner. This attribution was retired by an amendment to the constitution for the cases where the states were defendants. The states did not wish that a simple citizen of one state or of a foreign country should bring them before these courts.

The federal judiciary is also seized of causes between citizens of different states and between American citizens and foreigners.

The Supreme Court further possesses an immense power of judging in the last resort on the constitutionality of laws, regulations and treaties passed by the government of the Union, and of the commissions it bestows. It is thus that it is appealed to pronounce on the validity of a mass of acts of Congress relative to customs and the Bank. It may even judge on the validity of a law passed by a state, if one attacks that law as incompatible with the constitution, treaties or the laws of the Union. In theory, the Supreme Court should be the premier power of the federation: but it was not able to use more of its prerogative against the states, even against those in flagrant violation of federal laws, because it lacks material force, and this force alone could make the states comply with judicial rulings. It demonstrated this when it wished to interpose itself between Georgia and the Cherokee Indians in favor of the latter, who invoked solemn treaties against the plundering measures of Georgia.

Intervention orders are issued by the federal government.

The constitution establishes that there should be common legislation in the Union for bankruptcies. The Congress has not yet been able to make this a subject of a law without exciting lively complaints on the part of the states. It has renounced it.

The chief of each state is always chosen by the state itself. Most often he is elected by the citizens. In some old states, five in number, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, it is by the legislature. He is normally entitled *Excellence*. He carries everywhere the title of governor, the same as he was

designated under the colonial regime. The divisions of the various states are called counties, except for South Carolina and Louisiana. In South Carolina they are called districts, and in Louisiana parishes.

In the six states of New England as well as in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio, the counties are divided into *townships*, and in Delaware into *hundreds*. In the rest of the states there is no subdivision analogous to [the French] *commune*.

In the states of New England the *communes* have a more complete existence than elsewhere. They differ in size, varying generally from 65 to 85 square kilometers. They are vested with certain rights and privileges, and they are a particular government directed by its functionaries elected annually by the citizens. The principals are the *clerk*, the municipal counselors or *selectmen*, the assessors, the *overseers of the poor*, the school commissioners, inspectors of roads, etc. In the states of New England and in the state of New York, the *communes* are subdivided into school districts of convenient extent where primary schools are held at least for part of the year.

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 18 February 1834, pp. 1-2. “We have received today from our collaborator Monsieur M. C. a second letter on the dispute of the Bank of the United States with President Jackson ...; we hasten to publish it.”]

IV
THE DEMOCRACY. — THE BANK

New York, 11 January 1834

The financial crisis that the debate between the president of the United States and the Bank began has not increased in seriousness. There continues to be a great scarcity of money, that is to say, a great diminution of credit, but bankruptcies are neither numerous nor large.

The last news from Europe told us of the refusal to work by workers in various craft corps in Paris and Lyon. What has taken place here concerning the Bank has many parallels with what has happened in Paris among the tailors, the bakers, the carpenters, and with what has happened in the journals in England among workers in manufactures. In Europe, and particularly in France, it is the raising of the bucklers of a democracy, or rather a form of radicalism now in embryo that, if it pleases God, will not go to term. In America, it is the oriental caprice of a giant democracy passing more and more to radicalism to the extent that it reigns more and more without rival or counter-weight. In France until 1830, and in England until the reform, the general direction of government was continually led by the aristocracy, that is, in both countries one governed more or less exclusively for the profit of the noble and bourgeois classes, without concern for the working masses. Since 1830 and the reform that, we may say with pride was a result of July, there was on the two sides of the Channel a manifest tendency toward a more just balance. We are gravitating forcefully toward a state of things where all interests, that of the poor as well as the rich, that of the worker as well as the master, will have the same protection, not nominal but real. The people who have the most influence on public affairs work to establish a balance progressively more and more favorable to the working class, and the majority of these, particularly in France, repose their trust for the future in the efforts of the good citizens who consecrate themselves to it there. This is the reason that the three days of reform [in July 1830] were a fortunate revolution. This is why every effort in France to slow down, to compromise the movement of improvement that the most enlightened men, both in and out of government, are agreed to direct with a prudent firmness, must remain today without a point of support in the populations, and cannot fail as a silent repression.

It appears to me distressing that the apprentice carpenters, tailors and bakers are pressing the law on their masters. Here the bourgeoisie is beginning finally to persuade itself that it has a duty and necessity to improve the condition of the laboring masses. It has the power, but it knows that the people has the force. The people counts and has counted the ranks of the bourgeoisie, but it has demonstrated that it is not enough for it to have superior numbers. It understands that it has nothing to gain from violence and that it cannot support those who have taken their cause in hand except to make themselves worthy of a better lot through their morality and orderly habits. Each party has recognized the other's reciprocal rights; each side fears and respects the other. Here, on the contrary, it is an entirely simple matter for the *Democracy* [the Democratic Party] to

impose the law harshly on capitalists, manufacturers and businessmen. It possesses physical force and political power at the same time. The bourgeoisie inspires neither fear nor respect. The equilibrium has been entirely upset. There is no guarantee in the United States against popular caprices save the good sense of the people better informed. It must be said that here this good sense is admirable on the whole, but it is not infallible. Popular autocracy is easy to pervert by flattery, like any other autocracy.

The Bank of the United States is having an experience of this today. I have already exposed to you the crying abuses that have conjured up a violent hatred of the regime of banks in general, although, without the banks, it would be impossible for the United States to extend itself as it has done, in population, territory and riches. These abuses existed and were the fact with local banks, but not with the *Mammoth Bank*.¹⁰⁶ On the contrary, through the control that the Bank exerts over local banks, in the interest of its own preservation, it places a restraint on these abuses and limits them, even if it never receives any recognition for it. Time and again the legislatures of various states have been called to deliberate on the question of whether it is possible to prohibit the *Banking System* and abolish all banks. Most of them have rightly decided that the remedy would be worse than the disease. They have sought to reduce the disorder through restrictive clauses inserted into the charters of new banks. In 1829 the state of New York even voted a complete act of legislation, known under the name of the *Safety Fund Act*, creating a general and mutual policy over banks under the direction of special *Bank Commissioners*, and creating at their expense a common fund, the *Safety Fund*, to indemnify the public in case of bankruptcy of one of them. In any case repressive and preventative measures adopted by the various states have generally remained unused or ineffective, whether because generally the coercive means are inadequate or because it does not dare use the weapons the law put at its disposal.

In their last report, dated 31 January 1833, the bank commissioners of the state of New York called the attention of the legislature to the serious dangers that could result from these institutions as currently organized, particularly in rural areas, and to their excessive issuance of bills relative to the small amount of specie they have in their vaults. With a total cash of two million dollars, the banks of the state of New York have in circulation more than twelve million dollars in paper.¹⁰⁷ But the very report of the commissioners attests that they have not dared to fulfill the duties imposed by the *Safety Fund Act*. They are the only ones capable of causing felonious banks to close. Their observations did not stop the legislature of New York from authorizing new banks by the dozens. This year it had to respond to five hundred demands for authorization. This is eighteen times the present number of banks in the state. It is true that, by all appearance, the principle of *laissez faire* would be wrong in this case. The message dated 7 January 1834 that the governor of the state sent to the legislature exhorts the two chambers to cease this flood. This *bankomania*, as Jefferson said, was provoked by the profits to be realized here in banks. It is the case, and was generally, that before the regular institution

¹⁰⁶ This is one of the thousand names by which the leaders of the Democratic Party represents the Bank of the United States as a monster threatening the country's liberties.

¹⁰⁷ The average proportion of cash and bills would thus be 1 to 6. But since the banks of the city of New York, the most important in the state, have a proportion of cash almost double this average, 1 to 3, the result is that in rural areas this proportion is extremely low.

of the Bank of the United States, banking was the best and most extensive form of speculation, precisely because of the abuses that are implanted there.¹⁰⁸

In local banks, and notably outside large cities, the goal of all the efforts of the president¹⁰⁹ and the directors is to increase at all costs, whatever may happen in the future, the dividend of the semester falling due. By exaggerating their operations, they can, if public confidence flees, find themselves in bankruptcy. But in the United States this is a misfortune whose prospect is nowhere near as frightening for the largest number of businessmen, and even for secondary companies, than it is for a company or businessman in Europe. Here one accepts his lot easily.¹¹⁰ When a bank fails, there is loud clamoring because the number of victims is considerable and of all classes. This is because the largest number of bills are for five dollars (26.67 francs) and below,¹¹¹ these bills are widely disseminated and in the hands of workers as well as bourgeois. But for the very reason of the large number of persons among whom the loss is spread, the noise is quickly dissipated. The president, the cashier, the directors and all other interested principals find it easy to return as persons, by means of credit they obtain elsewhere, and everything is finished.

On the contrary, the Bank of the United States, governed by men with earned positions and enjoying public respect, tied in business to the most powerful houses in Europe, charged with an immense responsibility, officially reviewed by the federal government that names five directors of twenty-five, and severely tested by an army of journalists, is interested and obliged to follow a different line. This is not to say that errors were not committed from the very start,¹¹² but it paid heavily for them and they have not returned. Its statutes have not been perfect: the experience of twenty years will doubtless indicate changes to be introduced. But even its adversaries recognize that it has been admirably administered. The adversaries have pretended from the beginning that the government's funds are not secure with it: today they are prudent enough not to insist on this. Investigation on this matter by the House of Representatives has demonstrated that this accusation is absurd. The deeds currently being imputed to it are all of a political order.

¹⁰⁸ The dividends of the Bank of North America was, in 1792, 15 percent; in 1793, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$; from 1794 to 1799 inclusively, 12 percent; from 1804 to 1810, 9 percent. Those of the old Bank of the United States varied from 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ to 10 percent. Those of the Bank of Philadelphia from 1792 to 1810 were from 8 to 10. The Bank of the United States regularly gives 7 percent to its shareholders. In the city of New York the average dividends of banks during 1832 was 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ percent. In the state of New York, during the same year, the average was, for rural banks, 9 percent. It should not be forgotten that the legal limit of interest is higher in the United States than in Europe. It is 6 percent in Philadelphia, 7 percent in the state of New York. In the Southern states it is 8 and 9, and even 10 in Louisiana. In some Western states, there is no legal limit on interest; but the level raised in commercial transactions is very high there.

¹⁰⁹ Each bank is administered by two principal salaried agents, the president and the cashier, and by non-salaried directors.

¹¹⁰ See Note 15.

¹¹¹ The Bank of France does not issue bills below 500 francs. It has the right to issue bills for 250 francs. The Bank of England does not issue bills lower than five pounds (125 francs).

¹¹² In August 1817 the shares of the Bank were originally for 100 dollars but were being sold for 156. It lent a very large sum for its own shares, accepting them as a guarantee not at par but at 150. The borrower went bankrupt; the shares of the Bank fell considerably, and the Bank had to change its procedures dramatically.

Speaking politically, the very existence of an institution of such power as the Bank in a country such as the United States could present inconveniences. The basis of the federal constitution and the constitutions of the various states is that the supreme authority has been annulled. There is no government in the true sense of the word, which is a directing power. Everyone is in charge of himself. It is *self-government* in all its purity. This anomalous, monstrous development, in its principle unique, is no evil here. It is even a great good up until now; it is the present condition of the progress of the United States, because *self-government* is the sole political regime that can accommodate the American character as it is today. If individuality did not provisionally have free play here, this people would fail its mission, which is to conquer rapidly an immense land for the profit of the human race, substituting in a brief time civilization for the silence of the primitive forest that is ten times the size of France,¹¹³ of which half of it is fertile enough, one figure, to support 350 million inhabitants.

Put this way, it is clear that here any power, whatever it might be, if it possesses a great influence and exercises it over a great extent, will constitute a contradiction to the political system of the country. Notice how the federal government and the local governments are in a state of permanent eclipse. In keeping with all this, the Bank, which one sees as an intermediary in all transactions, distributes credit, regulates exchange, can at its command activate commerce or lower it by enlarging or narrowing the canals of circulation, the Bank is everywhere at once like mythical polyps; the Bank with its treasures, centralization, branches, certainly presents an anomaly capable of becoming dangerous. One could, by placing it in a theoretical, abstract point of view, imagine cases in which this industrial colossus, seated in a land devoted to industry, would press on liberty with an obliterating weight. It would be possible that one day a General [George] Monk [1608-1670] of a new variety would wish to reestablish here English domination, or that a new Bonaparte, savior of the republic at a new Marengo, would seek to establish a dictatorship to his profit. It would also be possible that an alliance struck between this Monk or this Napoleon would entwine American liberties and proceed to confiscate them. Yet the case of a Monk or a Napoleon, possible in theory (in theory nothing is impossible), is in fact one of the most impossible events. Yet there are some honorable and intelligent men whom this danger strikes more than the need for a regulator in the labyrinth of the Union's five hundred banks, more than the necessity for an agent of circulation that is for the country, in the financial order, what the immense rivers that arise are to the order of the routes of communication. They are more concerned about the imperceptible chance of a bank tyranny in this industrial country than a regime where the cupidity of the local banks would be without restraint, and where they could recommence the wars of independence, especially the commercial anarchy that followed the war of 1812, with their paper money, if not the *assignats* of France or *continental money*.¹¹⁴

Unfortunately for the United States, it is not on the terrain of high foresight that President Jackson and his friends place themselves to attack the Bank. They do not say that it would be possible that one day, under the empire of circumstances entirely novel, to become an instrument of oppression. They pretend that it is so already. According to

¹¹³ See Note 16.

¹¹⁴ This is the paper money that was issued at a two-third average discount to subsidize the cost of the war. The total issue was 460,000,000 dollars (1,920,000,000 francs).

them, the Bank intends nothing less than to submit the land to its laws. In his first annual message, and in an official document read to his assembled cabinet on 18 September 1833, the president accuses the Bank:

1. Of having intrigued so that the question of the renewal of the charter of the Bank be submitted to Congress during the session of 1831-32, in order to place him, the president, in the position of either consenting to the affirmative decision of the Congress or to turn against himself the votes of the friends of the Bank in the election to the presidency, which must take place at the end of 1832, if he imposed his *veto* to the decision of Congress. He forgets that he himself, in his message opening the same session, exhorted the Congress to terminate this matter.
2. To be involved in politics in working against himself in the presidential election of 1832, and of having increased the amount of its accounts and advances of \$28 ¹/₂ million to that effect. The Bank responded that this figure was inexact. Its books were open, and they attest having received, in the cited period from January 1831 to May 1832, an increase of disposable values rising to 10 million dollars, and that the needs of commerce having grown, they judged it possible to extend credits by the sum of \$17 ¹/₂ million, so that the real growth of its operations was no more than \$4 ¹/₂ million (25 million francs).
3. Finally, of having desired to subvert the liberty of the press by loaning to these publications without limit, in order to win these journals to its cause. The Bank responds that it is perfectly within its right to defend itself through the press against attacks of which it is the target, and that the press responded by multiplying them. That it was well permitted to reprint speeches in Congress in its favor, or serious works in which the question of banks is illuminated, such as a writing by the illustrious Mr. Gallatin, who was secretary of the treasury for twelve years, later ambassador in France. So far as the imputation of having intended to seduce such a numerous¹¹⁵ press as exists in the United States does not merit refutation.

Surely, if a European government, with motives of this caliber, on the facts so poorly proved, sought to reverse, to ruin an institution essential to the country, there would be a cry of despotism from all quarters. If in this institution the state were found to be involved to the extent of a fifth (7 million dollars or 37 million francs), many men would scold these pursuits not simply as violence but as ineptitude. In the United States, the numerical majority, which is the electoral majority, applauds General Jackson's campaign with nearly as much enthusiasm as his New Orleans campaign.¹¹⁶ General

¹¹⁵ The state of New York alone possessed 259 journals in 1833, of which almost none was a stranger to politics and news. It has more political and semi-political journals than in all of France. The population of the state of New York in 1833 was two million (See Note 17).

¹¹⁶ At the end of 1814, an English army composed of excellent troops went from Jamaica under the orders of General Pakenham, debarking three leagues below New Orleans. General Jackson, who had only militia under his orders, and in number smaller than the English, entrenched two leagues from the city. On 8 January, Pakenham attacked the American trenches. The battle was short and decisive: the English were

Jackson's military successes, his probity, his character, firm to the point of stubbornness, his rigidity like an iron bar, have won him immense popularity. The Bank, in contrast, despite its daily services,¹¹⁷ is unpopular. It is so because of the hatred attaching to the *banking system*. It is the object of this jealousy that, in a land of absolute equality and aggressive democracy, arises in a setting of opulence and feasting. The Bank is this because its extensive prerogatives shock many republican sensibilities. In the United States, despite habits and laws of equality, there is a sort of aristocracy based partly on intelligence, partly on high commercial positions. This aristocracy, somewhat disdainful of the vulgar, excites against itself a rather lively reaction, and since it supports the Bank with its influence and writings, it is no surprise that pure democracy should be against the Bank. Add to this that the Bank, irritated by the hostilities of the administration, has responded here several times with anger through acts of reprisals not so much grave as unfortunate, from which its adversaries have been able adroitly to profit by exciting popular passions. While the Bank has a majority of the Senate in its favor, chances right now are against it. At least the masses who today cry out, *Hurrah for Jackson!* neither wishing to think nor reflect here that in the month of March 1836 (when the charter of the Bank expires), it will disappear, until a new experience has demonstrated once more that it is not possible to tolerate this.

Just as it came to the moment when the Reform Ministry extended the privileges of the Bank of England, to the applause of all Europe, there is here a compact mass where enlightened men are not in the majority, but where many are found who wish to beat to death an analogous institution, proven by long service. Hence, whereas one of the greatest benefits, perhaps the greatest in an industrial context, that France could receive consists in the creation of a system of banks mutually tied together like the twenty-five branches of the Bank of the United States are with the mother Bank of Philadelphia,¹¹⁸ America perhaps will proceed to see it die, and at least remove this productive institution for some years, without having to result in an immediate drop in popularity for the administration vowed to this deplorable work of destruction. Thus goes the world in the United States, and intrigues and petty hatreds have as free a field as they do elsewhere.

Note 15 [Note 12, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Bankruptcies in the United States

It would be absolutely unjust concerning the Americans not to recognize that they suffer all their days under the sign of bankruptcy. In a new country, it is natural that one there pays little attention to it, and that everything there is necessarily experiment and groping, and that every speculation there is contingent. Hence, in the youngest states, they are rather easily resigned to failure. One hence liquidates old operations and immediately begins new ones. The public is very tolerant concerning individual

repulsed with a loss of more than two thousand men; the losses of the Americans were insignificant. Pakenham was killed at the start of the action. It was General Jackson's resolution that, in this difficult circumstance, raised everyone's courage and preserved Louisiana to the United States.

¹¹⁷ See Note 18.

¹¹⁸ The syndicate of receivers-general, established by Monsieur de Villèle, reaffirms the fortunate germ of a general institution for the circulation of credit. Created as an application of the law indemnifying the émigrés, it succumbed to the unpopularity of its origin. It is possible that it shall be revived under better auspices.

bankruptcies, because they see nineteen times out of twenty the effect of bad luck rather than cheating. They regard a bankrupt like a soldier a bullet has struck in the ranks. He inspires interest but not scorn. Congress was permitted to legislate on bankruptcy, but it does not take it up any more. Provisional rules that survive in the various states are very indulgent toward the bankrupt. He is quit of everything on condition of surrendering his obvious goods to his creditors. This is what is known as taking the benefit of the *act of insolvency*.¹¹⁹ They feel that if you reprove bankruptcy too severely, they will compromise the spirit of enterprise that provides the power of the country. There exists none of the measures of rigor concerning the bankrupt that mar French legislation and compromises the interests of the creditors. Sometimes they abuse the indulgence of the law, but, on the whole, this indulgence has many fewer inconveniencies than our own severity. In France in 1836, Monsieur Persil presented a bill destined to improve our law on bankruptcy. This bill should be revived, at least as a basis of discussion.

Nevertheless, in the great metropolises of the coast, where commerce takes its seat, they recognize that if bankruptcy is not a dishonor, it is at least a public and private curse against which one cannot be sufficiently on guard. They coalesce against it as the Dutch do against the sea, and the unanimous agreement of the chief businessmen and capitalists suffices to keep it more and more in check, even in the midst of the most disastrous circumstances. What happened in New York as a result of the great fire of December 1835, offers utter proof of Americans expelling bankruptcy from their country, and of the success their efforts have obtained.

On 16 December 1835, a dreadful fire broke out in New York, devouring the greater part of *Pearl Street* and *Wall Street*, with adjoining streets, all occupied by warehouses crammed with merchandise imported from Europe and China, or objects ready for exportation. The sum of damages passed 80 million francs, and the insurance companies found themselves incapable of fulfilling their agreements.

At first news of the fire, there was not a single businessman in Europe who did not tremble for their American debtors, for in Europe in general and in France in particular, if a parallel event took place the persons stricken by it would be stripped of all credit and of all means to repair their misfortune. In France there exists a singular practice in commercial relations, which is that if you have no need whatsoever for credit, they will offer it to you. If, on the other hand, you need it, you will not find it. In the United States, on the contrary, immediately after the disaster the president of the Bank of the United States came from Philadelphia to place 11 millions at the disposition of the commerce of New York, and the banks in general declared they would discount at a preferential rate the paper of those burned out.

Although in America the sphere of action of the authority is very restricted, the corporation of New York and the powers of the state rivaled one another in their zeal: the former offered an advance of 32 million, not to the individual businessmen as in our own procedure of 1830, but to the insurance companies whose distress would have led to general bankruptcy. To fortify commerce, it awakened the citadel on which it relies, Congress itself, which is forbidden to take a step outside its little federal district,

¹¹⁹ Those creditors who do not accept the agreement retain hold not on the person of the debtor but on those goods he might acquire in the future. In general they show themselves accommodating and do not look too closely at the transactions leading to his bankruptcy. In the states where imprisonment for debts exists, it cannot be exercised against the bankrupt who has given up his goods.

suspended its rule of passively observing what takes place outside the walls of the Capitol; the Congress was summoned and listened, and it extended the term of the obligations of customs to the benefit of those burned out.

The result of this remarkable gathering of citizens, associations and public powers¹²⁰ was to cause bankruptcy to ebb: one could not mention a major house that was missing. What a difference from our debacle of 1830!

Everything comes to the aid of one who does not lose courage. The considerable boom that merchandise experienced, made rarer by the destruction of the warehouses and storage, partly compensated the businessmen's losses. No one was ruined, not even the shareholders of the insurance companies that did not have the prudence to have a sufficient reserve, and which were repaid almost all of their benefits by enormous dividends, while advances from the city of New York and measures adopted by the state legislature permitted the companies to continue their business.

Thus, there is with the American, in the presence of commercial disasters, a courage that resembles that of a soldier on the field of battle. At the critical moment, he faces bankruptcy in the manner of old grenadiers who march into the fire of a battery to cause the firing to cease. If it is true that commerce shall supplant war, it must be admitted that we are less advanced toward the future than the Americans, since one of their qualities is that they know how to do an about-face. They have dedicated themselves to industry, while we permit ours to be imperturbably directed at battles. They have invented a new courage that is productive: we do not shine except in our courage to kill or die.

The merit of this entirely novel audacity is not found only among Americans. They have the germ of it in their blood. It is a gift of their mother country. During the recent calamity that swallowed so many treasures in New York, the English were not immune to the fear that swept to them from America. I know that American businessmen established in Paris and having a house in the United States, asked their London bankers if they could continue to use the credits these bankers had opened to them, and they immediately received the response that not only would they receive their old credits, but that to allow them to repair their losses through these vast operations, they would relax the limit fixed there on credit, and they would provide them indefinitely.

French bankers, in contrast, placed before the same alternative, would have hastened to cut all credit.

In this French bankers have understood their interests less well than English bankers, since the businessman to whom one suppresses credit in the midst of a crisis will necessarily fail and compromise all previous advances. On the contrary, the capable man to whom you provide ample means to try his fortune anew has good chances to recover what he has lost, and to guarantee the interests of his creditors at the same time as his own.

In a nation organized for commerce, where it has institutions of credit, the coins of a businessman or the merchandise he has in a warehouse are not all of his capital: the most essential portion of this capital consists of his acquired experience, the relationships he has created, the consideration that attaches to his signature. In that place there is a moral capital that fires cannot reach, which endure accidents of every nature. In New

¹²⁰ It still must be recognized that, once this fine moment passed, the zeal of the public powers has considerably chilled, and that the effective aid furnished by them was found to be very restrained.

York, because of this moral capital, of which you keep a large-scale account in a land dedicated to the spirit of commerce, one businessman, who does not have 200,000 francs to his name, does business for 1,000,000 or 1,200,000 francs. In Paris, under the same circumstances, the same man, with the same fortune, will have trouble finding 500,000 francs. At this rate, the United States enriches itself two and a half times more than we do in the same time. In England, affairs relative to capital are less gigantic than in the United States, but much less cramped than in France.

It is not necessary to believe that this disproportion between the mass of affairs and capital properly so-called should necessarily cause bankruptcies and commercial crises so long as it is kept within certain limits. For even if until now failures have been more frequent in the United States than here, they are about as many more frequent here as among the English. The solidity of the commerce of a country is, it is true, proportional to the capital on which it operates, but it is also directly related to a second element, composed of the facilities of credit, the spirit of association, or, in other terms, the solidarity that exists in fact among members of the commercial and industrial community, just as the force of an army depends, other matters being equal, more on the discipline of soldiers or their ability in maneuver than their individual value. We have more value than the English or the Americans, that is, a more considerable proportion of capital, but they are better disciplined, they maneuver better than we do, they are less inclined to cry out, "Save yourself!" and flee. That is, to speak without metaphor, they sustain one another better, they have to a higher degree the sentiment of solidarity, in a word, they understand credit better.

I repeat that bankruptcies in the United States are declining proportionately in the older states, but on average they are more numerous than here, for two reasons: first of all, certain Americans do not know how to place any limit on the disproportion between their affairs and their capital. In place of a relationship of five or six, for example, which I cited above, they go for ten, fifteen or twenty. They fall just as what happens to a soldier who goes ahead of his ranks. Second, the system of credit of the United States is imperfect. Among the banks there is no legal solidarity: they do not act together unless it is their wish. And this is what is to be deplored, in the interests of the country, about the suppression of the Bank of the United States, since this great institution had the means to maintain adequate discipline among local banks.

Note 16 [Note 13, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

The Comparative Areas of Various Countries

Designation	Nautical ¹²¹	Square
	Square miles	Kilometers
Earth's surface	148,522,000	508,688,000
Earth's dry surface	37,675,000	129,030,000
USA to the Pacific	1,528,000	3,317,000
USA, Atlantic coast	288,000	986,000

¹²¹ A nautical mile of 60 per degree, or one minute, is equal to 1851.85 meters. An English or American mile is 1609 meters.

A square nautical mile is 342.50 hectares or 3.42 square kilometers.
 An English square mile is 258.70 hectares or 2.59 square kilometers.
 A square kilometer is 100 hectares.

USA, Mississippi and St. Lawrence valley	1,015,000	3,447,000
USA, Pacific Coast	225,000	771,000
USA, states and organized Territories	753,000	2,576,000
Europe to the Urals	2,742,000	8,791,000
Western Europe ¹²²	876,000	3,057,000
European Russia	1,354,000	4,638,000
Asian Russia	4,190,000	14,351,000
Brazil	2,313,000	7,992,000
Mexico	1,242,000	4,254,000
France	154,000	527,000
United Kingdom	91,000	312,000
Austria	194,000	665,000
Spain and Portugal	167,000	570,000
Prussia	80,000	275,000
Small German states	68,000	234,000

Thus the United States occupies a space ten times larger than that of France, seventeen times larger than England, and almost double that of West Europe. The 24 states and three territories that existed on 1 January 1836¹²³ are five times as large as France.

And yet this vast land is five times smaller than the Empire of Brazil, which is also much more fertile.

Here are the areas of the states and territories in square English miles, according to Mr. [Henry Schenck] Tanner [1786-1858], and in hectares:

States and Territories	Square miles	Hectares
Maine	38,250	9,868,500
New Hampshire	8,200	2,373,600
Vermont	9,200	2,373,600
Massachusetts	8,750	2,257,500
Rhode Island	1,300	332,400
Connecticut	5,100	1,315,800
New York	49,000	12,642,000
New Jersey	7,500	2,995,000
Pennsylvania	47,500	12,255,000
Delaware	2,200	567,600
Maryland	11,150	2,876,700
Virginia	66,624	17,188,992
North Carolina	49,500	12,771,000
South Carolina	31,750	8,191,000

¹²² Including France, England, Spain and Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, the German Federation, Holland, Belgium, Denmark.

¹²³ Since then, two territories, Michigan and Arkansas, have passed to the rank of states, and a new territory, that of Wisconsin, was organized.

Georgia	61,500	15,867,000
Alabama	52,900	13,648,200
Mississippi	47,680	12,301,440
Louisiana	40,300	10,397,400
Tennessee	40,200	10,371,600
Kentucky	40,500	10,449,000
Ohio	39,500	10,255,500
Indiana	36,500	9,417,000
Illinois	57,900	14,938,200
Missouri	65,500	16,899,000
Michigan	54,000	13,932,000
Arkansas	60,700	15,660,600
District of Columbia	100	25,800
Territory of Florida	55,680	15,365,440
TOTAL	990,834	257,665,172

Note 17 [Note 14, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

The Press of the United States

In 1834 there were 1,265 journals in the United States (*American Almanac*, 1835, p. 282), not counting 130 to 140 publications that were exclusively religious, literary or dedicated to medicine, jurisprudence or agriculture. In 1801, Mr. Miller evaluated the printing run of all the journals together at 12 million pages a year. In 1810, Mr. Thomas (*History of Printing*) estimated it at 22,222,200. Mr. Williams (*Annual Register*) portrayed it for the state of New York alone at 16,028,000 in 1832. The *American Almanac* admits the figure of 70 or 80 million pages for the entire Union in 1834. It should be added that the printing run of periodic reviews is considerable. The chief Methodist review is printed in 32,000 copies.

By reason of the large number of journals, the print run of each is quite small. Each village has a sheet that appears one or two times a week. The number of daily journals is not very great: they were estimated at 90 in 1834. There are very few dailies with a press run over 2000, and there are none that run above 4000.¹²⁴ Most journals have no more than 350 to 500 subscribers.

American journals have little resemblance to the journals of France and England. They are principally papers of advertisements. Far from directing opinion, they follow it. The subdivision of the press does not permit any one of them to have a large influence, particularly outside one locality. In New York they only read New York papers; in New Orleans they know almost none outside of New Orleans, while in France those of Paris, and in England those of London dominate everywhere. Although the *Globe* and the *National Intelligencer* of Washington are generally distributed, in the United States journals are not great powers, they are instruments of publicity available to all. They are posting boards where everyone can go and hang what one wishes. They are where one searches not for an opinion but for news. It is known that in England the profession of writer does not enjoy by a great distance the popularity it has in France. It is even less

¹²⁴ Some dailies have a larger number of subscribers, but this is not for the daily issue but for a paper formed of the same materials without advertisements and issued three times, twice or once a week. The *Globe* of Washington thus supposedly claims 10,000 subscribers.

prized in the United States than in England. With the exception of an extremely small number of journals, at the head of which should be placed the *American* of New York, edited by Mr. Ch. King, and the *National Gazette* of Philadelphia, whose editor is Mr. R. Walsh, the American press occupies a very low rank on the social scale.

Despite their large format, American journals are not expensive. Here is their concept: the chief profit is provided by advertisements, and the cost of editing is small, since there is only one editor. Daily journals ordinarily cost \$10 (53 francs) per year, not including delivery. They do not appear on Sunday. They are not subject to stamping: stamping does not exist in the United States, but they pay more postage than do French journals.¹²⁵

In France, according to an article published by the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (April, 1836), on 1 January 1835 there existed between 700 and 750 journals or periodic publications, of which about 200 were political papers. It is estimated that the press run of the latter is between 35 and 40 million sheets, that is, half of the press run of American journals.

The press runs of Parisian journals are much larger than for journals of the United States. Under the Restoration, the *Constitutionnel* attained the figure of 25,000. Some Parisian journals currently have above 10,000. We have recently seen some cheap reviews advancing to 70, 80, and even 100,000 subscriptions.

Journals and periodic reviews form the major part of American literature. It is not the same here, since our journals are much more literary than those of Americans. It is estimated that there are published or reprinted more than 4000 works in France in 1835, forming 82,000 typographic leaves, which, in an average print run of 1500, would give 125 million printed pages.

In England the press is centralized in London, as it is in Paris here. In 1832 it was estimated that the United Kingdom had 339 journals, including 17 dailies, and the rest are weeklies; 235 were published in England, 65 in Scotland, 39 in Ireland. In 1833, the total was calculated as 369. According to Monsieur Léon Faucher (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 September 1836), there are currently in the United Kingdom 425 journals, of which 82 are in Ireland, of them 21 appear in Dublin, about 60 in Scotland, 100 to 120 in London, and 175 in the rest of England, proper, and Wales. At London, there are only ten dailies. The majority of provincial journals only appear once a week. Before the coming into force of the new stamping law, they estimated the number of leaves annually distributed by the two presses, stamped or not at 200 million, which roughly divided this grand circulation equally. The press run of London journals is generally less than that of Paris journals. The most widely distributed do not pass 6500. Until the most recent times they paid a considerable stamp charge (43 centimes); in consequence they sold for 75 centimes an issue (232 francs a year). The stamp duty is being reduced to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ centimes. By means of the stamp payment, journals are transmitted free throughout the United Kingdom. The price of sale is 53 centimes. There is also a duty on paper that was recently reduced. They do not appear on Sundays.

¹²⁵ The delivery of journals in the state where they appear and postage for a distance of 40 leagues is 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ centimes. For a greater distance, it is 8 centimes. In France, for all distances outside the départements of publication, it is 4 centimes; it is 2 centimes within the département. The difference is greater for periodic reviews.

English journals are one of the most marvelous products of industry for the money that is spent to procure news, for the enormous amount of material they contain, and for the rapidity with which they are composed, corrected, printed and distributed. Sometimes at 2 or 3 in the morning, debate is still going on in the House of Commons, and at 8 or 9 everything is published in the greatest detail and with perfect exactitude.

Note 18 [Note 15, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Movement of funds performed by the Bank of the United States

In 1832, the movement of funds from one point of the Union to another or between the Union and foreign lands that was operated by the Bank of the United States had risen to 255 million dollars, or 1,360,000,000 francs, in this manner:

Letters of exchange to various points in the Union sold by the Bank	\$67,516,673
Letters of exchange drawn on another's account.	42,096,062
Drafts from the central Bank and branches on one another	32,796,887
Drafts of the Bank or its branches on local banks, and the reverse	12,361,337
Bills of the Bank of the United States received at points not obligatory	39,449,527
Bills of local banks accepted by the Bank outside places of issuance	21,630,557
Movement of funds for the government	16,100,000
Transport of balances in coin	<u>9,767,667</u>
	\$241,718,710
Purchase of foreign drafts	\$ 9,253,533
Sale of foreign drafts 4,203,204	<u>13,456.73</u>
Total	\$255,175,447

The Bank only raised \$217,249 as commissions for this large mass of transactions, that is, $\frac{1}{2}$ percent.

In 1836, after the expiration of the charter of the Bank of the United States, exchange between New York and New Orleans could only function for a commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent.

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V

MOVEMENT OF THE PARTIES — THE QUESTION OF THE BANKS

Philadelphia, 5 January 1834

Of all the towns of the Union, pleasant Philadelphia is where the Bank question raises the most anxiety, since it is the town that possesses the mother bank. The state of Pennsylvania is also the one that suffers the most as a state from the financial crisis, since it is the one that has the largest debt (\$20 1/2 million dollars — 109 million francs) and that is obliged to borrow more, both to complete its canals and railroads, and to pay the interest on what it has already borrowed. Imagine the situation in a state of 1,500,000 souls, charged with the enormous debt of 109,000,000, of which the ordinary costs are less than 300,000, but which has to find 5,000,000 to service interest due. A state that also has need to get more than 13,000,000 for the next season, on the pain of seeing superb works created at great cost (289 1/2 leagues of canals and railroads) decay, and that does not know how to proceed. This is not all; old temporary loans are payable next May, in three months. Finally, to increase the misery, capitalists who have subscribed a loan of 16,000,000 last year, applicable to public works, are no longer able to fulfill their engagements, as a result of the crisis. Local banks that, according to their charters, are obligated to loan money to the state at the rate of 5 percent, need help on their own account in view of the hardness of the times. In addition to these public embarrassments are joined private ones. Hence the land that [William] Cobbett [1763-1835], who has the spirit at all times, as well as the leaders of good sense, call *anti-Malthusian*, offers at the moment the spectacle of an excess of hands. In the manufacturing districts of Pennsylvania many are without work.

The situation for most of the Union is hardly any more prosperous. I am disposed to believe that the anti-Jacksonians, as they call themselves, exaggerate the suffering of the country, but even putting aside the rhetoric, distress remains a constant fact, particularly among merchants. The figures in all their simplicity are more eloquent than the best advocates of the Bank. It is notorious that excellent interest-bearing accounts are available at the rate of 18 percent per annum and even more at New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The market-price and the stock-price witness to a general drop in values of 15, 20, 30, even 40 percent. Up to the present time the efforts of the president to beat the hydra of the aristocracy of money, the *Monster*, the *Mammoth Bank*, has beaten nothing that is not the credit and commercial prosperity of the country. This is because the Bank is administered with so much ability, particularly since it has had Mr. Biddle (one of the most distinguished men in the United States) as president, that today, after the brusque withdrawal of government deposits, after the improvised and truly unfair charges directed at some of its branches, particularly Savannah,¹²⁶ to force them to cease payment

¹²⁶ This Savannah branch, one of the weakest, had only 500,000 dollars in bills. The employees of the customs, where they are given in payment, made a collection, and one fine morning a broker presented himself to this branch with a mass of bills for 380,000 dollars, demanding specie. But the cashiers of the Bank of the United States at other places were able to see that the bills of the Savannah branch had vanished from circulation, and, in consequence, this branch was supplied with sufficient funds. The broker

in specie, it is incomparably the most solid of all the financial institutions of the Union.¹²⁷ At this critical moment it possesses by itself as much cash as the other 500 banks of the entire country (\$10 million or 53 million francs). And I may say that in these latter days, many *Jackson men* (that is still the received name) count themselves very fortunate that the perilous *reptile* has permitted a few drops of its *poison* to land on them.

If something like this happened in some monarchical country of Europe, those who desire absolutely what all the people without exception, whatever their condition of territory and population, of riches and intelligence, of character or mores, should have a government molded in the republican form, would never fail to make this a screed against the monarchical system. Rolling out a tableau of a commercial prosperity without equal halted suddenly by a caprice of power, they would demonstrate that this is one of the inevitable consequences of the dynastic interest opposed to national interest. They would establish by geometric syllogisms how it is of the essence of monarchy to place authority in the unable and imprudent hands of those who, to satisfy personal vengeance, do not hesitate to ruin the existence of millions. They believe in the *camarilla* that, according to them, is one of the distinctive attributes of royalty. Unfortunately for this theory, it is denied by what I have before my eyes, in the truest and the most flourishing republic that has ever existed.

Dynastic or rather courtly egoism, has generated many evils in the past, and will generate more again. But it has its pendant among republics, particularly under a system of *absolute* equality that distributes political power by *absolutely* equal doses between the scientist and the stupid, between the elites of businessmen and writers, and the Irish peasant, brutal and drunk, who comes to have himself inscribed in the ranks of citizens. An *absolute* people, just as easily as an *absolute* king, can disdain for a time the counsels of experience and wisdom. A people can have courtiers just as well as a king. A people on the throne, when its authority is not limited by any counter-weight, may as well marry blindly, and arbitrarily judge the quarrels of his darlings of a day. If you want to see it, look right here. Ignorance of the true interests of the country is not the exclusive province of monarchy. The official statements coming from the executive power of the United States in the Bank affair are, as administrative science and knowledge of the needs of public prosperity, at heights of arrogance equal to the Spanish or Roman government. And yet this executive power is the fruit of the most genuine and large election. It is not only in monarchies that one sees sometimes a dancer where there should be a mathematician. — The *camarilla*! I had never expected to hear such spoken of before I arrived in the United States. Here they call it the *Kitchen*, and not admitting a quarter of what the opposition says, it is difficult not to believe that the influence of the *Kitchen Cabinet* exceeds the influence of the cabinet of ministers on public affairs.

Let us return to the Bank. Congress has been in session since 3 December, and most of the legislatures are also in session. Everywhere, and particularly in Congress, the largest, not to say the only pending question is that of the Bank. The text of the discussions is the withdrawal of the public deposits that the president has abruptly taken

was paid in full at once, and since he did not know what to do with all that coin, he was obliged to ask the cashier to be so nice as to receive it in deposit.

¹²⁷ In many circumstances since the beginning of the crisis, the Bank has come to the rescue of local banks. Some days ago, one of the banks of New York (*Chemical Bank*) was at the point of suspending payments in specie; the Bank lent it 100,000 dollars immediately.

from the Bank after having abruptly fired the secretary of the treasury, Mr. [William J.] Duane [1780-1865, Secretary May-September 1833], who, although an enemy of the Bank, regarded the measure taken to be illegal and imprudent. To the present day, manifestations of public opinion and the opinion of assemblies deliberating are confused and contradictory. In New Jersey a small, poor state of little importance, the *assembly*¹²⁸ has adopted by a large majority resolutions to the effect of approving the acts of the administration, and of recommending to the delegates of the state in Congress to support the president with all their forces. This has not prevented one of the senators of this state, Mr. Southard, from making a fine speech in the opposite sense. The assembly of the state of New York, the first in population and riches, has adopted analogous resolutions, by a majority of 118 to 9. Some persons pretended that this was because New York wanted to have the mother bank.¹²⁹ The young state of Ohio, whose progress is prodigious (today it counts 1,100,000 souls; it had only 6,000 fifty years ago), Ohio, the Benjamin of the democracy, has energetically expressed the same sentiments. The little state of Maine is going to do the same. The party of the administration has recently had a brilliant occasion to cause their sympathies and hatreds to boom. The eighth of January was the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans: this day was celebrated by a multitude of banquets, each terminated by innumerable toasts. President Jackson was the hero of the festival; the Bank the scapegoat. You cannot conceive of the torrent of accusations, injuries and menaces of which it was the object. All of this mixed with puns in the style of the country, on Mr. Biddle's purse, for example. One of the dinners included a toast against the Bank, which said that, "It was governed by Young Nick (the forename of Mr. Biddle is Nicholas), according to the principles of Old Nick."¹³⁰

But the population of the Northeast, particularly that of Massachusetts, is opposed to the administration. In Virginia, the same opinion seems to prevail, and it is the same with many of the old states of the South.¹³¹ The businessmen and manufacturers of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and a hundred other points of the territory, gathered in *meetings*, have adopted resolutions energetically blaming the government's conduct against the Bank, attributing to it the current crisis. Most local banks of Philadelphia have petitioned in the same sense. In Boston and Virginia many banks have refused to receive the funds the president has withdrawn from the Bank of the United States. At Charleston they are unanimous in this refusal. The majority of men of intelligence, experience and moderation, and the majority of merchants and manufacturers, are in favor of the Bank. The campaign throughout the central and western states, in league with the urban workers, holds for General Jackson.

¹²⁸ All the particular legislatures are composed of two chambers. That which is more numerous and of which the members are elected for the shortest term carries in many states the name of *assembly*.

¹²⁹ New York is the principal place of commerce in the United States. Considering this, it has the right to possess the mother bank. Philadelphia has the advantage of being somewhat more central in location. Consequently, by making New York the principal seat of the Bank, it would be necessary to transfer there some public establishments, notably the mint, which is at Philadelphia. This transfer would not be without costs. Philadelphia is also the chief town of American capitalists.

¹³⁰ The latter is the popular name for the devil.

¹³¹ See Note 19.

In Congress, the majority of the Senate is for the Bank, and the majority of the House of Representatives for the administration.¹³² The honors of the discussion here so far are with the defenders of the Bank. In the Senate, three statesmen passing as national leaders, Messrs. [Henry] Clay, [Daniel] Webster [1782-1852 of Massachusetts] and [John C.] Calhoun [1782-1850 of South Carolina], are on this side. Messrs. Clay and Calhoun have made the speeches that caused the most sensation. In the House of Representatives, Mr. [Horace] Binney [1780-1875] of Philadelphia and Mr. [George] McDuffie [1790-1851 of South Carolina] have pleaded the same cause with talent. On the other side there has been more great words than good reasons. I have been struck by the resemblance of most of the speeches and newspaper articles directed against the Bank with our republican tirades of [17]91 and '92. There is the same declamatory tone, the same high-flown style, the same appeal to popular passions, with the one difference that alleged facts here are vague, hollow and intangible, while our grievances of fifty years ago were real. Most of them are fantastic visions portraying the aristocracy of money invading the country with an escort of corruption, seduction, and slavery. What do I know now? It is that Mr. Biddle wants to be king! With difficulty, out of this tangle of writings and speeches, one encounters a few that attest to serious study and a true knowledge of the subject. I have remarked on the speech of one the Representatives, a friend of the administration, Mr. [Churchill C.] Cambreleng [1786-1862 of New York], who has formulated very wise ideas on reforms that the current system of credit demands.

Because it must be recognized that this animosity of the president and the masses against the Bank of the United States, as blind and unreasonable as it is, hides a real need, which is a general reorganization of banks. When the Congress renewed the charter of the Bank of the United States, it was wrong. It should have seized the opportunity to place the financial system of the country on more solid foundations, and if General Jackson had remained within the terms of the message by which he expressed his veto (he said that he was not opposed to the principle of the establishment of a national bank,¹³³ but that he thought the current bank could not be maintained without modifications), he would have been able to become a benefactor of America. He would not have received, to be sure, the felicitations of [William] Cobbett [1763-1835],¹³⁴ but it would have had the acclamations of all the statesmen and all men of sense of the Old World and the New. For the rest, whatever the friends of General Jackson say, that he did not expect any of the distress that today desolates American commerce, and that it is impossible to doubt his patriotism, it is not possible to despair absolutely of seeing him rally at last to this salutary opinion.

The current crisis proves to excess how the system of circulation of the country is already imperfect, because the first and material cause is easy. It is a simple displacement of a sum from one bank to another, fifty millions, a small sum compared to the mass of transactions of the nation. If the local banks, despite the control exercised on

¹³² The Senate is composed of 48 members, two per state. The delegation of each state in the House of Representatives is apportioned according to population. This chamber currently has 240 members, one per 47,700 souls. Senators are elected by the legislatures; representatives are elected by citizens and by districts.

¹³³ One also uses this name to describe the Bank of the United States.

¹³⁴ Cobbett wrote the president a long letter in which he complemented his efforts to demolish the Bank of the United States, adding that he hoped that this was the first step toward a general abolition of banks.

them by the Bank of the United States, had not exceeded every preventative measure, they could, at the time that the Bank of the United States was obliged by the withdrawal of government funds to reduce accounts, have increased their own by the same proportion as the funds were transferred from the others' coffers to their own. But the scaffolding of these banks is so poorly placed that it trembles at the slightest breath. The simple flutter produced in the political and political atmosphere by the blow the president delivered to the Bank by removing public deposits sufficed to render it unstable. These were colossi with feet of clay where there should have been feet of gold, that is, the cash in their vaults.

The proportion of metallic gold or silver, of which we have an excessive level in France, is extremely thin here. In many states, among them that of New York, there is an enormous quantity of bank notes for one dollar (5 francs 33 centimes), two dollars and three dollars. In South Carolina there is one for 25 cents (1 franc 33 centimes), and even for 12 ¹/₂ cents (67 centimes). In Pennsylvania, Virginia and elsewhere, there are none below five dollars. The Bank of the United States does not issue below the last figure. But it is too low a minimum. Most economists, particularly those of England, proclaim as an axiom that the currency in its perfect state is in paper. This is true, supposing a people among whom every industrial perturbation, either as a result or in fear of a war, by false speculation, by overloading or panic, is impossible. In such a never-never land, in this earthly paradise, an unalterable confidence would preside over all transactions and would consolidate all interests. The metals would only be used to strike medals and to engrave inscriptions destined to preserve the memory of this ineffable beatitude. Paper would be taken to be equal to gold, and even more, so that some English writers pretend that things must be so. I do not know if any land has ever existed in this condition of celestial prosperity. I doubt it, since in the financial world as in the world of passions, I take the river of Tender to be a fable and idylls to be imaginary. But what is evident is that such a people does not exist today and will not exist at any time in the future. But now, in the United States, the system of banks currently active, as those that were in operation in England from 1797 to 1821 and even in 1825, rest on this theory of *perfect money*. It is stipulated as truth that the banks will willingly give gold in exchange for their paper; but aside from this clause, which tends to have a certain amount of metals remain in the country, one has added another than neutralizes it, which is the faculty to issue bills in an unlimited quantity and of a size of 1 or 2, 3, or 5 dollars. At times when affairs prosper, the issuance of paper is abundant, unlimited. As always, because of the confidence that reigns, the need for a metal pledge does not make itself felt, the metal flies in the face of an excess of paper. It barely remains in the country. Hence, since I have been in the United States, I have hardly seen a piece of gold if it is not on the scales of the mint. Barely struck, gold leaves for Europe and is recast. When a crisis comes, the demand for precious metal rapidly rises, because everyone attaches a higher price on a positive pledge than to paper, and the more the supply of demand for metals is retarded, the longer the crisis lasts and the more serious it becomes.

In a new country where capital is necessarily less abundant, since capital of all types, commodities and precious metals, are the accumulated fruits of labor, it is natural that the proportion of paper money equals and surpasses that of metallic money. The existence of paper money is even a great advantage for all countries. In France, we have

an enormous value of around three billions in the form of coin, gold and silver.¹³⁵ In the United States, 200,000,000 in coin suffices for all the transactions of an economy that it is permitted to believe it is about the same as our own. In England, at this moment, coin, almost all in gold, barely exceeds a billion. Bank notes, which complete the circulation of the country, rise currently in the United States to 500,000,000, that is, two and a half times more than the coin, and in England to a billion, that is roughly the same figure as the coin, which gives us for the total national circulation:

In the United States	700 millions
In England	2,000 millions

If we had in France the industrial habits of the English and the Anglo-Americans, it is probable that a billion in circulation, half in coin, half in bills, would suffice for all transactions. Regarding our commercial inferiority, we admit that a billion and a half would be necessary for us, and that it would have to consist of two-thirds metal and one third of paper. It would always result that we could usefully dispose of a value of two billion that is today absorbed unproductively in the form of coin, and I would add that it does nothing for our enjoyment, for our comfort, nor for our industrial power.

But if we, ourselves, expect great profits from the banks of circulation and from the paper money they issue, it is clear that, although new arrivals in terms of riches, in terms of the mass of capital they currently possess, the Americans would have an advantage by limiting themselves in this regard. They would have a place here to elevate the minimum for bills and raise it to 10, 15 or 20 dollars for the Bank of the United States, just as in England they have made bills under five pounds sterling disappear. The National Bank, if it were properly powerful, would do well to oblige the local banks to restrain themselves as well: this is why it is time to concentrate the capital of the present Bank. The quantity of metals necessary in the countryside for all transactions of less importance than the minimum bills should remain there. And in case of a disturbance, circulation would be less quick to collapse.

It is not only from this point of view that the statutes of the Bank of the United States should be revised. One could also modify its relations both with the central government and with the individual governments.¹³⁶ Things have been said in this context concerning projects worthy of consideration and study. Further, as Mr. Cambreleng says, it would be possible to change the regulations concerning public and private deposits and require that in the future deposits would pay interest, as practiced in the banks of Scotland. If his system were adopted for all American banks in general, they would gain in stability, they would support the interests of all classes, and they would become institutions providing benefits to all. While today their direct profits, dividends,

¹³⁵ See Note 20.

¹³⁶ Today the Bank only has ties to the federal government, which holds shares for seven million dollars and names five of the 25 directors. It is completely independent of the particular governments. According to the project submitted to the legislatures of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, a project that Mr. Webster cited in the Senate, the particular governments will or could become shareholders, according to a determined proportion. They would name a portion of the local directors. Their authorization would be indispensable to the establishment of a branch on their territory. According to the same project, capital would be raised from 35 million dollars to 50 million.

are exclusively the lot of stockholders who belong to the rich class, which has contributed more than a little to the unpopularity of the *banking system*.

Finally, it is now the place to examine at what point the immediate advantage of credit could be placed at the disposal of artisans and cultivators. In this regard the banks here are absolutely aristocratic institutions. In the case of banks, the Americans have preserved the traditions of their ancestors, the English, without changing anything. American banks are before all else dedicated to large-scale commerce and speculators.

It is difficult to guess, in the middle of so many contradictory demonstrations, what will be the definitive result of the conflict. The friends of the administration pretend that President Jackson and Vice President Martin Van Buren are enemies not only of the Bank as it is, but of any national bank, and that they will not surrender. *The Globe* of Washington, which is the president's devoted journal, has said of Mr. Clay that "if he does not find a Brutus" (to assassinate General Jackson), the Bank will have neither public deposits nor a new charter. In any case it is permitted to doubt that the resolution of the president is all that formally set. After all, a majority of two-thirds of Congress is enough to override his *veto*. So far as the vice president is concerned, whom adversaries call wily Van Buren, since he aspires to succeed the present president, many persons affirm that his goal is to draw to himself the vote of the powerful state of New York (he is from that state himself) by having the seat of the mother bank transferred there, but that he favors business too much to wish seriously to destroy an institution so essential to the prosperity of the country.

Whatever happens, it would be surprising if the current crisis is not followed sooner or later by a reaction in favor of the Bank of the United States properly modified, or another national bank, which will return almost unchanged, as Mr. Webster observed, provided that the shareholders of the present bank are not sacrificed. The hostile Democracy of this country has an advantage over the other democracies in having a very straight sense. By recalling these old grievances against the abuses of the banks, by jealousy against all superiors, it has been able to heed many of the high-sounding speeches against the aristocracy of money, particularly since these speeches are intermingled with compliments for themselves. The democracy has been able, when one speaks to it about its prerogatives, to permit itself to be misled for an instant, as happened with kings by divine right until alarms rose among their people. The Democracy, high-spirited as it is over its gigantic works, was able to believe that it would be permissible and easy, and that all that was needed was to knit its brow and the Bank would roll at its feet in the dust without all the earth about him scorched by its mighty fall. But positive, inexorable facts will tell him that he has been deceived, that the Bank is too grand in its power and its star, that the Bank of the United States is an indispensable agent. The influence of these facts extend themselves more and more to the inhabitants of the countryside who can no longer find buyers for their products. The argument is urgent, and there must be compromise. It is difficult for men of good sense for passion to resist such proofs for long, for people of good sense are those who do not believe in theories no matter what, and who admit that every theory that acts against the facts is vicious or incomplete. See why common sense in politics is worth less than spirit.

It is also good to recall that all the political difficulties in which the United States has been engaged, menacing the very existence of the Union, have been removed by the means of measures called "compromise" here, called *les justes milieux* in France. It is

thus that the grave debate over Missouri was resolved, which was likely to set the Union aflame. The question was whether Missouri would be admitted into the confederation with slavery. After long debates without result, Mr. Clay proposed that Missouri be admitted without condition, but that at the same time it was declared that any state situated to the north of 36° 30' latitude would not be accepted into the Union with a clause on slavery. This compromise rallied all the spirits, and the admission of Missouri was proclaimed. At the following session, however, the quarrel revived between the North and the South even more bitterly and more lively on the occasion of an article of the constitution of the new state that banned entry to every free person of color. Another compromise proposed by Mr. Clay ended this debate in 1821 that had held the United States in anguish for three years. In 1833, it was again by compromise that the tariff question was resolved, and the honor of this went again to Mr. Clay. This time, a compromise raised difficulty a bit too early or a bit too late. The Union could not pass a national bank; it already had one.

There are happy persons who always succeed. There are happy peoples for whom all events turn to their profit, even when the events seem to have to lead to total ruin. North America is one of those privileged lands. When [Nicholas de Neufville et] Villeroi [1597-1685], defeated, returned to Versailles, Louis XIV said to him, “*Monsieur le maréchal*, one is never happy at your age.” Charles V, having become old, said the same thing, which was that fortune was like women, who prefer young men to old geezers. Louis XIV and Charles V were right in this sense that once a man, young or old, finishes his mission, foreknowledge, ability and perseverance will not profit him. He will fail at what he undertakes; the most violent crises won't weaken him, it will give him new vigor. This is true for peoples as for individuals. The American people is a new people that has a mission, nothing less than conquering a world against savage forests, against panthers and bears. It marches with a broad step toward its future, because unlike the peoples of Europe, it does not have the burden of the past on their shoulders. It could remain engaged for a while in the current crisis, but it will come out of it healthy and sound, more robust than when it came into it. It will come out with added resources, with a purged banking system and even, to all appearances, a perfected national bank. The peoples of the European continent cannot wait any longer for the institutions that have so powerfully aided England and the United States on the course of their material progress!

Note 19 [Note 16, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Denomination of the various parts of the Union

One ordinarily designates as the states of New England the states of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont; one also qualifies them as states of the East, although they are not the only ones to the east of the Alleghenies, because they occupy the easternmost part of the continent.¹³⁷

One calls the states of the center or *Middle States* those of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland.

¹³⁷ To prevent confusion as much as possible, I avoid designating them in this way. I call the states of the East all those along the whole Atlantic coast.

Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia are the old states of the South.

The new states of the South or the states of the South-East are those of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, soon to be joined by that of Florida.

What one commonly calls the West comprehends the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and the new state of Michigan. The states of Alabama and Mississippi and the new state of Arkansas still may rigorously be considered part of the West.

One often uses the denominations of North and South. They amount to this: states without slaves and states with slaves. One places Maryland and the state of Delaware in the North, although they have slaves, because slavery there is in decline and should, by all appearances, be abolished there. The Potomac, along the Atlantic coast, is regarded as forming the line of demarcation between the North and the South.

Note 20 [Note 17, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On Coin and Paper Money

The quantity of coin, whether of gold or silver, that has been struck in France on the new standard currently (1836) rises to a bit more than four billion, of which three quarters are in silver and a quarter in gold. It is possible that it will be exported or melted down for bullion; there still remains more than three billion.

One part of this immense capital is out of circulation and remains buried or sleeping in the coffers of individuals or in the belts of the poor who do not dare confer their savings on anyone.

In the United States, on 1 January 1834, according the report of Mr. Wilde (see above, note 13), the 405 local banks for which official or semi-official reports exist, have \$65,090,000 (346,650,000 francs) worth of bills in circulation, and \$14,250,000 in coin. There also exist 101 banks of which the situation is known only approximately, of which the bills in circulation rise to \$12,650,000 (67,400,000 francs), and the coin at \$2,825,000 dollars (15,080,000 francs).

The Bank of the United States had then a circulation of \$10,300,000 (55,000,000 francs) in paper, and possessed \$13,865,999 (73,950,000 francs) in coin. The totality of the representative sign of the United States, not counting the small quantity of coin that exists in the hands of individuals, would be as follows:

	Paper, in millions	Coin, in millions	Total
Local banks	414	91	505
Bank of the US	55	74	129
	<hr/> 469	<hr/> 165	<hr/> 634

In this era, the crisis of the local banks and of the Bank of the United States had retired a portion of their paper. Before the commencement of hostilities between the president and the Bank, bills in circulation must have represented a sum of 500 to 520 million francs.

Since 1834, metallic coins have considerably increased in the United States. Various states, those of New York, Maine, Connecticut, New Jersey and Alabama, have prohibited the issuance of banknotes smaller than five dollars. This had already been

forbidden in the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, North Carolina, Indiana and Kentucky. Mississippi and Illinois have adopted equivalent measures. Hence two-thirds of the states, representing five-sixth of the wealth of the country, do not have bills less than five dollars. One infers that this state of affairs favors the increased use of precious metals.

The secretary of the treasury has forbidden receivers of public funds to accept bills of less than five dollars in payment starting on 30 September 1835. According to a report to Congress dated 8 December 1835, he announces the intention to extend this exclusion to bills of less than ten dollars.

In the same report, he expressed in these terms, on the subject of the supply of precious metals in the country:

During the last two years, from 1 October 1833 to 1 November 1835, coin imported to the United States, with deduction for exportation, and taking account of what does not figure on the customs registers, rose to \$27 million (144 million francs). One estimates that our goldmines during the same period produced more than \$3 million (16 million francs). The coin existing in the country therefore exceeded \$64 million (341 million francs). The banks, according to their own declarations or the evaluations that supplement them, have in their coffers on 1 January 1835 close to \$44 million (235 million francs) in precious metals. A part of these bank funds was in ingots, and in addition at least approximately \$20 million (107 million francs) in coin is in circulation in coin in the country.

If the small bills that remain in circulation, which do not surpass six to seven million dollars (32 to 37 million francs), are retired, it would not require more than a third of the metallic resources of the Union for the last two years to take their place.

At the same time the mass of precious metals has increased, that of paper in circulation also increased. On 1 January 1835, it was 104 million dollars (553 million francs). In summary one could estimate that in the middle of 1835 the total circulation of the country would be thusly composed:

Coin dispersed throughout the country	107
Coin in banks	235
Bank bills	<u>560</u>
Total	902

Circulation, properly so-called, that is, deducting coin held in banks, would be 667 million.

Here is the what the quantity of paper money in circulation in the United Kingdom is at the end of 1833, according to the information gathered principally in the *Dictionary of Commerce* by Mac Culloch:

Bank of England	£19,500,000
Branches of the B. of Eng.	3,300,000

Private Bankers	8,500,000
Joint Stock Banks of Eng.	1,500,000 ¹³⁸
Banks of Scotland	2,000,000
Banks of Ireland	<u>7,500,000</u>
Total	£42,300,000
Or, at the rate of 25.25 francs	1,068,000,000 francs

In the same period, the coinage of the United Kingdom could be evaluated as follows:

Gold in circulation or in the coffers of the banks of Scotland and of Ireland, or in that of private and non-incorporated banks of England.	£30,000,000
Gold in the coffers of branches of the Bank of Eng.	1,300,000
Gold in the hands of the Bank of England in London	7,500,000
Silver	<u>7,000,000</u>
	£45,800,000
Or at the rate of 25.25 francs.	1,156,000,000 francs

Other estimates place this sum to at least a billion.
The total circulation of the
United Kingdom in gold and paper,
taking the highest estimate

	2,224,000,000 francs
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Circulation properly so called,
that is, deducting gold in the coffers of
all banks, would be about

£75,000,000 or	1,893,000,000 francs
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At the end of 1835, the circulation of the United Kingdom was modified; paper was increased and coin reduced, particularly in bank coffers. The joint stocks banks in England and Wales alone, without counting Scotland and Ireland, more than £3 million (75 million francs) of paper in circulation. In response the paper of the Bank of England has been reduced. A large quantity of gold was exported to America.

¹³⁸ In the month of August 1838, it was £3,600,000.

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 5 May 1834, pp. 1-3. “We have received from one of our collaborators, Monsieur M. C., who is traveling in America currently, a new letter on the commercial crisis of the United States ...”]

VI
PROGRESS OF THE CONFLICT — NEW POWERS

Baltimore, 1 March 1834

The commercial failure is getting more severe in the United States, especially in Pennsylvania and New York. The large commercial establishments and manufacturers are involved. In the Senate and the House of Representatives, they are involved these days with speeches on the crisis, its causes and its results. See that for the last three months they have been discussing whether the secretary of the treasury does or does not have the right to withdraw public deposits from the Bank without this institution being subject to any definite complaint, and solely for being vehemently suspected of aristocratic tendencies. The arguments that have arisen in this discussion have been committed by the Senate to its Finance Committee, and by the House of Representatives to its Committee on Ways and Means. The debate will soon revive over the reports of these committees on petitions, addresses and incidents. I would guess that this will be another two or three months later. These delays are extremely difficult to endure among a people seeking all possible means to save time, that is passionate for everything that is rapid, brief, expeditious no matter what the goal. If you want a symbol of this, one could do no better than to imagine a steamboat or a railroad locomotive, just as once people compounded centaurs with their horses.

In all the large cities of the North, committees gathered in imposing meetings go to Washington to present petitions covered with signatures by the thousands calling for prompt and efficacious measures to put an end to the crisis. On the other side, the partisans of the administration accuse the slowness of the legislators. The calm, or rather the phlegm, that Americans have inherited from their fathers the English conserves itself unperturbed in the two chambers of Congress. The solemn harangues pursue their course. There is there that orator, Mr. [Thomas Hart] Benton [1782-1858, of Missouri], whose speech fills four sessions, four long days. What does he have to say to Mr. Calhoun that the senator from Missouri should need to take more time to express his opinion on a very simple fact than it took the French people to make and complete a revolution? But these interminable delays should not be condemned lightly, and as far as I'm concerned, I shrug my shoulders while I tell impatient persons that the members of Congress (98) would be more alert without the payment of eight dollars a day allowed them for the entire duration of the Congress. This delay jibes well with one of the distinctive traits of the American character, and it is no less imperiously commanded by the form and spirit of the government of the United States, by the institutions and the political mores of the country.

The general discussion of the Congress has no other object than to open to the country a large, public investigation that will permit everyone and each person to form an opinion. It takes up that of an innumerable press (there are twelve hundred political journals in the United States), that of the twenty-four particular state legislatures, each composed of two chambers, and that of the *meetings* in the towns and villages. It is an exchange prodigiously animated with arguments of all caliber and all alloys, with

contradictory resolutions, mixed with applause and catcalls, hyperbolic apotheoses and brutal injuries. A stranger who suddenly found himself transported into the midst of this fracas is disconcerted, stupefied. He seems to be present at a primitive *tohu-bohu* or at the end of the world, or at the least at a general dislocation of the Union. But always, through the swirling mist, despite this confusion, there escapes after a certain time the signs of light, a lightning flash that the good sense of the people avidly seizes and illuminates the Congress. It is the realization of the *Forum* on a vast scale, of the *Forum* with its tumult, its gabbling, its lampoons, but also with its right instincts and its praises for native, unkempt genius. It is a spectacle that, in its details, is here and there prosaic and repellant, but which, in its whole and mass, is as imposing as the rising ocean.

In such a country, one cannot avoid delays, first of all because it takes a long time for word to be exchanged between the borders of Canada and the Gulf of Mexico, and further because nothing is as dangerous as rain in a Forum, whatever its extent, whether it only covers the space between the Rostra and the Tarpeian Rock, whether it extends from Lake Champlain to the mouths of the Mississippi, and from the Illinois to the tip of Florida. Unfortunately, this time the session at the Forum is lasting longer than usual. The demagogues have brought the popular passions to a violent pitch. The sovereign people has allowed itself to be magnetized by its flatterers; some time is needed to calm the ecstatic influence dominating it. The repairing flash that will fix the attitudes of the multitude and dissipate the spell with which it is enveloped has not yet taken place, neither in the East nor in the West. The businessmen and manufacturers, who are on the griddle, complain in vain; nothing responds to their cry of distress.

The Bank in these days hides and is silent. It continues its affairs without noise and remains prudently quiet. The best politics it could adopt is to cause as little as possible to be said about itself. The demagogues have cried out so much about monopoly and aristocracy that they have finished by persuading the multitude that the Bank is a colossal aristocracy, supporting monopoly. These words *monopoly* and *aristocracy* are here equivalent to the word *Jesuits* in France some years ago. If the enemies of an institution succeed in writing this variety of *abracadabra* on its back, it is fingered, hooted at, whistled at by the mob. Such is the mysterious power of these words, which speculators employ for all purposes as talismans to attract customers. And, for example, at the top of all the posters on steamboats, you see in large characters, *No monopoly!!!* It is pitiable to say that the Bank of the United States exercised a monopoly while there are no fewer than five hundred other banks in the country. By this sort of reasoning, one could get to the point of accusing the sun of having a monopoly of light. But the large number of those who believe that increases every day. So the politics that best suits those against whom a storm of unpopularity is raised is to abstain, to turn the *cape*, as boats do in the presence of a storm. Twice the Bank tried to profit from its enemies' mistakes by delivering a blow in return, and two times these attempts at an offensive were turned against it.

The first time had to do with the bill with the French government that the government of the United States had passed to the Bank, which the government of France refused to pay, leading to a protest, as a result of which the correspondent of the Bank of the United States in Paris paid the bill to do honor to the signature of the institution. In this affair the executive power of the United States was in the wrong.

1. It had committed an act of contempt by charging the French government before the French chambers had allocated the funds necessary to cover the agreed indemnity of 25 millions.
2. Instead of drawing by letter of exchange on the French government and selling this letter of exchange to the Bank, not knowing if it would be accepted, the executive power would have dealt more comfortably toward itself, toward France and the Bank by authorizing the latter to receive the payments of the French government in money or compelled by state power.

By virtue of commercial usage of all countries in general and the United States in particular, the Bank had a right to claim interest for losses. It did so. Its goal was certainly more to recover everything assignable to the error of executive power than to cash a sum of 50,000 or 80,000 dollars. But immediately its adversaries cried out that it was not enough for the Bank to collect enormous sums from the people to the profit of its shareholders (note that the dividends of the Bank are moderate when compared to other financial companies of the country, and that the federal government is the largest shareholder); that in its cupidity, the Bank desired, aided by miserable tricks, to extort once more a portion of the public revenue, *sticking the money of the people in Mr. Biddle's purse*. For this reason, for that was taken as a demonstrative reason, the multitude responded by slogans against monopoly and against the aristocracy of money, and by the repeated shout of *Hurrah for Jackson!*

Several days ago, we witnessed another episode of the same sort. The Bank is obligated, by virtue of an act of Congress, to pay pensions bestowed on veterans of the War of Independence. It is a service the Bank performs for free and that is notoriously onerous. It has received various sums to that effect, and, at this moment, it has in its vaults about \$500,000 for the next round of pensions. The administration has desired to relieve the Bank of this service, and it has demanded these funds along with the books and papers that depend on it. The Bank responds that having been constituted depository by an act of Congress, it cannot, must not and desires not to desist except by virtue of a new act of Congress. Basically the Bank is right; its refusal is based on the law. But look what happened: its adversaries are moved to pity the lot of the illustrious remnant of Independence that the *presumption* of the Bank will, they say, plunge them into the most dire poverty at the end of their career. They have imposed pathetic groans on the glorious defenders of the fatherland from whom a *money corporation* desires to rob the gifts national recognition has sought to offer them in the days of their old age. You can conceive all the bombastic arguments, all the patriotic tirades one might expel on this text. On 4 February the president addressed to Congress a message in this sense. It is nothing but an invective, and of the most common sort, the most hypocritical, because what would prevent the liberators of America from receiving their pension if their bills drawn on the Bank were rejected, but if the Bank would pay them at once? But a fascinated people do not listen to logic. It is thought by the multitude at this moment that the Bank has resolved to let the noble veterans of independence die of starvation; one more time, anathema to monopoly, hatred to the aristocracy of money! *Hurrah for Jackson! Jackson forever!*

Thus, every time the Bank sets foot on the terrain of polemic, which is the terrain of its adversaries, it is wrong, although it is right ten times over. On the contrary, when it

is held to the line of accounts and credits, it has found occasions to demonstrate by preemption, without opening its mouth, the point at which the accusations of its enemies are denuded of sense. These enemies not only impute to the Bank the frightful crime of being suspect of aristocracy and monopoly, but attribute to it the public distress of which they denied the possibility a few months ago, and which they alone have provoked. Most recently the Bank has come to the aid of some local banks that have been menaced with failure. Some days ago, it has largely opened its coffers to one of the most powerful houses of the Union, the house of Allen & Co., which, with active assets considerably superior to its negatives, found itself obliged to suspend payments, due to the hardness of the times. The failure of this house, which had no fewer than twenty-four branches, led to hundreds of other failures. It is thus that the Bank should take the offensive. By such acts, without a word of commentary, it would assure the friendship and support of all enlightened and impartial men, and the recognition of all commerce, far better than not being able to wage more eloquent declarations against the pretensions of this or that minister or the best-reasoned memoirs in defense.

I am more and more convinced that the United States will draw profit from this crisis. It will be necessary to sort out, sooner or later, a principle of reorganization for the banking system. The national bank, if it is maintained, and the local banks, should be less isolated from federal authority and local powers, that is that the federal and local governments should enter the banks, and hence that the banks should enter into the government of the country. In this way many of the abuses of the banking system will be reformed and the normal and legitimate influence of the banks reinforced. It would be easy to cite a mass of facts that militate against this result. Thus it is in some states that the legislatures have instituted or are in the process of instituting banks where the state is the shareholder for half or two fifths of the capital, names a part of the directors, and reserves to itself an extended control. I have already said that there are some states, such as Illinois, where every other type of bank is formally banned by the constitution.

The publicists of the representative government only recognize the executive power, the legislative power and the judiciary power. One will see soon, in the United States, that there is also the financial power, or at least the banks will soon organize themselves to form a branch of government as vigorous as the others. The Bank of the United States is more essential to the prosperity of the country than the executive power, such as it is. It does a little diplomacy, good or bad, with the European powers, names and removes modest functionaries, makes an army of 6,000 men maneuver in the deserts of the West, adds from time to time some pieces of wood to a dozen ships in the yards at Portsmouth, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Norfolk, and Pensacola.¹³⁹ All of these could, to be strict, cease to exist without the security of the country being in danger, and without the prosperity, that is its industry, being seriously injured. On the other hand, deprive the country of its credit institutions, or just those that dominate and regulate all the others, the Bank of the United States, and you will plunge the country into a commercial anarchy that will finish by generating political anarchy.

The word *politics* does not have the same sense as in Europe. The United States are not engaged, as are the peoples of Europe, in combinations of territory and of continental equilibrium. They have nothing to do with any Treaty of Westphalia or

¹³⁹ These are the seven arsenals of the federal navy.

Vienna. They are disengaged from all the difficulties that result in Europe from differences of origin or religion, from conflict between pretentious rivals, between ancient interests and new interests. They have no neighbor who is upset with them. The *politics* of the United States is the extension of their commerce, and the invasion by their agriculture of the immense domain that nature has given them. The mass of their general and particular interests is there. It is the object for which their political or individual passions enflame themselves. Since the banks are the soul of their commerce, their emerging manufactures and even their agriculture, it is obvious that the success of their *politics* is intimately, directly linked to the good organization of their system of banks. The true, real government of the country, that is to say the direction of essential interests, is more with the banks than with any other body or power created by the constitution. The moment has come when this fact should be recognized and sanctioned. Just as the office of constable or field marshal is the first in the kingdom among a warrior people, the same is true for a people who do not make war, but who are occupied with nothing but industry, the office of president of the central bank, for example, should be a public office, *political* in the accepted form of the word best adapted to this people, and an office of the first order.

From this point of view, one might say that what is happening in the United States is a struggle where the combatants are, on the one side, the military and the lawyer interests who have previously divided the domain of public affairs, and on the other, the financial interest, which is claiming its part. The two first mentioned are in coalition against the last to remove it from its place. They have come to raise up the multitude into a mob, but they will fail in the end, since the multitude has more to gain from finances than from them. It is asserted that when a deputation went to Washington to present a petition in favor of the Bank, President Jackson said to the commissioners that they expressed the grievances of the capitalists, brokers and businessmen of Wall Street and Pearl Street,¹⁴⁰ which were not the people. I do not know if these words were ever spoken, but I know it expresses the opinion of the dominant party. In reverse of the old school of European Tories, for whom the people was reduced to the upper classes, and which placed the majority outside the people, there are those who have subtracted the rich classes from the people. Nothing is more unjust, since if one wishes to measure the real importance of the people of Wall Street and Pearl Street, one should ask what New York would be without them.

During the last fifty years the population of New York has soared: its wealth has probably grown a hundred times, and its vivifying influence has enriched the country a hundred leagues around. This development is not the work of lawyers or military. The merit for it pertains principally to work, to capital, to the inventive and entrepreneurial spirit of this minority, numerically imperceptible, of Wall Street and Pearl Street. It is certainly easy to speechify against the aristocracy of coins and against their vile metals one calls gold and silver. However, don't you think that these vile metals have ceased to be vile metals once they are in the hands of those who own them, the fruits of labor and industry? If there is one country on earth where it is unreasonable to denounce an aristocracy of coins and against vile metals it is here. For here, more than anywhere else, everyone has a profession, whoever has some capital puts it to work and cannot leave it

¹⁴⁰ Wall Street is a street in New York where banks, brokers and shippers have their offices. The warehouses of the principal businessmen *importers* are on Pearl Street.

to grow, or even to conserve it save by means of considerable activity and vigilance. In consequence a man's riches there is rather generally in accord with his importance, and with his agricultural, manufacturing or commercial capacity. Businessmen have their faults: they are inclined to weigh everything according to their balance of doubloons. One would have to complain about a people governed only by merchants. But a people governed only by the military or by lawyers would be neither happier nor freer. The politics of the city of Hamburg basely delivering unfortunate exiles to English hangmen merits the scorn of every man with a heart. But are the regime of Russian or even Napoleonic bayonets, or the babbling anarchy of the Directory, no less antipathetic to those whose hearts strongly vibrate for liberty or national and individual dignity?

The revolutions of centuries that renew religion, customs and morals also modify the nature of social powers. Providence tumbles those who were powerful from their seats when they insist on not recognizing the new genius of peoples, and it exalts the humble animated by new genius. Four thousand years ago it was supposed to be a very important function to embalm sacred birds or to spread the straw for the Apis bull. In the Eastern Empire, the office of *protovestiary* was one of the highest dignities of the state. And without going very far back, it was barely four years ago here, in France, the object of the ambition of a great number to become a *gentleman of the chamber*. Today again, one of the great dignitaries of the English monarchy is the *groom of the stole*, which literally signifies the *valet of the wardrobe*.

No one today embalms sacred birds, and no one spreads straw for the bull Apis. No one plots to become protovestiary, nor gentleman of the chamber, and from the way things go in England, I do not believe that one will long plot to become *groom of the stole*. There are no more *connétables*, nor grand vassals, nor peers of France in the old sense of the word. The French aristocracy, as brilliant as it was fifty years ago, has disappeared like a harvest cut down. The manors of ancient heroes have become factories, the convents have been changed into thread-mills, and I have seen gothic naves of the best style transformed into workshops or storehouses for fodder. Our brave soldiers have been transformed into peaceful road workers, opening strategic routes.

Gatherings of minor clerks that castellans employed to record the verdicts of their sovereign justice have become parliaments rivaling kings and guardians of the laws of the realm. Today the masters of the forges of Burgundy and the Nevernais, the distillers of Montpellier, the drapers of Sedan and Elbeuf have taken seats in parliaments. German princes with fifty quarterings of nobility occupy the antechamber of emperors, kings and ministers, while Your Majesties or Your Excellencies are compelled to deal familiarly with some banker who has no parchments, or who has deigned to accept one to oblige his royal friends. The Company of the Indies, once a company of merchants, has more subjects¹⁴¹ than all the emperors of Russia and Austria. If in the Old World, where ancient interest has marked every corner of the earth with its seal, the military and legal interest, old interest of every form, is obliged thus to come to terms with the new interest of industry, with the power of money, how could it be possible in the New World, where institutions of the past do not yet have deep roots, where all thoughts incline to business,

¹⁴¹ The East India Company has 83 million direct subjects and 40 million tributaries: total, 123 million. There do not remain more than 11 million in independent populations. The population of Russia is around 50 million; that of Austria is 35 million, so that for the two empires there are 85 million.

to money, this power will not manage to dominate the political scene, despite its adversaries and its envious?

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 30 May 1834, pp. 2-4, “Variétés.”]

VII RAILROADS IN AMERICA

Richmond, Virginia, 15 March 1834

Three thousand years ago, the kings of the world were happy, as happy as kings are; the proverb has become rather a lie since then. They had not yet begun lusting for Constantinople; the fortresses of Antwerp and Ancona had not yet been built; no one dreamed of a frontier on the Rhine. The naïve Herodotus fashioned the tales of *A Thousand and One Nights* in the country where he was born. The banks of the Danube were impenetrable swamps; Vienna did not exist, and as a result there was no Treaty of Vienna. Peace ruled among the sovereigns, or at least their conflicts were entirely academic, philosophical and literary. The good King Nectanebo, an enlightened prince, protector of the arts, played charades with the powerful monarchs of Asia, his neighbors; he discovered all their symbols without their being able to decipher his own on their turn. His glory was without equal, and his people bathed in prosperity. The condition of men of letters was, to be sure, very humble: grammarians and philosophers were occasionally brought to market like cattle, a rope around their necks, to be sold, which no longer happens to anyone these days, except Negroes. But for a few who were men of genius, their good stars caused them to fall into the hands of the best of masters; thus it was with Xanthus, the most patient and accommodating the world has ever borne; thus it also was with princes of good humor, appreciators of true merit, such as King Nectanebo. Aesop, having become the property of this excellent prince, immediately became his counselor, his friend, his confidant. He made new charades, puzzles and symbols. He whispered them to his king with such modesty that Nectanebo believed he had invented them himself. One day, in conference, Nectanebo proposed to his rival monarchs this difficult problem, “How would you build a city in mid-air?” When they had given up guessing, and Nectanebo was due to give his solution in the presence of the ministers plenipotentiary of the great sovereigns of Asia, solemnly convoked, Aesop sent boys in baskets, and eagles secretly hidden came bearing the baskets through the air. From their baskets the boys cried out to the gathered ambassadors this line: “If you could send us stones and mortar, we will build you a city.”

This story from times past has returned to my memory since I have been in the United States, and I tell myself that if these boys of Aesop had been Americans rather than subjects of King Nectanebo, they would have asked for materials to build — not a city — but a railroad.

It is that for America railroads have become a fashion, a passion, a universal preoccupation.

When I took my cabin on board the *Pacific* in Liverpool, Captain Waite, a brave man who believed in God with all his heart, which did not prevent him from being a skilled officer and one of the most intrepid sailors, offered me the latest journals of the United States. The first he offered me happened to be the *Railroad Journal*.¹⁴² When we departed, I was seized by sea-sickness, which hardly left me until New York; of all the

¹⁴² [*American Railroad Journal* began in New York in January, 1832, the first newspaper dedicated to railroads. Chevalier is mentioned as a leader of the Saint-Simonian cult in vol. 1, no. 35, 25 August 1832, p. 554, copying an article from *Galignani's Messenger* of Paris.]

more or less confused memories of the conversations of passengers remaining to me of the crossing, the most certain is that I heard the word *railroad* once every ten minutes. In New York, I went to visit the *docks*, where ships are being built and repaired. When I had seen the *drydock*, and two or three other docks, my guide, himself a great lover of railroads, led me to the *railroad dock*, where ships moved on a railroad. I found railroads in Virginia, at the bottom of coalmines, which is really nothing new for a European. In Philadelphia, I visited an admirable penitentiary, which I found to be so clean, so quiet, so comfortable (if one may speak this way of a prison), in comparison to our abominable French prisons, noisy, filthy, infected, iced in winter, humid in the summer. The *warden*, Mr. Wood, who directed the establishment with such zeal and philanthropy, after having shown the prisoners' cells, the *yards* (small courts) where they may take the air, the steam-driven kitchen where their food is prepared, and after allowing me to visit a poor Alsatian, one of the convicts, he said to me as I was about to depart, "But you have not seen everything. I still have to show you my railroad." And, in fact, there was a railroad in the prison, on the second floor, along which one makes a car move to carry the prisoners' food.

A few days ago I found myself in a small Virginia town, Petersburg, near which there is a lovely railroad at the falls of the Appomattox. A merchant of the town, Mr. S. M., took me to a tobacco factory where they use special processes. They manufacture the variety of tobacco that most Americans chew and continue endlessly chewing despite the severe criticism (but for once just) of English travelers. At least the ladies have not been able to put in a veto against it, nor have they launched themselves against tobacco with an unshakable firmness such as the president has against the Bank. We walked along through the halls in the midst of poor little slaves who fill them. I was struck by seeing some of the blacks who seemed almost white to me, and in whose veins not more than an eighth of African blood runs, when Mr. S. M. said, "Since you are interested in railroads, you cannot avoid seeing the one in the factory." We passed to a hall where tobacco was being enclosed in barrels and subjected to great pressure. The machinery that does the pressing is of a very peculiar construction of which I avoid a description, but the chief part is a railroad suspended on a platform. Hence the Americans have put railroads on the water, into the bowels of the earth, and they have put them into the air. It is an invention of which their practical sense has seized all advantages, that they seek to apply for everything and everywhere, even if thoughtlessly. When they cannot construct something real, positive and productive across fields, from river to river and from town to town, from state to state, they at least create something like a toy and expect better of it, in machine form.

There are 1600 miles (650 leagues) from Boston to New Orleans. That is two and a half times the distance from Le Havre to Marseille. It is probable that in a few years this immense line will be occupied by railroads going from bay to bay, from river to river, offering Americans, always pressed for time, the wings of their machines there, where steamboats have halted their flapping. This is no project in the air like the fogs of the Seine, the Loire and the Garonne. It is a fact already half realized. The railroad from Boston to Providence (New York Railroad) is in construction. The works advance in the American fashion, which is to say vigorously. No people is so impatient to enjoy it. From New York to Philadelphia, not just one line is planned, but there are two in competition with one another, one on the right bank, the other on the left bank of the

Delaware. One will be able to pass from one of these metropolises to another in seven hours: five hours on the railroad and two on steamboats on the lovely waters of the Hudson, into the magnificent bay of New York, which the Americans, never modest, compare with the Bay of Naples. From Philadelphia one goes to Baltimore via the Delaware and Chesapeake, and with the railroad from Newcastle to Frenchtown, in eight hours. From Baltimore to Washington, the railroad is planned and the company authorized, the contracts signed and work begun in the space of a few months. From Washington to Blakely, North Carolina, 24 leagues of railroad extend from Blakely. A company seeks to be authorized to undertake the rest, which is to join Richmond to the Potomac (30 leagues), and the Potomac leads to the Federal City, passing by the foot of Mount Vernon, a delicious estate, patrimony of George Washington, where he completed his honored old age and where he reposes in a modest tomb. Between Washington and Blakely, those lovely steamboats may take another route, descending the Chesapeake to Norfolk, finding there another railroad of 30 leagues, a third of it already completed, leading to Blakely, and even a bit further. Blakely, an entirely new town that cannot be found on any map, was born yesterday, the unique daughter of the Petersburg railroad. From Blakely to Charleston, South Carolina, the distance is long, but Americans are enterprising, and there is no place in the world where it is easier to build a railroad cheaply. The soil is level by nature, and the immense forests that cover it furnish the wood of which the route is constructed, for most railroads are principally of wood. From Charleston, a railroad of 55 leagues, the longest in the world, passes to Augusta, Georgia. From Augusta to Montgomery, Alabama, there is yet another great span to cover. From Montgomery, steamboats descend the Alabama to Mobile, and those who want to go from Mobile to New Orleans to greet the Gulf of Mexico will soon find a railroad that will dispense them of having to render this homage to the great Cortez.

All of this will be achieved in the next ten years, all will be plowed by locomotives, provided that the current crisis ends promptly and fortunately, which I always hope. Ten years is a long time. By the flying of time, any solution delayed by ten years has the air of a novel or a dream. But in the matter of railroads, result will not fail to appear in America. Pennsylvania, which, during the last census (1830) had only 1,348,000 inhabitants, had 130 leagues of railroads completed or due this year, without counting the 31 leagues that the capitalists of Philadelphia have put on the soil of the small states of New Jersey and Delaware. The only railroads we have in France are 38 leagues, which is to say it is about equal to what the bourgeoisie of Philadelphia, in their liberality, have accorded immediate neighbors. The state of New York, whose population is most bold and fortunate in its speculations, has only four or five little railroads, but if one completes even the sixth part of those projected or authorized by the legislature, New York will cede nothing to Pennsylvania. The merchants of Baltimore, a city that had six thousand inhabitants at the time of the Declaration of Independence and counts a hundred thousand today, have committed themselves to make a railroad between themselves and the Ohio, a distance of a hundred leagues. They have begun bravely, and they have already completed about a third of it. There are railroads completed, undertaken or projected everywhere to the east of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Most of these are served by locomotives. In the Alleghenies, there are severe inclines that will have only cargo service, but it is announced that they will have carriages there, even at the risk of breaking travelers' necks. There are good lines and bad ones. There are some

that are very expensive to build (600,000 to 800,000 francs a league); there are some that are very cheap (120,000 to 150,000 francs a league). New Orleans has its own line, admittedly quite modest. It is only two leagues, but there will soon be others. After all, it is more advanced than “Old Orléans”: it now expects that our capitalists, seized by an attack of patriotism by the grace of God, will retire 10-12 percent of their funds and consecrate it to building a railroad to join it to Paris. Virginia, whose population is about the same as the département du Nord and is poorer, already owns 25 leagues of railroad in full operation, and 44 leagues are under construction, not counting what will be begun this year. The département du Nord, where it would at least be easy to establish one, and where it would be better made, has not completed a single foot, nor begun a single foot, and has hardly a foot planned.¹⁴³ Note that I am only speaking of railroads here. The passion for railroads is entirely new in America. That for canals is of long date, for fifteen years in this country is a century, and they have done prodigies. There are states with two hundred, three hundred, four hundred leagues of canals.

In France, we are certainly the most daring people in the order of ideas and theories. We have shown ourselves in fact bold to the point of terror in terms of political experimentation. But in the last twenty years we have been the most timid of peoples in terms of material realizations.

¹⁴³ The département du Nord covers 567,863 hectares. There are 989,938 inhabitants. Virginia has a population of 1,211,405 inhabitants (census of 1830), that is, a quarter more population distributed over a surface of 17 million hectares, that is, thirty times larger.

[A notice in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* on 7 May 1834 quotes a report from “our own correspondent” dated from Washington, 30 March 1834, on Congressional actions, supplemented by last-minute information from New York up to 11 April provided by the arrival of the packet *Sully* at Le Havre on 6 May.]
[This letter was first published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 16 May 1834, pp. 1-2, with the explanation: “We received the following letter from our collaborator Monsieur M. C. on the financial and political crisis of the United States seven or eight days ago. Only the importance of parliamentary debates has prevented us from publishing it earlier.”]

VIII THE BANKS — MAINTAINING THE UNION

Washington, 10 April 1834

The drama that has taking place in the United States since the opening of the session (3 December) has now completed its first act. The two houses of Congress are dealing with the act of executive power by virtue of which public deposits have been withdrawn from the Bank of the United States and deposited in local banks. Both houses have made their conclusions. The Senate has declared, by a majority of 28 votes against 18, that the reasons alleged by the secretary of the treasury to justify the withdrawal were neither satisfactory nor sufficient, and, by a majority of 26 to 20, that the conduct of the president conforms neither to the constitution nor to the laws. Since the constitution has been in force (1789),¹⁴⁴ this is the first time that the Senate has censured the first magistrate of the republic. The House of Representatives has decided on its own side that the Bank of the United States will not receive a renewal of its charter, and that the deposits shall remain in local banks. The first resolution passed with a strong majority, 132 votes against 82. For the two others, the majority was much weaker, 118 against 103, and 117 against 105. It was also decided, by a large majority, 162 against 42, that the conduct of the Bank should be the object of an investigation, but the size of this majority indicates that it included many friends of the Bank.

Following these contradictory decisions, which were made in the presence of the majorities of the two chambers, there was an armistice; the results of two important elections are awaited. The city of New York was naming its mayor; Virginia was to elect its legislature in the course of April. New York is the most populous city and the premier commercial market of the Union.¹⁴⁵ It is the city that the party of the administration favors the most. It seeks to make it its center of operations for the coming presidential election. The Democratic Party presently has there a numeric majority, while the businessmen, traders and men of affairs are almost unanimously of the other side. Virginia, in contrast, formerly one of the most solid supports for General Jackson, has

¹⁴⁴ See Note 21.

¹⁴⁵ From 1 October 1831 to 1 October 1832, the value of imports to the United States rose to 101,029,266 dollars. New York received imports for 53,214,402 dollars, more than half. The total exports were 87,176,943 dollars, with New York's value being 26,000,945 dollars. The largest importation after New York was that of Boston, which, along with that of secondary ports of New England, was 18,118,900 dollars, a third of that of New York. The second city for exportation was New Orleans, which exported 16,430,394 dollars (see Note 22 below).

recently turned against him. The last Virginia legislature was opposed to the old general. Two months ago it obliged Mr. Rives, who preceded the Honorable Mr. [Edward] Livingston [1764-1836] at Paris, to retire from the Senate of the Union because he supported the president.¹⁴⁶ Virginia is the one of all the states that has furnished the largest contingent of outstanding men, and its opinion always has had a great weight. Therefore, one waits with anxiety to know if New York persists in supporting General Jackson, and if Virginia continues to oppose him. While both sides wait, they prepare a new campaign.

On what terrain will this new campaign take place? I do not think it is that of the Bank. This is in the interest of that institution. The more one defends it, the more the Democracy pushes back with hatred. Americans devoted to their country and its institutions must make their efforts to move the debate to another subject, because by degrees, one is heated, irritated from one side and the other, and one advances to acts of violence. The most striking services are not recognized, the purest reputations indignantly fouled by feet. *The Globe*, the dedicated journal of the administration, generates ignoble accusations against men of whom the whole world would be proud, such as messrs. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. It repeated, and unhappily repeats again, that the Senate's votes are bought by the Bank with pounds of gold. On the other side, General Jackson, of whom it is impossible to contest his great qualities, was, even he, the object of odious insults. The white hair of this courageous old man was scandalously attacked. They have even gone to the extent of throwing ridicule on his victory of New Orleans, the most brilliant act of arms in the annals of America, as if his glory were not a national treasure. Some fanatics speak of going hand to hand in the streets. The commerce and spirit of enterprise have been stupefied. Lacking funds, the great public works of Pennsylvania were on the edge of being suspended. Today one appears to want to calm oneself. The failure of a certain number of businesses, and especially that of some banks, was like an alarm bell that reminded everyone of the common danger, the universal ruin with which the land is menaced. There was a bank failure in Florida, one in New Jersey, two in Maryland, one of which, the *Bank of Maryland* in Baltimore, produced a lively sensation. Eminent men of all parties are seeking in good faith some measure that would put an end to the commercial crisis. There is room to hope that the debate will lose some of its violence, and that it will expand at the same time. In place of quarreling over the particular question of the Bank, they would discuss the higher questions of public economy, that of a system of circulation that admits paper and metals into proportions so that there will be stability, without there being, as on the European continent, an enormous unproductive capital in the form of coin. And there should also be propositions for a system of credit institutions, reserve and account, deposit and exchange banks strong enough to serve as a support and base for the industry of the country, as well balancing both adequately between themselves and other national powers so as not to be dangerous to public liberties. There has already been a speech of the highest significance by Mr. Calhoun drawing general attention to the financial reform of the country. One of the senators of the administration party, Mr. Benton, formulated some of Mr. Calhoun's ideas and made it the object of a bill he presented to the Senate.

¹⁴⁶ See Note 23.

Everyone in the United States recognizes now that to obtain a solid system of circulation, it is necessary that the country have a certain quantity of gold and silver. They sense perfectly that what they now have in paper dollars desires to become silver dollars; that the ten-dollar banknotes necessarily chase the *eagles*,¹⁴⁷ and that the *half-eagles* cannot rest wherever there are five-dollar bills.¹⁴⁸ One would be disposed to cause bills below ten or even twenty dollars to disappear. With this effect, everything the Congress is trying to do, if it is not to shake the national bank, is to prevent receivers of customs to take in payment the bills of every bank that had bills below ten or twenty dollars, since the Congress has no way to discipline local banks. But this mode of action would not be effective, since the movement of funds taking place through customs is very slight compared to the general movement of the country, and further that it has no impact on the circulation of localities a short distance from the coast. The administration does not dispute the necessity for a bank policy. It appears disposed to achieve this through the intermediary of some of the local banks operating under the direction of the secretary of the treasury and to which one accords certain advantages, such as the right to be depositaries of public money without having to pay interest. But this has several inconveniences: it would arm the secretary, in other words the president,¹⁴⁹ with an immense discretionary power, in formal opposition to the political axioms of the country. It is admitted in the United States that the *sword and the purse* cannot rest in the same hands. As a result, it is doubtful that this control would be adequately informed and sufficiently active. Finally, it would be difficult by means of this agglomeration of local banks to satisfy one of the premier needs of the country, the ease of exchanges,¹⁵⁰ since they are and will be necessarily very weakly tied each to the other, like the sovereign states from which they hold their charters. To clean up the little *banknotes*, the most infallible agent would be a national bank, and Congress has the power to establish one. This power, which is contested because all of them are contested, will be recognized if it is stipulated that the Bank must receive the consent of each particular state before establishing a branch on that state's territory. It would be enough if the Bank would not receive any bill of a bank that had bills below ten or twenty dollars or which, themselves, did not accept the bills of another bank that issues bills below the same *minimum*. Finally, a national bank is an incomparable instrument for the exchange operation. The friends of the administration, the most influential in Congress, are convinced of the necessity of an institution of this variety. I cannot believe that the president and even more the vice president are as opposed as they say openly. Just as it is possible to imagine combinations that reconcile its existence with the interests of the candidacy of Mr. Van Buren (this would be the creation of a bank whose principal seat would be New York, no longer Philadelphia), one may hope that, sooner or later, under one form or another, Mr.

¹⁴⁷ The *eagle* is a ten-dollar gold coin.

¹⁴⁸ There is another factor that causes the gold currency of the United States to disappear. Legally, gold is worth less here than in Europe in its relation to silver. This is a sufficient reason for it to be exported as soon as it is struck. One of the articles of Mr. Benton's proposition has as its object changing the legal relationship between the value of gold and that of silver and to move it from fifteen to one to sixteen to one.

¹⁴⁹ See Note 24.

¹⁵⁰ I repeat here that the sum of movements of funds from one point to another in the Union, or between the Union and to foreign lands, operated by the Bank of the United States in 1832, rose to 1,360,000,000 francs.

Van Buren will move to this view. It is true that in hating the present Bank, one has raised the prejudices of the multitude against the institution of any national bank. It is certainly easier to excite popular passions than to master them once unchained. In this game, many popular persons have committed suicide. In this particular case, the voice of the public interest and voice of the interest of each is shouted so loudly that it will be loud enough that no one can hear the voice of another population that is more reasonable and more positive as the European populations are in general. To sum up, there are some hopes for a Bank of the United States.

Here are the principal dispositions that appear to me at this moment to be tacitly accepted by the economists of both parties:

The capital of the Bank will be around \$50 million. The 35 million in shares, representing the capital of the current bank, will be exchanged at par for the shares of the new bank. The rest of the capital will be subscribed by the particular states. This will give the Bank a more national character.¹⁵¹

(The rate for accounts will be reduced from 6 to 5 percent. Mr. Forsyth, senator of the administration's party, has demanded this.)

Legislation on public and private deposits will be modified in keeping with the observations of Mr. Cambreleng of New York.

In its operations, the Bank will submit to regulations of detail a bit more severe than those imposed on the current Bank. One will also compel both a more considerable reserve and various clauses imitating those of the Bank of England tending to improve the solidity of the institution.

It will not be impossible to unite a majority of both houses on the whole of these points. But there is a question that no one mentions, since no one has publicly articulated it, although it is much thought upon, and on which it is less easy to agree. How is the Bank to be governed? What ties will exist between the administration of the Bank and the federal government in particular? How and by whom is the president of the Bank to be elected? This question, on which people are silent, seems to me so essential that nothing happening in the United States in the last six months is as important, I am convinced, than whether the nomination of the president of the Bank is directly or indirectly in the hands of the president of the United States.

In Europe, and in France particularly, the government of banks is more or less dependent on the king and his ministers. In America, in conformity with the principle of *self government*, the Bank, like all the industrial and financial institutions, govern themselves to the present day. The federal government has a fifth of the shares and names a fifth of the directors. Its prerogative ends there. The American axiom forbidding the union of the sword and the purse in the same hand is opposed to the notion that the president of the United States should exercise a substantial influence over naming the president of the Bank. As a result, I am persuaded that the Democratic Party would not want to speak of any Bank in the governance of which he could not intervene.

¹⁵¹ It is known that the federal government already possesses shares for \$7,000,000 in the current Bank.

The bourgeoisie in the United States is not what it is in Europe. While it rules in Europe, here it is dominated. Democracy is pleased to take its revenge in America for the injustices to which it had so long been subjected in Europe. But now, it is to the bourgeoisie that the individual shareholders are found; it is the commercial, manufacturing and capitalist bourgeoisie that will always receive the most direct benefit of a national bank, however much all classes indirectly derive great benefit. From the day when the bourgeoisie wrote pure universal suffrage into the laws, without stipulation of their natural superiorities, whether industrial or scientific, from the day when they consented to numbers being everything and intelligence and capital nothing, it surrendered. It is no longer a question whether this is good or bad, or whether it is good in agricultural states with widely spread populations, such as Ohio, Indiana or Illinois, and an evil in the large and populous cities, centers of great commerce, such as Philadelphia and New York. It is an accomplished fact that cannot be dreamed to reverse. When one has surrendered his sword without return, it is necessary to give up and accept the law. In the case of a national bank, the share-holding bourgeoisie consents that its president should receive investiture from the president and the Senate, as with other public officers, or from the House of Representatives alone, or every other combination of that order. If in the new or regenerated Bank the federal government and the particular governments become shareholders for a considerable portion of the capital, this intervention of the president or of the House of Representatives, or special delegates chosen by the states, in the governance of the Bank, would be entirely natural, even in the eyes of the most exclusive partisans of *self government*. It remains to discover whether, in this hypothesis, it would not be more likely that in the present state of things for the Bank, suspended between the mobile institutions of the country, would become the instrument of a party, a *refuge of intrigues and corruption*, a *golden calf*, a *monster*.

If this heated quarrel ends in a compromise, it is permitted to think that it will take place on the bases I am about to present. The bourgeoisie will perhaps find the conditions imposed on them to be hard, but they will take care not to reverse them. It will be much for it to have received, in whatever form, the definitive consecration of a national bank with ties to the powers of the state, and consequently with themselves. Not only are the numbers against them, and here it is numbers that make the law, but it is less powerfully organized than the Democratic Party. The opposition has three chiefs who are not always in agreement. Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, is not in agreement with messrs. Clay and Webster when it is a question of customs tariffs and the prerogatives of particular states. On various questions of power, Mr. Clay, *the son of the West*, and Mr. [Daniel] Webster [1782-1852], who lives in Boston, the hearth of federalism, are far from agreement. The Democratic Party, in contrast, is superior in discipline. The two chiefs, specifically General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, present a formidable complex of qualities and faculties. The old general is firm, prompt, bold and energetic. Mr. Van Buren has the pretension of being the American Talleyrand: he is sweet, facile, prudent, consummately dressed. His adversaries call him the *little magician*, the *great manager*. While the pretensions of messrs. Clay, Calhoun and Webster are contradictory, and none of them wants to be the second, Mr. Van Buren consents with all his heart to be the lieutenant of General Jackson now so as to become president at the next election (1836). Indeed every kingdom divided is in danger of perishing.

But if no one can agree, if the democracy is too intractable and the bourgeoisie more demanding than its position permits, if the passions continue to be in play, increasingly irritating one part or another, the debate, by being prolonged, could take on more frightening characteristics. The Union itself could finish by being put in question.

At the time of independence, the American confederation occupied no more than a narrow band of land along the Atlantic. Since then, the waves of an active and entrepreneurial population that reproduces to infinity has passed the Allegheny Mountains, then the Ohio, then the Mississippi, and finally the Missouri, the Red River, the Arkansas, what do I know? In the South, it crossed the Sabine and invaded Texas, while in the West they are already beyond the Rocky Mountains and approach the Pacific Ocean. There were thirteen states, there are now twenty-four, and soon there will be twenty-six. Alongside the old region of the Atlantic, two others are developing, full of vigor, on a richer soil. One is on the West, consisting of the great triangle supported by the Great Lakes and extending toward the south along the Mississippi and the Ohio. The other is in the South, in the fertile regions, deserted under Spanish or French rule, of Louisiana and the Floridas. Fifty years ago, the center of the Union was on the banks of the Potomac, at the place where the city of Washington, a failed capital, is. It is now at Cincinnati, on the Ohio; soon it will be at St. Louis on the Missouri.

To the measure that the confederation has been extended, the federal tie has weakened. Very little was lacking to break it during the crisis of *nullification*,¹⁵² provoked by the resistance of South Carolina to the tariff established under the influence of New England to protect the manufactures that were growing there. If the Congress had not given satisfaction to Carolina, Virginia would have made common cause with it, and its example would have decided the majority of the South. The patriotic eloquence of Mr. Webster, the moderation of Mr. [Henry] Clay [1777-1852] and his prodigies of parliamentary strategy, the efforts of Mr. Livingston, then secretary of state, the both firm and conciliatory conduct at the same time of the president, who, for the first time, listened without wrath to an audacious defiance, and the calm attitude of the states of the North, prevented general dislocation. The germ of evil still remained. The spell of the indissolubility of the Union was broken. Ears are accustomed today to hear this blasphemous word of separation. The habit has established itself to think and even to say that every time the interests and the prejudices of the North and the South are in disaccord, that the rupture of the Union would be a remedy for the disease.

South Carolina keeps an organized militia, and it demands that its officers take a particular oath of *allegiance*. Georgia and Alabama violently contest treaties concluded between the federal government and the Indian tribes of the Cherokees and Creeks.¹⁵³ Most of the states recoil with envy at the limits of their individual sovereignty. The doctrine of *states' rights* has even infiltrated all the way down to orthodox Philadelphia, since I see in a newspaper the announcement of a banquet given in its honor. These symptoms could become terrible in a moment of universal exasperation. One advances quickly when the passions are the mistresses at the wheel. What would happen today, for example, if, in the same states of the North, where nullification was the most energetically rejected last year, it began to find a powerful echo? And these are those

¹⁵² See Note 12.

¹⁵³ See Note 25.

who have the most direct interest in the establishment of a national bank, these are those who suffered the most from the financial combinations of General Jackson, and the objections of the publicists of the South against the constitutionality of the Bank. Whatever one abstains from in order to allude to a danger that is at his side, it is clear that many persons are preoccupied with this. It is actually good, since it produces a more general disposition to conciliation.

The spirit of division generates here bitter combat against the centralizing principle of the Union. The constitution was barely signed when they voted a dozen additional articles, almost all of them restricting the prerogatives and attributions of the federal government. At the same time they turned to disputing in Congress over the faculty of authorizing a bank, and to give it powers over the territory of the states. On this point the principle of union had a victory; the Bank was instituted. Later they contested the federal authority's right to intervene in the establishment of routes of communication, and the Congress, after a long struggle, proceeded to abdicate this faculty. General Jackson wanted it so, and it was done. The National Road that extends from Washington to the deserts of the West, and for which annual allocations were voted, of which each was to be for irrevocable closure and without continuation, witnesses to what the federal government could do and wants to do. Even the system of weights and measures must cease to be uniform, despite the constitution. The state of Pennsylvania is proceeding, no one knows why, to regulate this, contrary to the general usage.¹⁵⁴

Today the debt has been paid; it is one less federal tie. The Bank, newly assailed, will perish. It is an enormous loss for the federal principle. They attack the Supreme Court of the United States, one of the highways of the Union.¹⁵⁵ The vast domain of the West,¹⁵⁶ federal property, appears soon to be liquidated, since this liquidation is one of the favorite theses of the Democratic Party.

But if centralization is low in federal politics, it communicates it to the states. The principal states each construct a vast system of communications. They constitute themselves financially, and almost all dream of creating a big bank that will exercise over their territory the salutary influence that the Bank of the United States practiced over all of the Union. Hence each state, detaching itself completely from the federation, organizes by itself and strongly binds together elements poorly agglutinated. Industry and the spirit of enterprise elsewhere adhere to the principle of the Union raising itself above the political challenges and party quarrels. There is not a family in the North that does not have a son or a brother in the South. The community of interests becomes daily closer and closer. Commerce centralizes; on the entire coast of the Atlantic there is only one market, New York. There is only one powerful one on the Gulf of Mexico, New Orleans, and the operations linked between New York and New Orleans, rivals though these two cities can be, render them welded together. The railroads and steamboats extend throughout the country an indestructible network. The great distances vanish: soon one will be able to go without trouble from Boston to New Orleans in eight days. That is less time than one usually needs to go from Brest to Marseille.

¹⁵⁴ It ruled that two thousand pounds *avoirdupois* make a ton, while the ton elsewhere is two thousand two hundred pounds.

¹⁵⁵ See Notes 14 and 26.

¹⁵⁶ See Note 27.

When one thinks of the dimensions the Roman Empire conserved through the centuries, one has no more doubt of the possibility to maintain a certain unity over the American territory, as immeasurably vast as it seems to those used to the divisions of the map of Europe. The Romans did not have the perfected communications that one has in our days. They had not a suspicion of the discovery of steamboats or the railroad; they did not know the telegraph;¹⁵⁷ they did not even have many roads; they did not know of carts with suspension springs. The progress that commerce has made in bookkeeping permit the financial administration of the whole universe with less difficulty than governing a province in the age of Caesar. I cannot believe that the Union will break up into bits, all agitating in isolation, and harming one another.

And yet it is possible that the Union will not last long on its present basis.

Could anyone imagine a more perfect thing than the relations established between the various states in 1789? Won't the unforeseen formation of the two blocs of the West and the Southwest be followed by some modifications in the previously fixed relations? Wouldn't the subdivision of the general confederation into three intermediate confederations, each corresponding to one of the three homogeneous blocs of the Atlantic, the West and the South, permitting the establishment of special ties among the states of each group, have as a result the giving of satisfaction to *states' rights* without compromising the principle of the Union? Wouldn't this be a means of constituting the Union more elastically? Wouldn't the existence of these three partial confederations make it possible to harmonize it with the existence of a central authority endowed with the incontestable attributes of the present federal government, an army, a fleet, foreign representation, citizenship, a supreme court, and as much as possible a customs authority and a Bank? These are questions that may be good to examine some day, perhaps soon. But it would be desired that these ideas be proposed and discussed with calm. If they are raised unexpectedly in a time of irritation and hatred, it would be the signal for an explosion, a rending apart always deplorable. Union makes for strength. North America, once broken into pieces hostile one to another, would never weigh more in the balance of the world than the poor republics of South America.

P.S. 13 April. — The results of the election in New York were announced. The administration won. There are various reports of the majority. It is only known that it is by 150 to 200 votes out of more than 35,000 votes cast. At the last election (1832), the candidate of the administration beat his opponent by 6000 votes, and there were 6000 fewer voters than this year. This victory looks a lot like a defeat. On the other side, see that two banks in the federal district have failed, one in Washington, the other in Georgetown.

This double notice will certainly not be lost on the administration.

¹⁵⁷ I was truly shocked that the telegraph had not been established among the Americans.

Note 21 [Note 18, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Act of Confederation and the Constitution

After the Declaration of Independence (4 July 1776), the thirteen colonies, having become states, formed an act of confederation bearing the date of 8 July 1778, which was quite imperfect, in that it left the federal authority without resources and without force. The federal act constituted a Congress in a single house, and did not create an executive power. Particularly in financial terms, the Congress was in a very precarious position: none of the profit of customs pertained to it. All the states figured in Congress on a basis of equality. They quickly realized the inconvenient aspects of this system. On 17 September 1787, a convention, convoked for that purpose, completed the current constitution that received the successive approval of the various states, and which went into effect on the first Friday of March 1789. It has subsequently received twelve amendments having chiefly the object of limiting centralization, which one calls *consolidation* in the United States.

Note 22 [Note 19, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the commerce of North and South

In 1834, total imports were for \$126,521,332; that of New York has risen to \$73,188,594; that of Boston has fallen to \$17,672,129. Total exports were \$81,024,162. The first rank for the exports was taken by New Orleans, which exported the value of \$23,759,607; New York only exported \$13,849,469, that is, half of what it did in 1832. The commerce of the United States thus appears concentrated at New York and New Orleans. The railroads and steamboats, established among the towns of the coast, have permitted commercial industry to follow its natural tendency, which is to constitute great markets and centralize the exchanges onto one point.

The considerable development that the growing of cotton has acquired continuously gives the South a great value to export, tending to render it a commercial power. It is unnatural for the cotton of Georgia to be exported via New York. In 1832, the states of the North had 56 percent of the exports, and in 1834 they only made 32 percent. Independent of New Orleans, another commercial center gradually emerged in the South, at Charleston.

Note 23 [Note 20, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the Senate of the United States

The senators of the United States are elected for six years and are renewed in sequence, while the House of Representatives is reelected in totality every two years. The Senate is, of the three political powers, the most permanent; the president is elected for only four years. In the old Articles of Confederation, the delegates of each state were revocable at will by the state. In instituting the Senate, which was analogous to the old Congress, by its participation in executive functions,¹⁵⁸ and because all of the states are

¹⁵⁸ All treaties with foreign powers must be ratified by the vote of two thirds of the Senate. The most eminent public functionaries, such as judges of the court of the United States, diplomatic agents, ministers, etc., and many secondary employees, are named by the president but with the approval of the Senate. The president only exercises the right of revocation.

on a footing of equality there,¹⁵⁹ the intention of the legislatures was to create an independent corps and to introduce some stability to the system. Unfortunately, the Democratic Party has imagined a theory by virtue of which the legislature of each state, having named the senators, has the right to prescribe their vote on every question that is submitted to the Congress, which is known as the right of instruction. This doctrine was brought to the light of day by Virginian publicists and made law in Virginia.¹⁶⁰ In consequence, when particular legislatures that admit this doctrine have some measures to recommend to delegates of the state in Congress, they adopt resolutions by which representatives are *requested* and senators *required* to vote in this or that sense. The representatives are elected by districts, as deputies are here, and they represent the opinion of their districts; hence the majorities of the legislatures cannot believe they have any right over their vote.

One conceives that this theory, if it definitively prevailed, would convert the senators into pure machines.

Note 24 [Note 21, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the Ministers of the Federal Government

In the American system, the ministers are rather slight personages when compared with ministers of European countries. They only have a responsibility of a secondary order: by virtue of the constitution, principal responsibility reposes with the president. The ministers are the employees of the president and not the depositaries of the confidence of the Congress. As with all public functionaries, they are ineligible to either house. They do not have the right to participate officially in the debates in Congress. The administration does not have official organs in the houses. Communications of the president to the Congress take place through written messages. The Congress administers its affairs through its committees, and it makes laws by virtue of the individual initiative of its members. The intention of the constitution was to place the government in the hands of the Congress, more than in that of the executive power. It was so until President Jackson.

Note 25 [Note 22, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Cherokees, Creeks and other Indian Tribes

The Cherokees occupy a rather extended territory in Georgia and Alabama, North Carolina and Tennessee. Georgia, supporting itself on the Convention of 1802, by which it renounced its pretensions to the Western domain, wished to make itself master of a portion of the territory of the Cherokees that is within their borders. The Cherokees began to civilize themselves, thanks to some individuals of mixed blood who lived among them, and by the intervention of some missionaries who were established in their villages. They constructed comfortable houses, dressed like white people, worked the soil as they did, raised cattle, and learned to read and write. One of them has created an alphabet, and they printed a journal in Cherokee at their capital of New Echota. They have even taken from the civilization everything they see around them, without

¹⁵⁹ Each state has two senators.

¹⁶⁰ However, in 1836 Mr. [Benjamin Watkins] Leigh [1781-1849, U.S. Senator 1834-36] refused to conform to it.

exception: they have slaves. The number of Indians who organized themselves in this manner is variously estimated. Recent estimates set the entire number of the Cherokees east of the Mississippi at 18,000.

The Cherokees, having made a treaty with the United States as a nation, wished to govern themselves by their own laws. Georgia began its system of vexations against them by imposing their own laws. Georgia declared itself owner of their territory, dividing it among the inhabitants while the Indians were already occupying it, and placed a part of it under a lottery, which earned it the nickname of the *Lottery State*. To disorganize the Indians, Georgia defended every white settling among them. This defense was particularly aimed against the missionaries. On their refusal to leave, they were arrested by armed force, judged and condemned by Georgian tribunals to four years of *hard labor*. In the following month of March, the Supreme Court of the United States declared that their sentence was illegal, that the laws by virtue of which they were judged and by which the state of Georgia arrogated to itself the right of jurisdiction over the territory of the Cherokees were contrary to the laws and treaties of the United States and, in consequence, null and void. But General Jackson took no measures to make the rulings respected. The missionaries remained in prison until January 1833, when Georgia released them on the condition that they renounce living among the Indians. At the end of 1834, new scandals emerged on the subject of the Indians between the governor and his own Georgian magistrates.

While the state treated its unhappy Indians in this manner, individuals permitted themselves the most daring pillaging against them, to the point of chasing them from their own homes, for example, and installing themselves by force. In 1836, the Cherokees, unable to resist systematic collective and individual spoliation by Georgia, seeing that they could expect no protection from the federal power, consented to emigrate beyond the Mississippi. They were accorded much more favorable conditions than other Indians deported in this way. One was obliged to open the roads to them, to prepare the soil for them, to furnish them with tools, forges, domestic animals, to establish mills, printing presses, to build them houses and to give them considerable sums of money in various forms, an indemnity paid once, an annual stipend, support for schools, support for orphans, amounting on the whole to 25 million. The Indians showed themselves quite satisfied with this arrangement: they made observations that the territory they were given was worth double this sum, at the minimum price of sale adopted by Congress for public lands (16.48 fr. per hectare). They did complain that these lands assigned them, to the west of the Mississippi, were not granted them in full property (*fee simple*), and that they were only occupants.

The conduct of Alabama toward the Indians was not as brutal as that of Georgia. It produced less of a sensation, particularly because the Creeks, with whom Alabama chiefly had to deal, did not excite the same interest as the Cherokees. The Creeks were 22,000 in number, chiefly in Alabama. In 1836, war was declared between them and the United States. The consequence of these hostilities, whose cause appears to give little honor to the whites, was the immediate deportation of this Indian nation and all the others.

The violence committed by these two states against the Indians was often criticized in the United States. The most honorable men of the country rose up in protest over the affair of the missionaries, against the barbarity of the Georgians. The most able

writers in America consecrated their pens to plead the cause of the unhappy Indians and to denounce the cupidity of those states, and even more those isolated individuals who, determined to strip the old masters of the land, perverted them with drunkenness so as to abuse them further. A short time ago I read in *Excursion on the Prairies* by Mr. W[ashington] Irving [1783=1859], severe reflections on the conduct of *settlers* against the Indians on the frontier. In Congress, in May 1836, on the occasion of hostilities arising between the Indians and whites in Alabama and Georgia, the former president, J. Q. Adams, expressed himself in these terms:

Georgia and Alabama do not have any right to complain that the federal government was not vigilant to protect them against Indian attacks. These are arrows launched into the air by Georgia and Alabama that now are falling on their own heads. Georgia, treading with their feet on our treaty with the Indians, has given the first example of this policy that the current war will conduct to its conclusion. It has defied the federal government, it has voided your laws, it has braved the executive power and the guardian judges of the constitution. If you wish to know where it has gone in this system, seek them in the dungeons of its prisons and in the register of our Supreme Court. These dungeons will show themselves to have become the home of pious ministers of the Gospel, whose entire crime was to desire to spread among the Indians the wisdom and consolations of the holy message. Vainly did the supreme tribunal of the Union stigmatize this act as a violation of our laws, Georgia did not respond. The executive power did not make the decisions of our magistrates respected. The missionaries were obliged to buy their liberty by sacrificing their rights as citizens that we should defend. We have surrendered to Georgia, we have sacrificed the principles of justice and humanity to its caprices and to its egotism. We have torn up our ancient treaties with the Indians, we have forced them to sign others that are worthy of contempt, that we will throw to the wind when it pleases us, until the Indian race is obliterated on the continent.

The premier cause of the war we are sustaining against the Indians is nothing other than our own injustice, sanctioning that of Georgia and Alabama. The current administration has reversed the one that preceded it. This earlier administration applied itself with the liveliest solicitude to civilize the Indians, to clarify their spirit, to make gentle their passions, to modify their appetites, to fix them to the soil through agriculture, and to initiate them into the joys and comfort of the domestic hearth and of the family. That was the system of Washington and of Jefferson, indefatigably pursued by their successors. Today your policy toward the Indians is to cheat all of them by violence or by false treaties of the land they are working, to exile them beyond the Mississippi, beyond the Missouri, beyond the Arkansas, to the borders of Mexico, and you will lull them with the lying hope that they shall have there a permanent and inviolable exile, a final assured refuge against your rapacity and persecutions. You will drag them, by consent or by force, by treaty or at

the point of a sword, the debris of the Seminoles, the Creeks, the Choctaws, and I know not how many other tribes. In the execution of these pitiless rigors, you will encounter resistance that men must oppose when pushed to the limit. This is the cause of the current war — it has no other cause. It is the agony of a people snatched from the land where their fathers are buried. It is the last convulsion of despair.

The misdeeds committed against the Indians cannot be imputed to the federal government: it lacks the internal force, and its good will toward the Indians, which was real up to the appearance of General Jackson, has too often been found impotent. The sums voted by Congress for the Indians and dispensed in distributions of provisions, utensils, clothing and arms, and also to maintain some schools among them, were raised from 1791 to 1835 inclusively, to 83 million. The allocations of 1836 amounted to 40 million, including the sums necessary to execute the treaties of deportation.

The Indians are less numerous in the states and organized territories; at the end of 1835 they were 82,000, precisely:

STATES	TRIBES	Number
New England	Penobscots, etc.	2500
New York	Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas Tuscaroras, Delawares, Onandagas, etc.	5000
Virginia, S. Carolina		500
North Carolina	Cherokees	3000
Georgia	Cherokees, Creeks	8000
Tennessee	Cherokees	2000
Alabama	Creeks, Cherokees	23,000
Mississippi	Choctaws, Chickasaws	8000
Ohio, Indiana, Missouri	Wyandots, Miamis, Ottowas	
Michigan, Arkansas	Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Senecas, Chippeways, Monomenies	25,000
Florida	Seminoles	<u>5000</u>
Total		82,000

The tribes originating in the West closest to states or organized territories, of which the most important is the Pawnees, forming a population of	28,000
Indians who have emigrated, mostly Choctaws, the rest Creeks and Cherokees, etc.	26,000
All other savage tribes	<u>180,000</u>
Total Indian population on the soil of the Union	316,000

Hence the red race has disappeared almost completely from the territory that is the portion of the Anglo-Americans, but it is not vanishing from the globe, it constitutes the basis of the population of Spanish America. There, whites of pure race are

everywhere, but particularly in Peru and Mexico, in about the same proportion as they are to blacks in the Antilles.

It has been about a dozen years since the Anglo-Americans decided to transport the Indians west of the Mississippi, beyond the line of states of Arkansas and Missouri, assigning each tribe a distinct territory. They began doing this already under Mr. J. Q. Adams (1825-29).

In all probability, at the end of 1836 the number of Indians that have not been transported across the Mississippi or have not yet consented to be, will not exceed 10 or 12,000. They are those of New York and New England and some other remnants of tribes that drunkenness and misery decimate all their days.

Of all the tribes that have communicated with the United States, the Choctaws and the Cherokees are the only ones that, up to the present, have made efforts to enter civilized life. The other Indians remain hunters and warriors.

In 1834, Mr. H[orace] Everett [1780-1851, of Vermont] presented the House of Representatives in Congress with a remarkable report on the relations of whites with the Indians, and on measures to regularize them. I do not know if his project for a bill was adopted. It had as its object, first, to organize the intervention of the federal government in Indian affairs; secondly, to fix the relations of whites with the peoples reunited to the west of the Mississippi; thirdly, to maintain order in the territory occupied by them. It gives the power to educate the Indians in agricultural and mechanical arts, to protect them from contact with merchants who corrupt or attack them, and to constitute them a confederation that will have a general assembly, presided over by a governor named by the president. The Indians will even be authorized to send a delegate to Congress on the same level as the territories, who will have the right to a seat and to speak in the House of Representatives, but will not vote.

Note 26 [Note 23, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the Supreme Court of the United States

The Supreme Court of the United States has never been viewed positively by the party of *states' rights* because of the ample powers with which it is supplied.

A power that has a mission to resist the encroachments of others, to reverse parties and repress states or individuals cannot fail to excite against itself lively protest, in a country constituted such as the United States.

I already said (Note 14) that they reduced its jurisdiction some time after the establishment of the current federal constitution. Most recently, it has encountered the hostility of the Democratic Party because it pronounced in favor of the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States. At various times it has defended this institution against local authorities, against those of Ohio, for example, which sought to subject it to their taxes.

In most of the new states, federal justice is not yet completely organized. Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana only have district courts and are missing circuit courts. (See Note 10) This state of things continues, probably because the friends of federal justice fear that they will be touched upon to harm it rather than to help, so they permit the *status quo* to continue. In almost all of his annual messages, President Jackson has returned to this object, saying that if the course of the circuit were

good, he would have it everywhere, and if it were bad, it would be necessary to suppress it where it exists today.

Note 27 [Note 24, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Public Lands

Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, Congress occupied the domain of the West. The concessions originally made to the various colonies by the English crown did not establish a positive western limit. Most states pretended that their territory extended to the Mississippi, and even to the Pacific Ocean. Virginia had added claims to these vast regions through the right of conquest: Colonel G[eorge] R[ogers] Clark [1752-1818], at the head of a small troop of intrepid Virginians, took control of posts located between the Ohio and the Mississippi. For several years it was impossible to decide on anything that would satisfy all the states. In March 1780, the state of New York gave the federation the cession of its rights. This was followed by a declaration of Congress appealing to the patriotism of the various states, declaring that the regions of the West thus ceded by them would form a public domain, and would be consecrated to the creation of new states constituted according to general principles it posed. In 1784, Virginia, whose titles were the most positive, offered its renunciation under conditions that the Congress accepted. In 1785, Massachusetts sent its own concession. In 1786 Connecticut did it as well, but it reserved a considerable area occupied by the present state of Ohio, terrain that it later ceded to the Union for a payment. Finally, Georgia desisted on condition that they remove the Indians (Cherokees) from their soil as soon as it could be achieved, "*peaceably and on reasonable terms.*" There was already a very vast public domain, which was increased in 1803 by the acquisition of Louisiana, for \$15,000,000, and that of Florida in 1819 for \$5,000,000. They also purchased from the Indians some less important areas that remained to them along the frontier of the states and organized territories.

Congress then sold these lands in extensive portions. It made grand sales of this type, rising to 519,000 hectares on the whole, and some smaller sales amounted to 50,000 hectares as a whole. On 10 May 1800 the system was adopted that prevails to the present day, with a few modifications, and where sale in detail was substituted for sale on the large scale. Here are the principal traits.

They make a geometric plan of the country at the cost of the Union, confirmed by boundary markers. The largest division is the *township*, which is a square six miles (9,655 meters) on a side, with a surface area of 23,040 acres (9,331 hectares). The *township* is subdivided into 36 squares one mile on each side, covering 640 acres (or 259 hectares), which are *sections*. The section is divided into *quarts* (160 acres or 65 hectares) and in *demi-quarts* (80 acres, or 32 hectares). Most of the farms of the new states of the Northwest are a *quart* or a *demi-quart*. Boundaries extend to quarts of the section. The various divisions are numbered and easy to distinguish on maps and on the ground. Measure of acreage is done commercially, by adjudication, for a payment of 3 dollars a section (6 centimes a hectare), except for the marshes of the South, where the maximum fixed by law is 4 dollars (8 centimes per hectare). In France, the *cadastre*, which is an operation of an entirely different nature, costs 2.30 francs per hectare.

Once the plans are completed, the lands are put up for public sale to the highest bidder, above a minimum that is a dollar and a quarter per acre (16.48 francs per hectare).

Each time they put on sale or prepare to sell forty *townships* in each land district. In 1834 these districts were 52 in number.

What is usually not found for sale at a public sale is ordinarily that of the greatest quantity, which is sold eventually in the *land offices*, in *private sales* to whomever asks, at the minimum fixed by law of a dollar and a quarter an acre.

Salt-bearing and lead-bearing lands, which are found in great quantity in the West, are not put on sale. Congress has reserved this property for the Union.

Until 1820, sales took place for credit, which gave an opening to much speculation, more or less unhappy. To remedy these catastrophes and to cut short the jobbing, they then adopted a system of sale on account. They also permit the cancellation of previous sales. The sale price, which was previously two dollars an acre (26.35 francs per hectare), was reduced to what it is now.

Many colonizers establish themselves on lands they have not bought, either intending to pay later, or hoping to avoid payment. These occupants are called *squatters*. They are at the mercy of the speculators, who can raise the price of public sale and acquire the right to chase them from the land they have cleared. There are examples of cultivators supplanted in this way, or at least ransomed. But in general the speculators fear a collision with the *squatters* and do not dispute their farms. The *squatters* defend their possessions with gunshots and, on the frontier where they ordinarily are, there is no public force disposed to make them leave. The sole privilege that the *squatters* have is the right of *preemption* in *private sales*.

It is rare that lands are sold above the level of public sales.

In each township, one section, that is, a square mile, is reserved to the benefit of the primary schools of the land; further, on the product of rents, there is a retainer of 5 percent, of which 3 are destined to be employed by the Congress to build roads that open access to the western states. The remaining 2 percent that remain are paid to the states where the lands are located, to encourage instruction. The 3 percent for roads are consecrated in part, with other allocations more considerable, to the construction of the *National Road*. Besides, Congress makes donations to the states of the West for education, public works, etc., etc.

Public lands are located 1) in the states or territories of Tennessee, Mississippi, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama and Florida; 2) in the still uninhabited regions of the Northwest between the Mississippi and the *Rocky Mountains*, and 3) on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean. The second portion is in fact still occupied by the Indians. A part of the third region forms the object of a contest between the United States and England. These two powers have agreed to make no permanent establishment on the coast of the Pacific Ocean until 1840.

According to a recent report (of 8 December 1835) of the secretary of the treasury, the Union has sold or conceded in the states and organized territories since 1787 up to and including 1835, 62 ¹/₂ million acres (25,329 hectares). There remains in these same states and territories a bit more than 330 million acres (133,650,000 hectares), and to the west of the states of Missouri and Arkansas about 750 million acres (303,750,000 hectares) of which 70 to 80 millions were assigned by treaty to Indian tribes.

Up to the present the product of the sale of lands appears to have not been considerable. At this moment, the Union has not received, according to the report previously cited by the secretary of the treasury more than 15 to 20 million francs from

all of it after expenses of acquisition, subdivision and administration. In 1833 sales have taken an unaccustomed increase, which has continued into the beginning of 1836.

Hereafter the profit will be more considerable, since the Indians have almost all been indemnified. There only remains the modest cost of administration, costs of sale are 2 %; and costs of subdivision, almost negligible.

The following table shows the quantity of lands sold since the origin, distinguishing the brute product from the net product.

Table of sale of lands			
Years	Quantity Sold Hectares	Price of sale Francs	Sums Delivered to the Treasury Francs
From 1 Jan, 1787 to 30 Jun. 1820	5,528,000	147,541,000	102,768,000
1820 (end)	125,000	2,266,000	8,725,000 ¹⁶¹
1821	316,000	6,234,000	6,469,000
1822	324,000	5,456,000	9,621,000
1823	264,000	4,533,000	4,890,000
1824	303,000	5,088,000	5,248,000
1825	362,000	6,426,000	6,485,000
1826	343,000	6,021,000	7,434,000
1827	375,000	7,029,000	7,978,000
1828	591,000	6,512,000	5,429,000
1829	504,000	8,389,000	8,090,000
1830	782,000	12,976,000	12,388,000
1831	1,125,000	18,974,000	17,125,000
1832	997,000	16,613,000	13,989,000
1833	1,562,000	26,517,000	21,157,000
1834	1,887,000	32,533,000	25,909,000
Total	15,188,000	313,120,000	263,749,000 ¹⁶²
1835 ¹⁶³	3,645,000	65,333,000	58,666,000
Total	18,835,000	378,453,000	322,415,000

Here is how the donations of Congress have been distributed:

Bounties during the last war	1,803,000 hectares
Concessions for primary schools	3,461,000
Colleges and academies ¹⁶⁴	196,000

¹⁶¹ Including the products of sale made earlier on credit.

¹⁶² The difference between the price of sale and the sum truly received by the treasury is explained both because a part of the lands was paid for by promises or diverse engagements of the federation, because the cost of sales were raised by receivers, and because of the retention of 5 percent established by law, to the profit of new states.

¹⁶³ Approximation.

¹⁶⁴ Secondary schools.

Roads and canals	928,000
Capitols of states	12,000
Of salt-bearing lands	<u>96,000</u>
Total of donations	6,496,000
Total sales above	<u>18,833,000</u>
General total	25,329,000

This general total is nearly equal to half of France.

The secretary of the treasury remarks in his report that of 122 million acres subdivided and placed on sale from 1789 to 1835, a third of them found no buyers. He estimated that a quarter of the total is covered by water or by unproductive soil.

Two projects have been moved forward on the subject of public lands: first of all, that of Mr. Clay, consisting of conserving the federal domain without alienating it other than as in the past, and to distribute the net product of the sale among the states proportionally to their federal population,¹⁶⁵ save for a reservation of 15 percent for the profit of the states in which the lands are located. A bill drafted conforming to this proposal was adopted by both houses of Congress during the session of 1832-33. The president vetoed the bill, and it was passed again by both houses. But because of the law on the redistribution of the treasury surplus (see Note 55), this bill became ineffective.

The other project satisfies what appears to me to be the unjustified pretensions of the new states to the exclusive ownership of public lands located within them. It is a question of placing these lands for sale at auction after subdivision, as today; if they do not find a buyer at the current price of a dollar and a quarter, the auction would be repeated after a brief delay at the price of a dollar, and so on, always lowering the price by a quarter dollar, until one arrives at a quarter dollar per acre. What could not find a buyer at that price would become the property of the young states. The party of states' rights appears to favor this idea. There is no obligation to press for the liquidation of the domain of the West and thus to devour the one resource that, later, one would regard himself lucky to possess.

It is possible that this last system would win the preference, once the new census has augmented the forces of the West in Congress.

¹⁶⁵ The *federal population* is that which is the basis for the number of representatives of each state, differing from the real population in that slaves are not counted save as three fifths of an individual.

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IX

THE PREMIER PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

Philadelphia, 24 April 1834

Who are the premier people of the world? There is not a nation in the world that does not pretend to primacy. Who of us has not chanted with Béranger, “Queen of the world, O France, O my Fatherland!” convinced that the French people are predestined to be eternally at the head of the human race, to erase the others in peace and in war? For my account, before having passed the frontier, I believed it profoundly with a religious faith that we were by excellence, not just the people generally and chivalric, the people spiritual and artistic, the people with lovable and brilliant qualities, but particularly the knowing people, the industrial people, the people both inventor and practitioner, the people by type, the people unique, the people perfect. Despite the rains and quick storms, I thought our climate was the gentlest and most uplifting in the world. Despite Landes and Champagne, I held it to be a certainty that our soil was the richest and the most picturesque in the universe. On the pledge of the bulletins of our industrial expositions, I would have sworn that we had left our neighbors the English a hundred leagues behind, and that their manufacturers, to avoid being reduced to begging by our competition, had been obliged to learn from us how iron cools and is refined, how to found steel, how cotton is threaded, how to administer giant establishments with little money, and how to send mountains of merchandise down to the sea.

When one did pass the frontier, one comes down from magnificent pretensions bit by bit. Patriotism is purified, clarified and reinforced at the same time. Upon visiting a foreign land, one sees what is missing from the prosperity and glory of the fatherland, and how it would be possible to add a few blossoms to its crown. Thus, it is not necessary to observe England for long to convince oneself that, if it has borrowed a great deal from us, we have much to get from them as well. The English are not only better industrialists and more able traders than we are, they possess more than we do of those qualities that make it that, after having conceived of fine plans, they carry them out and lead them on to the conclusion. The English have in their nature this practical wisdom and inflexible perseverance by virtue of which our battle of giants of the Revolution and the Empire, our excess of enthusiasm and devotion, our incomparable victories, our unexpected triumphs, all ended with the Treaty of Vienna, that is, with our humiliation, and to the enthronement of Great Britain at the summit of the European pyramid. The English have less *savoir-dire* than we, but they have more *savoir-faire*. They have found the means to augment their colonies while all the rest are losing theirs. What they have lost in the Occident, they have retrieved from the coast of the Orient, tenfold. They possess this political sense by the grace of which three years ago they resolved the questions that it seemed that one would not be able to move without destroying the granite on which the soil of Great Britain rests, and without burying it at the bottom of the ocean. They have carried through their reform; they have suppressed the monopoly of the India Company, they have reformed their Bank, they have abolished slavery. During this time, we have thrashed about on truly secondary questions of the tariff

without being able to win a round. We do not know how to finish off monopolies that are truly grains of sand in comparison to the colossal privileges of the East India Company: we who have given the world the most conclusive treatises in favor of the liberty of commerce!

If we at Paris believe that we are in all and for all, for never and forever, the model people, in London one is no less in favor of the English. In London, the Duke of Wellington calls himself the conqueror of Napoleon: this is literally true and yet perfectly ridiculous, since Lord Wellington is a rather ordinary man. I have met Englishmen who shake their heads when someone tells them that their sky is cloudy; with a bit of malice, one could have pushed them to see if they would argue that they have nothing to envy in the Italian sky, and that the very climate of Manchester, where the sight of the sun has become a rarity, has many charms, despite its detractors, even from those who have breathed the air of Naples. At Madrid, among this heroic people who seem to be awakening from its long lethargy, they have not lost the habit of believing in the supremacy of the Spanish nation, and they dream that they are still in the fine days of Charles V *on whose domains the sun never set*. Permitted to the noble Castilians! But I am still persuaded that Don Pedro and Don Miguel, those two interminable pretenders, each has an official journal that says every morning that the universe holds its breath, eyes fixed on their threadbare armies, and that the destiny of the world is decided at Santarem and at Setubal. At Constantinople, in the capital of an empire that survives only because the European powers are still uncertain over the division of spoils, they call us, Europeans dogs of Christians. In Rome, the people still calls itself the Roman people, and this laughable travesty fantasizes of the populace in Trastevere that military glory is still the lot of the land, and that the *Romans* will incessantly reassume the role of arbiters of the world, magnanimously relieving the humble and obliterating from one pole to the other audacity and ambition (*parcere subjectis*, etc. ...)! In Vienna they are convinced on the contrary that Rome is Rome no more, that it is by right and by fact the capital of archdukes, that the emperor is the heir by direct descent of the House of Augustus and Trajan. The device of an old prince of the House of Austria (A. E. I. O. U.)¹⁶⁶ attests that this pretension is almost as old as the House of Habsburg. In these days, the young nobles, proud of having studied at the great universities of Jena and of Berlin, and of carrying a sword in the army that was that of the great Frederick, affects a profound disdain for the Austrians. Exalted by the rapid acquisitions that have not yet reached their limits, the Prussians regard their sandy fatherland as the cradle of a new civilization. It seems that the waters of the Spree have miraculous properties, and that whoever has not tasted it has only four senses instead of five. At St. Petersburg and Moscow, they have no doubt that the sword of the emperor, thrown onto the scale of the world's destinies, will cause it instantly to sway. Perhaps we in Western Europe have done all that is needed to confirm the Russians in their high opinion of their czar. In Russia they take seriously the flatteries of the eighteenth century, and in the center of the aristocracy they imagine, on the faith of the greatest enemy of despotism, that today the light comes from the north. Let it be so for light; may our Europe solidly united form a worthy enough compact so that it will not go further!

¹⁶⁶ *Austriae est imperare orbi universo*: the empire of the world pertains to Austria.

Thus in Europe all the nations arrogate to themselves the first rank. I do not see why the Americans are more modest than those on the east of the Atlantic. The marvels they have realized in fifteen years give them the right to be proud. They are therefore persuaded, they too, that they are the first people in the world, and they boast greatly of that.

The fact is that there is no people predestined to a superiority that is granted for the whole series of centuries. The Jewish people, in which this sentiment of eternal predestination appears the most profoundly incarnated, has been submitted to a test for the last eighteen centuries that gives them a cruel denial. Since Richelieu and the revolution of 1688, that is, since Spain went to sleep, France and England have been at the head of civilization, sharing supremacy, one ruling by theory, the other by the arts, taste and mores. But what was France and England, three centuries ago, in the days of Charles V, when the generals of this other emperor and king killed Bayard at Rebecque, taking François I at Pavia and the Pope at Rome, while two thousand leagues from the coast of the Occident, Cortez conquered for him the proud empire of Montezuma? Prussia, which today shares the scepter of Germany, and is worthy of it, the young Germany, Germany haughty and ambitious, Germany avid to charge into the future, just as Austria is patriarchal Germany, Germany self satisfied and sage, Germany conservative of the past and guardian of old law, what, therefore, will this Prussia be in three generations? What will we become, all us French, English, people of Prussia and Austria, in three centuries, perhaps in a hundred years? Who could affirm that some wind from the north will find us divided, enfeebled by intestine disputes, will we be forced to turn the head that we hold today so high and proud? Who knows if the vigorous populations that germinate today on a virgin soil should not have given way in their turn, as we have pressed out predecessors? Who may say that the two great figures that today mark the two limits of the horizon, the first in the east, one foot on Moscow and the other poised to press on Constantinople, and the second toward the setting sun, still half hidden by the immense forests of the New World, and whose elongated legs extend from the mouths of the Saint Lawrence to those of the Mississippi. Who could say that these two young colossi who watch one another from one side to the other of the Atlantic and touch on the banks of the Pacific Ocean, will not soon divide the domination of the universe?

Civilization is a treasure to which each generation adds in transmitting it to its heirs, and that passes from hand to hand, from people to people, from country to country. Departing old Asia, it has taken forty centuries to roll to the shores of the European Ocean. When people have become depositors, woe to them if, instead of guarding it with vigilance and working to increase it, they bury it alongside the road and consume their time and forces in vain quarrels! The treasure will be taken from them at once and they will decay. The Americans are the most entrepreneurial of men and the most ambitious of nations: if we remain absorbed in our sterile disputes, they will be the people to come upon us suddenly and take from us this precious deposit of the destinies of the human race and take first place.

Each people has its qualities that education develops, which at certain moments shine with a lively burst, like a beacon toward which humanity will march, holding their eyes fixed, and who at every epoch are recommended to the esteem or affection, to the emotion or to the respect of others. The United States is incontestably theirs. No other people are proper to the democratic form by its intimate character, by its condition of

territory and population. Therefore they possess to a higher degree the advantages of democracy, and they also have inseparable faults. But with them, if there is material for blame, there is still more subject to praise. There is a great deal here for a European coming to search to harvest, not subjects of satire, criticism or sarcasm (satire, criticism and sarcasm are very vulgar trades in all countries, since so many peoples have given out the thin coin of Voltaire and Byron), but there are many deeds that could be imitated in our old country, with all the modifications that completely different circumstances from the American situation demand. Almost all the English travelers have seen much bad and only with difficulty a little good. The portrait they give of America and the Americans is a caricature. It has a resemblance anyway, since a caricature made with spirit is always so. Americans are right to reject judgment: one may only be judged by one's peers. It is not for the most intact aristocracy still in Europe, the English aristocracy, to judge a democracy. Now the English travelers in America belong to the aristocracy by their relations or their opinions, or they were aspirants to the aristocracy, or also the folks who ape it to have the air of being part of it.

Certainly a cultivator from Yorkshire or a *mechanic* from Birmingham would have given an entirely different judgment. They would probably be as exclusive in their praises as the most disdainful of tourists would have been in their disapproval. Cultivators and *mechanics* are, after all, a significant number in the English population and among the elements of the prosperity of Great Britain. Let us suppose that a *farmer* of Ohio or Illinois, having sold his flour and salt pork for a good price, goes for six months to play *nabob* in England, and that on his return he describes the distress of the workers in Great Britain in the rude eloquence of the West, the Corn Laws, the tax on poor people, the dreadful condition of Irish peasants, the impressments of sailors, the purchasing of military offices. Let us suppose that, like a painter of mores, he adds a husband selling his wife in a market, a boxing match, and a scene of guests rolling dead drunk under the table at the end of a banquet. If he gave his recitation to his compatriots as a political and moral tableau of England, the English would shrug their shoulders, and they would be right. This is because this recitation would be the precise counterpart, the pendant to what English travelers have generally published as a faithful representation of America. Do not do to others what you do not wish others to do to you.

There is one fact that seizes the stranger at his landing and which is good enough to impose silence on sentiments of national pride, particularly if he is English: it is the fact of universal well-being that the land presents. While European societies are more or less gnawed by the plague of pauperism that undermines all without the most able people having been able to apply to it a repairing balm. There are no poor people here, at least in the states of the North and West, who have known enough to guarantee themselves free of the leprosy of slavery. If you encounter some, it is only an imperceptible minority of individuals without good behavior, mostly men of color; or these are adventurers freshly landed who are not yet decided on the habits of a laboring life. Here nothing is easier than to live by work, and to live well. The objects of first need, such as bread, meat, sugar, tea, coffee, firewood, are generally much lower in price than in France,¹⁶⁷ and salaries are double or triple. A few days ago I found myself on the line of a railroad

¹⁶⁷ Tea and coffee do not pay any customs duty. To protect the sugar plantations of Louisiana, which produce half of what the country consumes (40,000,000 kilograms), there is a duty established equivalent to 29 francs a metric quintal of brown sugar. In France, the duty is 49.50 francs.

in construction. They were making terraces. This sort of work, which does not demand anything but force without direction, is normally done in the United States by newly arrived Irishmen, who have no resource but their arms nor any talent but the vigor of their muscles. These Irishmen are fed and lodged, and here is their food: three meals a day, each meal with meat, very abundant, and of wheat bread;¹⁶⁸ there is coffee and sugar at two of their meals, and butter¹⁶⁹ once a day. In the course of the day, they are given six to eight glasses of whiskey, depending on whether they are more or less hot. They also receive a salary in silver that is 40 cents (2.13 francs) under the worst conditions, often 3 francs, and sometimes 4 francs. In France the same labor earns commonly 1.25 francs, and the workers have to feed themselves.

This positive, uncontestable fact of general ease exists alongside another that singularly raises its importance in the eyes of a European friend of progress, enemy of violence. In politics, radicalism is the fashion here. The word of democracy, which elsewhere strikes fear even into republicans, is sought after, hailed in acclamations. They fight over the use of the name of the Democratic Party; there are here three or four variations of opinion that reclaim it as their exclusive property, but it is the sole type of property that is in jeopardy. It is true that material property is well established here, at least so far as active surveillance preserves it, and that constant labor renews it. In any case, so long as it continues to exist, it is the object of profound respect that, I declare, rather surprised me. I paid attention to what syllogisms of the theory of social economy had lent to political theory. One who would be regarded as less than daring in this connection would be an audacious innovator here.

After these simple observations, it appears natural to think that this is the place to retire from the study of this land of precious indications for the solution of the great question that agitates Europe, that of the betterment of the lot of the greatest number. It will be interesting to research the causes of this state of things, and to examine if, by means of transformation, it may be put in play in European society, particularly in France. I will return to this subject later if it is possible for me.

¹⁶⁸ A large part of the American population consumes cornbread, particularly south of the Potomac. Maize was already being cultivated by the Indians when the English colonists arrived in the country.

¹⁶⁹ Butter is more expensive in the United States than in France.

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X

THE YANKEE¹⁷⁰ AND THE VIRGINIAN

Charleston, North Carolina, 28 May 1834

The civilizing movement that has flooded the vast domain of the West in the South and the North, from the Great Lakes to the end of Florida, has operated with admirable energy and coherence. The emigration has taken place along the entire line from the East to the West. The inhabitants of New England, after having filled their old territory, and having founded the new states of Maine and Vermont, have thrown themselves into the west of New York state; from there, remaining as close as possible to the northern border of the United States, they have run the length of Lakes Ontario and Erie, they have invaded the vast delta that today forms the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the Territory of Michigan. The peoples of New York and Pennsylvania have moved little beyond their own territory, which is very extensive and was little inhabited in 1783. Thus they have contributed a small contingent to the grand expeditionary army that departed New England, and they have contributed to the invasions respectively of Michigan, as well as Ohio and Indiana. Virginia, after having been peopled to its western side, bore forth the State of Kentucky. It went on to play the role in the South that New England played in the North, sending forth numerous swarms toward the Gulf of Mexico that have spread throughout the new states of the South. North Carolina aided it in this duty, and it has its particular spawn in the State of Tennessee. Georgia and South Carolina have contributed to produce Alabama and Mississippi. Tennessee and Kentucky have in turn furnished sprouts for Missouri and Arkansas.

Hence the states where there are no slaves have brought to light truly democratic republics, specifically without slaves, essentially agricultural, cultivating, except for the vine,¹⁷¹ everything that can be cultivated in our temperate regions of Europe. These young states were based on small-scale property and on true equality, since most of the farms there are almost uniformly between 80 and 160 acres (32 to 64 hectares). The Southern states, in contrast, were created as aristocratic republics, based on slavery and large properties, even more exclusively agricultural, and producing principally cotton, a precious commodity that now provides an export commerce worth 200,000,000 francs, of 250,000,000 francs including deliveries to the Northern states.¹⁷²

Hence, in the middle of all these columns advancing in a mass from the East to the West, two alone deserve our attention. Two alone form the core of the army: the others are simply auxiliaries. They are the columns of Virginia and New England.

The part of Virginia that was the most populated at the time of independence offers a soil that is flat and sandy, generally very poor. Along the rivers the soil had once been more fertile, but as it happened it was soon exhausted by the raising of tobacco. The owners of this state early on longed to quit their plantations to go and establish themselves on the excellent soils of Kentucky, currently occupied by bellicose savages

¹⁷⁰ The name Yankee was long applied to the inhabitants of the six states of New England in derision. They ended by accepting it, thinking that they had ennobled it, which is the sense I take it.

¹⁷¹ Up until now, the wine grape (*vitis vinifera*) has not succeeded in the United States. The forests there are full of wild vines. Except for the extreme South, the winters there are too severe, even in the latitudes of Naples and Lisbon, to cultivate the olive, which is more a crop of hot lands rather than temperate ones.

¹⁷² See Note 28.

that made that their favorite hunting grounds. Some hardy pioneers, at their head the elder Boone, were first to dare to pass the mountains with their rifles and valiantly sustain the war to the death that the Indians declared against them. After many a bloody fight, where more than one hero fell to the bullet or tomahawk of some Redskin Hector, after many attacks in which more than one matron imitated our Jeanne Hachette, after many an alarm and much suffering, the genius of civilization overcame. On the call of the pioneers, following the noise of their adventures, the planters of the coast came running. They arrived with their slaves and cleared vast domains in the midst of which they led a patriarchal existence, surrounded by their servants and their troops, dedicating themselves in a frenzy to the pleasures of hunting the beasts of the forest, sometimes the Indians as well, and throwing their harvests away far too often by betting on the speed of their horses, of which they are fiercely proud, and of which they preserve the genealogy with much more care than they deserve. Later, when the demand for cotton became substantial in England due to the perfecting of steam-powered machinery and mechanical devices in general, and once the steamboat had opened the Mississippi Valley, they moved further south, always along with their slaves. A future of prosperity and wealth opened definitively for the South.

The industrious sons of New England said the same farewell to the rocky, ungrateful soil of their native land. They loaded their plow, their bed, a barrel of salt pork, the indispensable provisions of tea and molasses, their Bible and their wife onto a wagon, and headed West, hatchet on shoulder, without a servant, without any help, usually without companion, to go six hundred miles from the parental house, all to build a cabin in the midst of a forest, clearing the beginnings of a farm. The first of them left Connecticut, the *Granite State*, a Puritan state among Puritans.

The Virginian and the New Englander, the Yankee, each colonized according to his nature. The role they played in the new states of the West explains this fact, often mentioned, that fifty or sixty members of Congress are originally either from Virginia or Connecticut. In this conquest, Europe was not subordinated to a passive or spectator role. It had, in fact, raised brave workers who joined with the sons of New England, since slavery excited in them too much horror for them to take the part of the men of the South. Many Irish and Scots, a mass of Germans and Swiss, and a few French,¹⁷³ are established today in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. The traveler who descends the Ohio finds along his way Gallipolis — a French town, Vevay — a Swiss town, Marietta — named thus in honor of the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette. The terminal designations of “-burg” are sowed in the midst of Indian names, of Jacksonvilles, Washingtons and Columbias. But the cooperation of Europeans does not challenge the Yankees for the principal honor of creation: the Yankees began it, they give the tone, they made and make the greatest effort. Compared to them, the European is only the man of yesterday, the apprentice, the mercenary. The fusion of the Europeans with the Yankees only takes effect slowly, even in the new territory of the West. This is because the Yankee is not a man of universal associations. He believes that the eldest son of Adam was a Yankee. In any case, enough Yankee blood has already been mixed with foreign blood that the crossing of races has contributed to alter the primitive character of the population emerging from New England to form the third American type, of the West, a type whose contours are as confused as is

¹⁷³ With the exception of Alsations, French in our own century have participated to a small degree in the invasion of the West. French who emigrate to the United States usually establish themselves in towns.

its future, but whose athletic forms and ambitious pretensions are more defined every day, and which appears destined to dominate the other two.

The Yankee and the Virginians are two distinct beings. They have little love for one another, and they often clash. These are the same men that slit one another's throats under the names of cavaliers and roundheads. In England they have made peace due to the interposition of the new dynasty, which is neither Stuart nor Cromwell. In America, where no power of moderation exists, they would have devoured one another as they once did in the Mother Country had Providence not thrown one into the South and the other into the North, leaving between them the moderate states of Pennsylvania and New York, with their satellites of New Jersey and Delaware.

The pure blooded Virginian is open, cordial, expansive. He has courtesy in his manners, nobility in his sentiments, and grandeur in his ideas. He is the worthy descendent of the English *gentleman*. Surrounded from infancy by slaves who spare him from all manual work, he is not very active, even slothful. He is generous and prodigal, and around him and in the new states more than in impoverished Virginia, profusion reigns. When the cotton harvest has been good and the price is firm, he calls each and every person, save the slaves in the fields, to enjoy his opulence, without worrying that there will be a next harvest. Practicing hospitality is a necessity for him, a pleasure, a bounty. In the fashion of the Patriarchs of the East or the heroes of Homer, he lays on beef in chunks to regale the guests Providence has sent him and an old friend recommends him. And to cheer up this substantial feast, he has Madeira that has been twice to the Indies and in his cellar for twenty years, and he regards it as valuable as his horses. He loves the institutions of his country, and he gladly displays his family silver to the visitor, of which the heraldic devices now half worn away witness that he descends from the first colonists, and that his ancestors were from a good house in England. When his spirit has been cultivated by studies, and when travel to Europe has rendered his manners supple and polished his imagination, there is no place in the world he would not be worthy to be with advantage, there is no destiny to whose height he could not rise; he is one of those men one is happy to have as companions, that one desires as friends. Endowed with an ardent head and a warm heart, he is of the wood that makes great orators. He stands out more in commanding men than in dominating nature or mastering the soil. When he possesses a certain dose of a spirit of order, and I do not speak of his will (he is well provided with it), but of that active perseverance so common among his Northern brothers, he unites all that is needed to become a superior statesman.

In contrast, the Yankee is reserved, concentrated and defiant. His humor is pensive and sober but uniform, his pose without grace, but modest and without false pride. His approach is cold, often lacking in kindness. His ideas are straight, but practical. He has the sense for what pleases him, but he has nothing of the grandiose in him. He does not have the least bit of chivalry in him, and yet he is adventurous. He is comfortable with a life of risk. He has an active imagination that brings forth original creations that one calls *Yankee notions* here. This is not poetry: it is a sense of the bizarre. The Yankee was born hard working; he is industrious and sober, he is economical. On the poor soil of New England, he was once almost a miser. Transplanted to the promised land of the West, he is a solid man, but he counts his pennies.

In New England, he has a good dose of prudence, but once thrown into the midst of the treasures of the West, he becomes a speculator, even a gambler, although he has a horror of cards, dice, and everything that is of games of chance or even approaches them, save for the innocent game of skittles. He is sly, subtle, crafty, always calculating, playing the game of *tricks* by which he surprises his customer or confidant, because he sees in it a proof of his own superiority of spirit. He also has the resources of his mental restrictions to hold his conscience in restraints. Whatever is the purpose, he is expeditious in business, because he knows the price of time. His house is a sanctuary that he does not open to the profane. He is not very hospitable, or rather he rarely gives out his hospitality, but when he does so, it is ample. He speaks without effort, but he is no brilliant orator, although he is a severe logician. He lacks the largeness of spirit to be a statesman and the heart to convince another to love what he loves, and naturally to take his neighbor's interests as his own. He is individualism incarnate; with him the spirit of locality and specialization is pushed to the final limit.¹⁷⁴ But if he is not a statesman, he is an able administrator and a prodigious businessman. Even though he has little aptitude for managing people, he does not have an equal in doing things, coordinating them and turning them into value.

There are no businessmen anywhere as good as those of Boston. But it is as a colonizer that the Yankee is admirable. He cannot be tired out. Unlike the Spaniard, he does not have the ability to endure hunger and thirst, but he has the superior talent of being able to find something to eat and to drink, always and everywhere. He always knows how to keep his wife and children warm, and himself as well. He goes into close combat with nature, and he is more tenacious than it is and always wins. He forces nature to surrender, and he makes it produce what he wants and makes it in his own image. Like Hercules, he dominates the Hydra of pestilential swamps and controls the rivers. Braver than Hercules, he extends his empire not only over the land, but over the seas. He is the premier sailor in the world. The ocean is his tributary, and it enriches him with the oil of its whales and of all its little fishes. Wiser than the hero of the twelve labors, he does not know an Omphala who could seduce him, or a Dejanira whose poisoned presence could deceive his penetrating gaze. In this matter, it is like Ulysses, who has his Penelope and relies on her remaining stolidly faithful. He does not even need to plug his ears when he passes close to the Sirens; the most tender passions are deadened in him by religious austerity, and by the preoccupations of his profession at clearing land. Like Ulysses again, he has a bag full of tricks. Caught unawares, at night, in a wood, by a storm, in a half-hour, without any help other than his knife, he will have constructed a shelter for himself and his horse. In the winter, if he is surprised by one of those snowstorms unknown to us, he will construct a sled in the twinkling of an eye, and he will follow a route by orienting himself like an Indian by the moss on the trees. Hence, to his genius for business by the aid of which he has taken what he has pulled from the ground, he joins the genius of working to make the ground productive, as well as that of mechanics to fashion products. He is an incomparable pioneer, and a colonizer without equal.

¹⁷⁴ In the State of Massachusetts, which counts 550,000 souls, the House of Representatives has almost six hundred members: the smallest village desires its own representative.

It is he who has placed his seal on the United States during the half-century that has passed. He was removed from the councils of the republic by Virginia,¹⁷⁵ but he has dominated the countryside instead, and he has eclipsed Virginia in its own territory, since while the Virginian succumbed to southern indolence, the Yankee succeeded in providing the example of his activity and his entrepreneurial humor at his very gate, in his midst and despite him. Without the Yankee, the cotton fields of the South would still be barren. It was a Yankee, *Eli Whitney*, who, at the end of the last century, invented the *cotton gin*, a machine for deseeding cotton, which has made the fortune of the South. In order for any speculation to become popular in the South, it is necessary for Yankees, gathered by hazard from four hundred places, to have given the idea to the people of the country, and then taking most of the profit from under their noses. New England has only supplied two presidents, both very popular at the time of their election, and both unpopular at the end of their first term, while all the others derive from Virginia or South Carolina, and all have won a second term. But how it has had its revenge in business, in the North and South, in the East as in the West! The Yankee is the true Marquis of Carabas. In Baltimore as in Boston, in New Orleans as in Salem, in New York as in Portland, if you mention a businessman who has created and kept a great fortune, and you ask whence he comes, they will reply, "He's a Yankee." If, in the South, you pass a plantation that appears better kept than the others, with the finest avenues, the Negro cabins better aligned and more comfortable, "Oh!" someone tells you, "that belongs to a man from New England. He is a *smart man*." In a village in Missouri, alongside a house with broken windows, with a filthy exterior, and in front of whose door children with shabby clothes fight one another, and next door you see another house freshly painted, surrounded by a simple but well-maintained fence, whitewashed, with a dozen trees well pruned. Through the window you see a little parlor glittering with propriety, with well-dressed boys, and girls dressed almost in keeping with the latest fashion of Paris. Both of these homes are of *farmers*, but one comes from North Carolina, and the other from New England. On the rivers of the West, you hear stories of steamboats that never have accidents, and the travelers and businessmen say with emphasis that the captain is a Yankee. In New Orleans, opposite the levee, you see a fine ship that all the passers-by admire. A Yankee owns it.

The preeminence of the Yankee in the colonizing movement has caused him to become the arbiter of mores and customs. It is he who has given these lands a general color of austere severity, since he is religious and even bigoted. It is he who has proscribed as immoral pleasures the enjoyments that we consider honorable distractions. It is through him that prisons are improved, that schools multiply, that temperance societies spread.¹⁷⁶ It is through him, and his money, that missionaries in the South Seas undertake to found, with little noise, colonies to the profit of the Union. If one wishes to form a unique type representing American character in its unity, as it is at this moment, it would be necessary to take at least three quarters Yankee and add perhaps a quarter for the portion of the Virginian.

¹⁷⁵ At this moment, for example, ten out of the forty-eight senators originated in Virginia. Of seven presidents, Virginia has supplied four: Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. Many of the members of Congress are, as I said, natives of New England, particularly of Connecticut, but these in general are laborious men of the second order rather than men of influence or superior capacity.

¹⁷⁶ See Note 29.

Currently, the work of colonizing is markedly advanced. The material basis for the society is set. On this base, it is a question of raising a social edifice whose forms are not yet known, but which will be in keeping with a new plan, I am convinced, because all the materials in it are new. Further, humanity, like Providence, does not repeat itself. Which of the two, the Virginian or the Yankee, is more suited to fulfill this new duty? I do not know, but it seems to me that the Virginian will have his turn, and that, in the phase the United States is about to enter, his social qualities will obtain a prominence that, in a period of clearance, would naturally fall to the industrious Yankee. I finally believe that if the Union survives, and the West continues to form a single mass from New Orleans to the falls of Niagara, this third type of the West, which expands to rival the other two, will borrow much from the Virginian and little from the Yankee.

It is no small advantage for a people to have in themselves two types of characteristic physiognomy that harmonize into a common nationality. A nation where all the individuals derive from a single type is among nations like a bachelor among individuals. It is a sort of lonely game; his life is monotonous. The most lively and good faculties of human nature are dormant in him. He remains immobile, and nothing spurs him toward progress. Thus was ancient Egypt.

In contrast, a people with double types, when neither of them has a crushing predominance over the other, enjoys a complete existence. Its life is a perpetual exchange of sensations and ideas such as that of a *couple* [Voltaic pile]. It has the gift of procreation. It both reproduces and regenerates itself. Each of the two natures alternatively acts or rests, without ever being inactive. Each takes superiority in turn and one submits to the other. Hence, in keeping with various circumstances, it has the resource of various virtues. The two natures support one another and mutually keep the other on alert. They stimulate one another and, as a result of this salutary emulation, the people who have these types within reach high destinies.

History shows us that the progress of humanity in the past has been constantly achieved by the action and reaction of two natures or two races sometimes in harmony, more often enemies or rivals. The most general fact of the history of civilization pertaining to us is the struggle of the East and the West, from the expedition of the Argonauts and the Trojan War to the Battle of Lepanto and the Siege of Vienna by the Turks. More than just battles took place in this immense drama where the chief roles were occupied in turn by the great figures of such as Miltiades and Themistocles, of Darius and Xerxes, of Scipio and Hannibal, of Alexander, of Trajan, of Sapor, of Chosroes, of Mohammed and Saladin, of Abdul-Rahman, of Pelagius and Charles Martel, of Richard and Sobieski. It was not simply to dye the rivers with blood that Providence precipitated the ones against the others, Europeans and Asiatics, Greeks and Persians, Romans, Carthaginians and Parthians, Moors and Crusaders, Venetians, Poles and Turks. More than sword-blows were exchanged between East and West. If you wish to know, you Westerners, what you have gained from contact with the East, even when not approaching it, sword in hand, look around you: almost all the trees that enrich your fields, this vine that lightens your heart, this silk and this cotton that drapes your houses and your persons, these are the fruits of the war with the East. The sugar and the coffee whose culture has changed the political balance of the world, one came from the East, the other the Arabs provided when they were the masters of Spain. The compass that gave a new continent to civilization and assured the domination of the human race over the

previously indomitable element of the sea, was given you by the East. Your arts and sciences are of oriental origin; algebra was a secret of the Moors of Spain, revealed by a monk; your numbers, basis of all the progress achieved in mathematics and administration, carry the name of the Arabs. Your chivalry was brought back from the East by the Crusaders. Your Christianity, the father of modern Europe, would not have existed had the Roman legions, thrown upon the East, not conquered Judaea, reaffirming the seed, and if the Roman Empire had not had the school of Alexandria where this seed could flourish, and if the Rome of the Caesars had not been, for the successors of Saint Peter, an elevated pedestal made to dominate East and West.

Look at the Roman people: its noble existence is a continual series of wars, followed soon by incorporations, alliances, and true interactions that always gave them a new force. It begins with the double figure of Romulus and Remus; then it is the Romans and the Sabines, or rather the Sabine women; then it is Rome and Alba; then Rome and the Latins; then again Rome and Carthage. They said of a young sultan who seized a female slave at the point of a sword, who made her his favorite until he was disgusted with her or when he found another more worthy of his love. He went on perpetually changing without cease, taking his successive choices day after day, until he found Greece, who was for him more than a fugitive caprice, and whom he made his legitimate sultana. This marriage of the Greek and Roman natures made the splendor and the joy of Imperial Rome and assured the repose of the world. Once his conquest was assured, once his destiny was entwined with that of Greece, the Roman stopped to play, and to this result, that he substituted the regime of the Caesars for his republican constitution; in the place of his aristocracy of severe mores, Greek orators and comics, and the emperors, some as voluptuous as the disciples of Epicurus, the others philosophers and literate in the fashion of Pericles.

What is the history of Greece if not a continual balancing between austere Lacedaemonia and brilliant Athens, between the homeland of Lycurgus and Leonidas and that of Solon, Aspasia and Alcibiades. Every time they joined together they will derive an insurmountable energy in their joining, to the point of absorbing in their little corner of land the shock of all Asia. Unfortunately they did not have enough sentiment of their common nationality, they had too many local jealousies. Almost constantly disunited, they shall never completely dominate Greece itself. And when the Greek race was destined to rise to its apogee, it was given to neither to take it there. Providence awoke him to the north before which *the world would shake*.

One could say in the same way that the history of Europe after the conquering Germans were in place, this would resume in the two peoples, English and French, and that the major part of the progress of our civilization was occasioned by the rivalry of these illustrious athletes or by their friction during their truces, as brief as they were.

Hence, the great phenomena in the life of the human race offer us the spectacle of two natures,¹⁷⁷ ruling in turn, one on the other, shining and eclipsing in turn, usually at war to the present day, sometimes in harmony, and always animating in their contact one with the other.

¹⁷⁷ See Note 30.

When a nation comprehends an infinite multitude of mixed types, one after another without order and without hierarchy, it is like a body in a pliable state. It has no intelligible character, no fixed destination. It is incapable of doing anything great in the world. It is thus that since the war of the ancient German electors in revolt against the Holy Empire, and since the Treaty of Westphalia that consecrated their independence and shattered the ancient national unity, Germany was eclipsed until the moment when the House of Brandenburg, elevating itself above the anarchy of small Germanic states, and takes its place alongside the House of Austria, establishing a strong duality.

Duality is still not the only model by which a society can be constituted both solid and elastic at the same time. There is a third type of which its superiority over the two others is conceded, or which possesses enough of the nature of the one and the other to serve as a bridge and intermediary, inserting itself between, resulting in a vigorous social organization, for behold the harmony between the two primitive types have ceased to be an abstraction: it has taken on flesh and bone.

In such a case, this new role is so indispensable, it is fulfilled at any price, and that its august prerogatives have declined into utilities. It was thus in Greece when it was briefly occupied by the Boeotians of Thebes.

In a large number of peoples, it was fulfilled by the aristocracy, which interposed itself between two races to balance the one with the other. An aristocracy worthy of this name is eminently proper to this role as moderator because it carries the two natures in itself, that it tests in its heart the counter-blow of the movement of their passions, and that it has the necessary energy to hold it in respect or let it fly, depending on what it wishes.

Under the aspect of duality, there is no land more favorably constituted than the United States. Each of its two natures has a free field. They are held separate, their industries distinct. Each possesses to a higher degree the faculties proper to it.

In a threefold relationship, it seems called to form itself no less perfectly. The young giant arising in the West appears to have to be the new arrival to accomplish the motto, *The last shall be the first*, and who, with its masculine hand, will be the tie of association between the North and the South.

In France for the last fifty years the passion of unity, which has always been natural to us, has taken on the character of a fever: unity and perfection have become synonyms for us. We have put everything into the melting pot and remade ourselves in a uniform mold. We have established a political system that concentrates France in Paris, and in which it is enough to have one wheel placed in the center to drive the eighty-six wheels of the départements, the five hundred wheels of the districts, and the 40,000 wheels of the communes. By exaggerating the applications of the grand principle, that of unity, we have organized France as if it were not a powerful kingdom but one province of an empire. We have disposed it admirably as if it had been conquered in a single battle by some chieftain of hordes who has left us in Paris with a hetman viceroy.

We possess two distinct types, that of the South and that of the North. Instead of employing the fine instrument of centralization to develop one and the other, following their proper nature and to have them move one with the other, we have used them to absorb both of them into a confined unity to confound one with the other. We have always denied the penchants of the South, even the most legitimate. The type of the South has been obliterated by the type of the North. It is taking its revenge, almost as Ireland, which has the privilege of giving England its prime ministers; but these, with us

as with Ireland, are the ungrateful sons of an abandoned mother, always governing in the interest of the North, as if there had never been anything but the North in France, as if France contained only cities and no countryside, as if we were a manufacturing people above all else, and only secondarily agrarian, and, what is more grave, as if we were a society of philosophers and not a nation avid with beliefs in religion and of an enthusiastic affection in politics.

During our great Revolution, it was good for our national independence that the Constituent Assembly prepared a dictatorship on all territorial matters for the Convention by suppressing all the great corporations and all the great individualities that had existed under the Old Regime. If there had been one more Vendée, we would have been beaten and probably partitioned. Today when the danger has passed, would it be impossible to find a combination that, without destroying centralization, would give to the provinces a bit of the vital heat that we search for in vain since we cut them into bits by the creation of the eighty-six départements?¹⁷⁸ Is it not possible right now to govern France in a manner to satisfy the ideas and sentiments of the South without doing violence to the North?

Note 28 [Note 25, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

The exportation of cotton of the United States

Here is the progress that the exportation of cotton has made since the origin of raising it (*Document no. 3 of the House of Representatives, 24th Congress, first session*):

Table of the exportation of cotton

Years	Quantity In kilograms	Value in francs
1792	62,100	170,000
1793	219,600	562,000
1794	720,900	1,708,000
Average	334,000	817,000
1802	12,375,000	28,100,000
1803	18,495,000	41,200,000
1804	18,150,000	41,200,000
Average	16,020,000	36,800,000
1822	65,070,000	128,000,000
1823	78,165,000	109,300,000
1824	63,080,000	116,000,000
Average	69,075,000	117,800,000
1832	145,010,000	169,300,000
1833	146,033,000	192,000,000
1834	173,140,000	264,000,000

¹⁷⁸ See Note 31.

Interior consumption is currently 250,000 bales weighing 40,000,000 kilograms. Representing a value of 50 to 55 million francs.

In 1835, the total production was 1,350,000 bales weighing 220,000,000 kilograms, worth 300 million francs. The wine harvest of France is evaluated at double this sum, but it furnishes only 70 million francs to export commerce.

The secretary of the treasury remarks in the previously cited document that, during the last thirty years, the rise in exports of all American products, including cotton, had been in a relation of 3 to 5. For cotton alone, it was 25 percent per year on average, and in the last ten years 10 percent.

Note 29 [Note 26, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Temperance Societies

The American Temperance Society was formed to combat the vice of drunkenness that is very widespread in the United States, and which was more stubborn there than elsewhere because of the nature and bad quality of strong liquors¹⁷⁹ most in use.

This society was founded in Boston in February 1826. Here, according to its reports, are the results of their efforts:

Three thousand temperance societies are in existence in the United States in 1831, of which 13 are state-wide, comprehending more than 300,000 members: 1000 distilleries have been closed, 3,000 persons have ceased the traffic of spiritous liquors. In 1833 there were more than 5000 temperance societies, of which 21 are state-wide, comprehending more than a million members: more than 2000 persons have ceased manufacturing spirits, and more than 6000 have ceased to sell them retail; more than 700 vessels sail without spirits on board; more than 5600 drunks have been treated. In 1834, the number of temperance societies was more than 7000, counting more than 1,250,000 members; more than 3000 distilleries had closed, and more than 7,000 merchants had renounced the sale of strong liquors; the number of temperance ships surpassed 1000; more than 10,000 drunks had been treated. The number of societies in 1835 was 8,000, with 23 state organizations, one for each state except for Louisiana, counting more than 1,500,000 members. They have obtained on the whole the closure of more than 4,000 distilleries and 8,000 retail shops. The number of temperance ships is more than 1200, that of reformed drunks, 12,000. It has been calculated that in addition more than 20,000 persons have renounced the consumption of every intoxicating beverage. Reports of temperance societies, brochures and journals of the same nature have been distributed to all parts of the Union. It is

¹⁷⁹ The chief of these liquors is *whiskey*, an eau-de-vie of grains that is badly prepared in the United States. The wines that they prefer to consume, and the sole type the working class knows, are those of Madeira and Spain, which are naturally very alcoholic despite the fact that they cut it in a proportion of three-sixths.

demonstrated that the use of liquor was the cause of death of more than 40 or 50,000 persons in the United States, and that one owes to this abuse the pauperism and crime of the country.

The resolutions declaring “that the commerce in alcoholic spirits is morally criminal” was passed by various ecclesiastical bodies of different Christian denominations, comprehending more than 5000 ministers of the Gospel and more than 6000 churches. The same resolutions were adopted by various state societies, by the temperance society of the Congress, and by the American Temperance Society at its meeting in Philadelphia in May 1834, composed of more than 4000 delegates from 21 states.

While admitting it to be possible that the preceding review might be exaggerated, it is incontestable that the American Temperance Society and the societies created after its example have rendered great services to the Union.

In most of our départements, wine has such a low price that the population drinks little eau-de-vie or other spirits. In the provinces of the North, meanwhile, and in the towns where the taxes have been raised, the working class is frequently drawn to the drinking of spirits. They have recently sought to establish temperance societies, called *sociétés de sobriété*, in those areas where drunkenness has caused great damage. Monsieur Dutrône, counselor of the royal court, was the chief founder of these societies at Amiens, where the vice of drunkenness has reached an alarming degree.

Note 30 [Note 27, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

[*Coupling and Marriage*]

Perhaps it is permitted to me to insist on the words that I use here, *coupling* and *marriage*, and to say that one finds in these rival types the respective qualities of the human pair. Respectively each possesses the first, the qualities of the male, and the other the qualities of the female; one has perseverance, reason, cold blood; the other is lively and ardent, endowed with a brilliant imagination. One is somber and austere, the other breathes elegance, grace and voluptuousness. The West is male in relation to the Orient, the same with Rome in relation to Greece, Sparta and England in relation to Athens and France. Up to our own days, the male type has almost always conquered the other, but the feminine type has disciplined the male, and she has subjugated him in turn by taste and art.

Note 31 [Note 28, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On Unity and Specialization

There are many reasons why I dare to blame the creation of the départements and the sentiment of unity that presided over their creation. We are naturally unitary and our system of government must recognize and consecrate this distinctive trait of our national character. Administrative unity is a great advantage for a country where the government’s initiative must frequently and actively intervene. The French population is united enough to be capable of being governed in Paris. However, I believe that in most cases we have exaggerated the principle of unity. In place of limiting ourselves to centralize France, we have concentrated it and contracted, so to speak, on this one point. We have often arrived at this result precisely from chopping it up; this is a new proof that extremes touch one another.

Our provinces represent a real fact. Their complete suppression was eminently favorable to the success of the Revolution, but it is clear that the organization that followed relented and often halted the performance of the simplest affairs. There are various improvements that the départements would undertake if they were agglomerated or associated in certain respects, and that, isolated, they will not undertake.

In the matter of primary instruction, communications and industrial or agricultural schools, the consolidation of the départements conveniently grouped would probably produce happy results. In military affairs, which demand speed, one was obliged to establish divisions that comprehend several départements. For civil matters, Napoleon felt the need to organize provinces of a sort but without destroying, with good intentions, the départements. To this end, he created the *sénatoreries*. But since his government was entirely military, this institution never had any importance and bore no fruit. I further agree that the reorganization of provincial peculiarities must go together with the political education of the country and the development of its habits of business.

It is also quite possible that the remedy to excessive centralization must consist not in the reorganization of large divisions of the territory, but in the creation of powerful industrial associations, for example, that, even while tying their actions to those of the government, would still have a certain amount of independence.

Diversity, or, if you wish, multiplicity, is entirely as good as unity for the needs of human nature: but it must find its place among political institutions.

We boast a great deal in France about our administrative responsibility, and in effect it offers a rare advantage of including all the sources of revenue, and comprehending all the expenses of the country. It makes it possible to render a minute account of everything, and by all scientific standards it is perfect. In practice, it must be admitted that it leaves something to be desired. The machine moves very slowly, it demands the use of too many maneuvers. It is much simpler in theory than in fact. The American system is different. In France we have suppressed special funds as much as possible; the Americans see nothing inconvenient in multiplying them; in this regard they succumb to an excess that is the opposite of our own. They have in almost every state a general treasury, a canal fund, a primary school fund, a public debt fund, to which is joined in the state of New York a literary fund, destined to subsidize the *academies*, and a bank fund. Each of these funds has a separate capital and distinct revenues, administered separately by a special committee. The fund for primary schools, the most considerable of all in the state of New York, is more than 10 millions.

These habits of specialization, less seductive from the abstract point of view than the rule of unity and less amenable to a general system of finances, yet has its advantages. Each payment in the American system requires less formality and less time, there is in it a perfect guarantee that this or that important service will not be neglected. As much as specialization will subsist, it is clear, for example, that the canals and primary instruction in the state of New York will remain in a prosperous condition, for the nerve of war is not missing. They have their fund and their own revenues. This is an inalienable property, impossible to shift to the profit of other services. It would be desirable if this procedure existed for our navigable lines, and that the product of the navigation fees were used for their maintenance. As a result of our finances, we have cast confusion of a certain kind on public services. The receipts of the public treasury pertain too much to all, and not so much to each of them. The allocations they receive are put in question every year, too

dependent on the caprices of the ministry or the legislative houses and their preoccupations of the moment, not to their real needs and the importance that is reserved to them even for a very near future.

One would remedy many inconveniences of this absolute unity by dividing the budget in two parts, one comprehending permanent services, would be voted once for five years at a time, for example; the other part, that of extraordinary expenses, would be submitted to annual votes in the legislative houses. Independent of this correction, it would be good to admit various reserves to the rule of unity and not absorb all the special funds into the abyss of the public treasury without specializing more like the Americans. One must, for example, reclaim an exception in favor of the fund for naval invalids. To the present day, it has survived violent attacks by the puritans of unity, but nothing guarantees that it will not some day be stricken mortally by an unexpected amendment. This would be bad for our sailors, who have devoted to it a sort of cult, which they love with that affection that the sailor feels for his ship. The creation of a fund for public works also appears indispensable to me.

Specialization in services respond to one of the most vital needs of human nature; in politics, in group spirit, in the moral order, to personality, to sentiments of family and of propriety. For people, unfortunately all too rare, in the eyes of whom moral considerations merit the trouble to be thought, even in administrative matters, these are reasons that are worth more than others. In all cases, it is certain that specialization would save many formalities and writings, and it would save a great deal of time. It is hard to imagine the days and months lost through the details that vanish into the waste paper of all of the offices through which they must pass, as a result of the absolute unity that was instituted by our bookkeeping and by our administrative organization in general.

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 22 August 1834, pp. 2-4, "Lettres sur l'Amérique," dated Providence, Rhode Island, 27 June 1834, "Premier établissement des Anglais en Amérique (Le capitaine John Smith)." This "letter" was not included in Bradford's translation, and John William Ward restored it because he felt it "is important to the structure of Chevalier's book."¹⁸⁰ Note the comment on the sequence of publication before Letter XIV below.]

XI CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

Richmond, Virginia, 25 May 1834

Captain John Smith was born in 1579 at Willoughby in the county of Lincoln. From his most tender years, he impressed his young friends and the schoolmaster himself for his physical hardiness. He was thirteen years of age when the spirit seized him to go and see the sea. For this purpose, he sold his books and playthings to get a little money. He was about to depart when his father died. He fell under the tutelage of proper men, to whom the bizarre genius of the young man seemed to be a bitter folly, and he was made the object of a surveillance that was well meaning but so restrictive that it was unsupportable to his independent spirit. At the age of fifteen, he was placed until he reached the age of reason in the office of a businessman who spared him neither lessons nor work.

The businessman to whom Smith became one of several apprentices was one of the principal men of Lynn. He had many maritime investments, and the young Smith hoped that his patron would make him a traveling agent and send him to sea. Not having been told of any mission, he left the businessman and his affairs without taking leave, with ten shillings in his pocket. His good star led him to make the acquaintance of a young lord who was setting off on a tour of Europe with a large entourage. Smith entered into his service, but this did not last long. After a few months he tired of his new master and went to join the Dutch army. He spent three or four years there. Then, responding to the offers of a Scottish gentleman who promised him excellent recommendations to the court of King James, he passed back over the sea and went to Scotland. Frustrated in his attempt, he left the court and returned to his native town. Soon, reacting in horror to the narrowness of his compatriots, he went to live by himself in the midst of the forest with books of tactics and a military history, a horse and a lance. Thus he divided his time between study of war and the practice of arms, without seeing a soul except an Italian squire of the household of the count of Lincoln.

In the midst of this intermission he came into possession of a part of his father's fortune. With the means to travel, the desire to circle the world revived in him. So Smith set forth. He arrived in Flanders, where he was attacked by four French scoundrels. He pursued them, and on catching one, he fought with and wounded him, forced him to confess his crime, and set off to travel with some money that an old friend of the family had given him. He followed the coast of France from Dunkirk to Marseille, visiting the arsenals and fortifications, and took ship for Italy.

¹⁸⁰ [John William Ward, "A note on this Edition," in Michael Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States: Letters on North America*, (New York: Doubleday, 1961; reprint Gloucester, MA, 1967): p. xvi.]

By misfortune for him he found himself, alone, English and heretic, in the midst of a crowd of pilgrims going to do their devotions to Our Lady of Loretto and to Rome. The vessel was assailed by a tempest; the pilgrims took him to be an infidel, and like a new Jonah, Smith was thrown into the sea. He had the good luck to swim to the Île Sainte-Marie, near Nice. At Nice, he paused only long enough to get on another ship ready to set sail for Alexandria, and which, at sea, entered into conflict with a richly loaded Venetian ship, attacked, boarded and plundered it. Smith had himself dropped at Antibes with his part of the booty, passed to Italy, crossed the Gulf of Venice, arriving in Styria, and finished by entering the service of the emperor, then at war with the Turks.

Smith was not only brave and inventive, he was also a man of resources. He found a way to force the Turks to raise their siege of Olympach, thus winning the rank of captain in the regiment of Count Meldritch, a Transylvanian gentleman. After much heroism, Smith was at the siege of Reval in Transylvania. The siege grew boring, and one day a herald arrived in the Christian camp announcing that Lord Turbashaw, a Turk renowned for his valor, challenged the bravest among them to single combat, intended, he said, to entertain the ladies and to pass the time. A lottery decided that it would be Smith among all the Christian warriors to respond to the Turk's challenge. The combat took place with solemnity: the Turkish ladies lined the ramparts of Reval. The besiegers were ranged along their lines and music resounded. Smith killed the Osmanli. Another Turkish cavalier intervened to avenge Turbashaw. Smith killed him, too. A third Turk put himself forward: it was a giant, the terrible Bonny-Mulgro. At the first shock, Smith was almost stunned by a blow from a military hatchet. The Turks gave out a joyful cheer, the Turkish women clapped their hands, and they were still cheering and applauding when Bonny-Mulgro fell to the ground, pierced by a sword thrust, and Smith cut off his head. Soon afterward, the town was taken.

But arms were used every day. A little later the Christians were thrown into retreat. Smith was left for dead on the field of battle. Since the richness of his armor designated him as a person of distinction, he was treated as a man worth a considerable ransom. Once healed, he was led on a slave march to Axiopolis. There he was bought by a pasha who sent him as a present to the lady of his dreams to Constantinople, saying (the miserable braggart) that this was a Bohemian lord he had taken in war. This trick profited the pasha badly: Charatza Tragabigzanda, which was the lady's name, knew Italian, and Smith spoke it as well. Smith told his adventures, his glory and his reverses. Trababigzanda started by being shocked at the pasha's lies, but then she listened to Smith's misfortunes. She was enflamed by his noble actions and dangers —like Desdemona — says one of the Captain's biographers. Smith hoped for a little rest and pleasure, but the lady, partly to discount her mother's suspicions, partly to cause Smith to learn Turkish, sent him to her brother Timour Pasha, whose pashalic was on the shores of the Sea of Azov.

Tragabigzanda's recommendations were pressing. She gave her brother a confession of her feelings for the captive, but the pasha of the Sea of Azov was indignant that a dog of a Christian had touched the heart of his sister. Smith, who expected a cordial welcome, was not even an hour with Timour before he was beaten, stripped and shaved. They put an iron collar on him, covered him with a horsehair smock, and sent him to work outdoors with the pasha's other Christian slaves. Every day, this barbarian master went to inspect his prisoner's work and overwhelmed him with injuries and blows.

Once when Smith was alone with him, and the pasha reprimanded him for the manner he was winnowing grain, Smith killed him with a blow of his flail, hid him in the straw, and, leaping on the Ottoman's Arab horse, fled with a broken bridle. When he had attained the desert, he oriented himself as best he could, and, after sixteen days of travel, he reached Hexapolis on the Don, where he found a Russian outpost. The Russians received him generously. A generous, tender lady, the princess or baroness Palamata, overwhelmed him with expressions of interest. Smith, forlorn, set off on the road for Transylvania, where his friends wept with joy upon seeing him and refilled his purse. From there, he went to England after passing through Germany, France, Spain and the Kingdom of Morocco.

He arrived in his homeland at the precise moment when an expedition was to depart to found a colony in America. Pressed to participate, he accepted. Smith was then twenty-six years of age. The expedition left the Thames on 19 December 1606 and entered the Chesapeake on 26 April 1607. On 13 May, they landed on a peninsula where the colony of Jamestown was founded. The traveler who today passes up the James River in a steamboat will see on this peninsula a tower in ruins and the debris of a cemetery wall that swiftly passes by. This is all that remains of the first establishment.

Smith had mediocre men for companions who were not able to pardon him for his own superiority. They had barely quit the Thames before he was accused of plotting to be made king of the colony. Under this absurd pretext, he was held in prison during the crossing. After debarkation, when they opened the sealed instructions sent to the expedition, they saw that the government of the colony was conferred on a council of seven persons, and that Smith was one of the seven. Despite that, his colleagues excluded him from the council because of his pretended conspiracies. He demanded to be judged, without obtaining a hearing. Therefore he ruled for patience and went exploring in the environs of Jamestown, going up the rivers, learning about the indigenous tribes, and rendering visits to King Powhattan, the most powerful of the savage princes. During this time, the colony was badly administered. No planning, no one built for the coming winter, little or no seeding, no military precautions against the savages, of which some small skirmishes had shown their bad will. One day the warriors of Powhattan unexpectedly attacked the colony. One man was killed, seventeen wounded. Discontent rose against the council, particularly against Wingfield, the president. Smith profited from the occasion by demanding judges that no one dared any more to refuse. He was acquitted on all charges, and Wingfield was condemned to pay £200 in damages, which Smith generously left to the profit of the colony. As a result of this judgment there was a sort of silly game: all the colonists communed on the same day as a sign of amnesty, and Captain Newport, who had brought them from England, returned with his flotilla, leaving a colony of 105 persons.

But famine came, and with it sickness. Further, what is worse than a plague, there was discord. Fifty colonists perished miserably. In the midst of general despair, president Wingfield, together with some of his colleagues, determined to seize secretly the only ship the colony possessed and flee to England. The plot was discovered, Wingfield was deposed and another president elected in his place. This person had the good sense to permit himself to be directed by Smith, whose moment had arrived. Smith made a plan of work and assigned to each a task. It was obeyed. Houses were raised, the town was fortified and guarded. He himself set an example to workers by working as

hard as they did. It was not enough to have houses for the winter, it was also necessary to have provisions. Smith set about looking for food, particularly for the maize that the Indians cultivated. On one of these excursions, he encountered a numerous tribe, whose idol he took and proposed as ransom for the god I do not know how many bushels of maize with venison, and hastened back to Jamestown. There he presented his proposition; Wingfield reprised his projects of flight, and this time it was necessary to beat the conspirators to bring them to reason. In any case, authority was confirmed to be in Smith's hand.

He had barely reestablished order than he followed the inspirations of his adventurous imagination, more perhaps than was proper to the head on which the survival of the colony rested. One day he set off to explore the Chickahomini River. After having gone up it as far as possible, he left his boat behind with most of the men, hidden in a creek, out of all danger, and continued in a canoe with only two whites and two Indians. Unfortunately, those he left behind did not obey his instructions as soon as he vanished from view. They set out in violation of his orders, were attacked by a troop of Indians under the command of Opechancanoug, Powhattan's brother, who had been tracking Smith. One of them was taken and forced to tell where the Captain had gone. The others were able to reach the boat and save themselves.

Smith, while this was happening, had arrived at the swamp where the river took its source. Opechancanoug surprised him during the night and killed the two Englishmen. Smith was surrounded by two hundred warriors and wounded by an arrow in his rump. He defended himself with *the wisdom of a serpent and the vigor of a leopard*: he killed three of his adversaries, and he joined hands using his garters to one of the two Indians, and he used him as a buckler. His enemies drew back in amazement; he gained ground and went to get his canoe, but on the way he fell to the bottom of a deep hole and sank to his waist together with his Indian. Such was the fright he inspired in the savages that, even in this situation, none of them dared approach to within his reach. He was almost dead from the cold. The Indians pulled him from the swamp, took him to a fire, and they rubbed him until he resumed the use of his limbs.

Smith believed himself lost. The corpses of his companions were at his side, *scalped*.¹⁸¹ He decided to take a compass from his pocket and show it to Opechancanoug. The savage never recovered from the shock of the needle that continually moved. Just as he had no notion of transparency, he was even more surprised that it was impossible to grasp the needle with his fingers, although he could see it (it was under glass). Smith, to excite the admiration of the sachem and his warriors even more, began to describe the motion of the heavenly bodies, the dimensions and the figure of the land and the seas, on the sun and the moon, everything he knew of astronomy. His audience was dumfounded. The savage instinct soon won out, so that after Smith finished his discourse, he was tied to a tree. The savages were ranged around him, making ready their arrows. Smith was about to die!

Instead of giving the signal that would cause all the arrows to fly to Smith's chest, Opechancanoug ordered them to spare him. He wanted to parade his prize at the court of his neighboring princes, and particularly before Powhattan, the sovereign of all. This is because all the sachems formed a confederation of the James River, just as twenty years

¹⁸¹ The usage of the Indians was always to remove the hair (*scalp*) of their fallen enemies, which they bore like a trophy. They achieved this with a knife tracing a circle around the head in the blink of an eye.

ago German princes formed the Confederation of the Rhine, and Powhattan was the protecting Napoleon.

Smith's courage, his physical force and the richness of his spirit caused the Indians to regard him as an extraordinary man, like a superhuman being. His capture was celebrated by ceremonies without limit where they heaped on him all the regards that the savages could imagine. They sent all around to get fresh provisions, so that he believed they wanted him fattened so they could eat him afterward. The bards came to exorcise him; they consulted the Great Spirit to know the basis of the Captain's thought. Powhattan deployed all his luxury of the woods to receive him. When Smith was ushered into the presence of the great chief, it was a queen who presented him with a bunch of feathers in place of a napkin. Smith was walked from tribe to tribe, and they ended by proposing that he become a savage and direct the siege of Jamestown. For this condition they offered him as many women and as much land as he wanted. On his refusal, there was a council of the sachems and the kings. The council decided that Smith must die, and that he would proceed immediately to the execution of the sentence.

This time it was made ready. They put two stones at the feet of the king, and they stretched Smith out on them. The chiefs were ranged around him. The people stood behind them in profound silence. Powhatan himself wished to be the sacrificer. He approached with his club, he raised it to deliver the final blow. No more hope!

Suddenly a woman — women were always Smith's guardian angels — a woman pushed through the crowd. She put her own head between Smith's head and Powhattan's club. It is the eldest daughter of the king, his favorite daughter, the beautiful Pocahontas. Turning her arms toward her father, begging and weeping she begged for him to spare the captive. At first the king was indignant, but he loved Pocahontas too much not to be touched by her tears. He looked at the warriors, searching in their eyes the resolution that he lacked. He saw them seized with compassion. "He shall live!" he said. The next day Smith was on his way to Jamestown with two guides. He was to give Powhattan two pledges of peace: two muskets and a mule. The rescued Smith occupied himself with the affairs of the colony, and when all was in order, he resumed his excursions. He went up the Potomac, and explored across a thousand perils the banks of most of the tributaries of the Chesapeake. His presence of spirit, the religious terror he inspired in the savages, and particularly the noble assistance of Pocahontas, always saved him and the colony, as if by miracle. It did not fail that Pocahontas became as famous as Atala, to be found in Chateaubriand. As young and as beautiful as the daughter of Muscogulgue, she had more heroism, and it was not just a man she saved. Weak as she was (she was only twelve or thirteen years), she often made long marches through the night, through forest and swamp, in the midst of great storms, which are terrible in Virginia, to save Smith and his colonists from the conspiracies of the savages. Other times, when they were dying of hunger, Pocahontas would appear, like a helpful fairy, with a column loaded with food, and disappear immediately after having fed them. Until then, no colony had been able to fix itself on the American continent north of the Gulf of Mexico. Providence made use of the hands of this mysterious virgin finally to plant a colony. Greece would have erected altars to her, and they would have made of her a goddess between Diana, the goddess of the forests, and Minerva, the wise and prophetic. The colonists handled it differently. When Smith was no longer there, they seized Pocahontas, so as to have a hostage against her father Powhattan. Further, after holding her for some time, they advised her to marry,

with her consent and that of Powhattan, to one of them, Mr. Rolfe, who took her to England. The beautiful, modest, heroic Pocahontas thus became Mrs. Rolfe, a *bourgeoise* of London or Brentford. She died at the age of twenty-two quite prosaically, of consumption, at Gravesend, at the moment when she was about to depart for America.¹⁸² Perhaps, if she had had a more tragic end, she would have become the heroine of twenty epic poems.

The great deeds of Captain John Smith are as numerous and as striking as those of Hercules, and according to what he naively recounts (for like Caesar, he wrote his memoirs), of a festival that the ladies of Powhattan's court gave him, one is tempted to believe that he missed none of the adventures of Jupiter's son, even those that are in the domain of a secret chronicle. Once he surpassed the defeat of Antaeus by throttling to death a chief of gigantic size, the king of the Pashipsays, who had seized him in an ambush, and he hauled him back to Jamestown on his shoulders. Another time, Opecanough surrounded him with seven hundred men. Smith at once seized the sachem by the hair, dragging him trembling and humiliated, in the middle of the stupefied Indians, and caused them all to lower their weapons. The challenges he overcame were without number: he had against him famine and plague, the stratagems and arrows of the savages, the turbulence of some of the colonists, the complaints and regrets of others who longed for the *onions of Egypt*, the idleness and ignorance of the adventurers who flooded to the colony to look for gold, the treason of some, Germans and Swiss, who went over to Powhattan because there was more profit there. He had everyone against him, all the way to assassination by iron and by poison. This is not the worst to which he was reduced: one day, in view of their own agony, his abandoned companions dug under his wall. His perseverance and courage triumphed over everything. By the grace of his indefatigable efforts, the colony was definitively established; many towns were established, and after two years residence in Virginia, grievously injured by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, he left Jamestown, never to return.¹⁸³ After his departure, the colony had much yet to suffer, but it had put down roots and never ceased to prosper.

Such was the origin of Virginia. It was the most powerful state when the War of Independence broke out. It would still be in the first rank without the institution of slavery, which retards it like a ball and chain. It is what furnished Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and several of the most illustrious statesmen to the American Revolution. The generous and chivalric traits that distinguishes Virginian character derive in part from memories of the example and lessons of Smith remaining in the heart of the companions of his adventures.

If I recite in such detail the life of John Smith, it is not only because of the interest that attaches to an extraordinary man, it is also because of the analogy that our epoch presents to his.

It was a time of political and religious crisis, of civil war and of revolution. It was the time of the reconstruction of Europe by the Treaty of Westphalia. Then it was that

¹⁸² She left a son who later established himself in Virginia. Several of the most honorable Virginia families descend from her through her son.

¹⁸³ Smith went to England, where he lived for several years. He then resumed his expeditions, exploring the coast of *New England*, giving it the name it still has today. In one of his voyages, he was taken by a French ship and was held for some time in Bordeaux and La Rochelle. He found much sympathy, particularly from women, and in his memoirs he fulsomely praised "the lovely Madame Chanoyes."

the head of Charles I fell, and another dynasty was ready to rise in England. It was the time when the Protestant party spoke of creating a republic in France. Imaginations were excited, unchained, brains were boiling. Sage men believed the world was about to end. It was the New World that was born, and the sorrows trying the Old World were the sorrows of birth.

Suppose that men of Smith's type had been obliged to remain in England. With this active imagination, this effervescent energy, this firm will, he would inevitably have been injected into a political life already palpitating with interest. And how many men of this caliber would it have taken to turn the country upside down?

Let's say it better: England was turned upside down perhaps, since there were two men endowed like Smith with a devouring imagination and a will of iron kept there. These two men were John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell. They wanted to go to America, but the king prevented them. A few years later, one of them killed the royal power, such as the Stuarts imagined it; later, the other killed the king.

But there is in this world, between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, the Ocean and the Alps, a land where the qualities of Smith and the faults going with those qualities flourish. In this land there is a passionate youth, full of audacity and ambition, ready to exalt for all the phantoms that they imagine, tormented by the need for strong emotions, and searching everywhere they could find it, all the way to conspiracy and civil war. In this country, a dozen governmental transformations in the course of forty years have destroyed respect for power, depreciated experience, sown disquiet and agitation in souls. The system of education that prevails is essentially speculative, literary and poetic, and instead of calming spirits or turning them to ideas or positive facts, tends on the contrary to double their adventurous disposition.

Is it necessary to derive from this that the conditions of order and well-being for our noble France consists in spreading this ardent youth across the world, in the name of science and the arts,¹⁸⁴ if not to found new empires?

Note 32 [not in the 1836 edition]

On Scientific Expeditions

Scientific expeditions, organized on a grand scale and composed of learned naturalists, botanists, geologists, physicians, astronomers, artists, painters, sculptors and architects, engineers, mechanics, agronomists and men expert in the economic sciences, have intended to occupy nobly many young persons who crowd the country and whose passion for adventure and the unknown and the absence of purpose, are often wasted and disorderly.

To advance the sciences, art and industry;

To draw public attention;

To augment respect for the French name outside the country, which, to speak the truth, is compromised today, and to extend the influence of France, particularly in the countries that will be the goal of the visits.

¹⁸⁴ See Note 32.

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraire*, 24 July 1834, pp. 3-4, "Lettres sur l'Amérique."]

XII LOWELL

Lowell, Massachusetts, 12 June 1834

I will not spend too much time on these sad thoughts. I would prefer to tell you of the scene that is taking place literally under my window.

Lowell is a town that dates back eleven years and that numbers 14 or 15 thousand residents, including the neighboring suburb of Belvedere. Twelve years ago this was nothing but a poor territory, an undeveloped solitude of which the silence was only interrupted by the murmur of the little Concord River, and by the intense buffeting of the transparent waters of the Merrimack against the granite boulders that suddenly block its passage. Today there are immense factories of five, six, seven stories, each with a little white bell-tower arising from the red masonry, jutting sharply above the dark hills bordering the horizon. There are little houses framed in wood, painted white with green shutters, very proper, quite self-contained, generously surrounded by grass, with some little trees outside; there are also brick houses in the English style, that is pretty, simple outside and comfortable inside. On one side there are shops, stores, fashion emporia without number, for women are in a majority in Lowell.¹⁸⁵ There are enormous buildings in the American fashion, similar to barracks; these are the only barracks there are in Lowell. On the other side are canals, mill paddles, millraces, bridges, foundries, banks, schools, and bookstores, since they read a lot in Lowell. This is because reading is the only distraction one can get there,¹⁸⁶ and there are no fewer than seven newspapers. In every direction there are churches of all sects, Episcopal, Anabaptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Universalist, Unitarian, etc. ... There is also a Catholic chapel. These would be all buildings found in a flourishing town of the Old World, with the exception of prisons, hospitals and theaters. There is the noise of hammers, shuttles, bells that call the workers to come or depart, the stages drawn by six horses leaving or arriving. There is the report of the gunpowder used to clear a passage for the water for mills or for leveling the ground. There is the pleasant bustle of a busy population, whose every movement is regulated like a watch. This is a population that was not born in Lowell, and of which at least half will die further away after having taken part in the founding of three or four towns. This is because a pure blooded American has something in common with a Tartar, who is always camping and is not fixed on the soil his feet tread.

Massachusetts and the little states adjoining forming what is called New England harbor many manufacturing centers analogous to Lowell, but none of the others has attained the same level of development. Listen to how a local man who knows his compatriots well told me about the origin of all these centers of production, and of Lowell in particular.

In 1812, he told me, the United States declared war on England to preserve the honor of their offended country. Boston and all New England was opposed to this war,

¹⁸⁵ The number of women between fifteen and twenty-five living in Lowell would correspond to a population of 50 to 60 thousand souls.

¹⁸⁶ See Note 33.

which drew on them lively reproaches from their fellow citizens of the Center and the South. The fact is that they were just as sensitive to the insult to their sovereignty by the masters of the ocean. The patriotism of the Americans of New England cannot be doubted: they were the ones who took the initiative in independence, and they supported the principal expense¹⁸⁷ of the war that was the price of that independence. They had good reason to be troubled by England's actions, since they were the ones who had most of the sailors impressed by English vessels,¹⁸⁸ but they did not wish it to be settled with cannon fire. A commercial people, they had much to lose and nothing to gain from a maritime war. Being intelligent men, they knew that God was on the side of the large battalions, and which side had the large battalions and squadrons? Finally, war appeared to them to be a barbarous means, unworthy of their inventive spirit. Yankees never do anything like the rest of the world. To arrive at a goal, they use means no one ever thought of. After careful reflection, Yankees said to themselves:

The best war against the English would be to attack the source of their prosperity. What is the principal source of the wealth of Great Britain? — It is manufactures. — Among its manufactures, what are the most productive? — The manufacture of cotton goods. — We will erect for ourselves spinneries and factories for cloth. This will be our war against England.

Ten years passed in planning, experimenting, preliminary work to create a cadre of workers and to bring to the country the making of mechanical devices. In 1823 the Merrimack Corporation was established at Lowell, where the Merrimack, falling 32 feet, created an immense motive force. Then came in sequence the Hamilton, Appleton, Lowell and Suffolk, Tremont, Lawrence companies, etc.

Behold Lowell! They gave it the name of one of the first promoters of cotton factories in the United States. It is not at all like your European towns built by some demi-god son of Jupiter, or by some hero of the siege of Troy, or by the inspiration of the genius of Caesar, or of Alexander, or with the help of a holy monk drawing crowds with his miracles, or by the whim of some great king such as Louis XIV or Frederick, or by an edict of Peter the Great. It is neither a pious foundation, nor a refuge of the persecuted, nor a military post, but one of the speculations of the merchants of Boston. The same spirit of enterprise that last year moved them to ship a cargo of ice from Boston to Calcutta, via Cape Horn, to cool the drinks of Lord William Bentinck and the nabobs of the Indies, persuaded them to construct a town at their own expense, with all the buildings needed by an advanced civilization, to manufacture their calicos and painted cloths. And they succeeded, just as they usually succeed with their speculations. The dividends of the factory companies at Lowell usually run from 5 to 6 percent per semester.

¹⁸⁷ In 1775, the American army counted 27,443 men who were, other than 2475, all from New England. In 1782, of 14,256 men, New England provided 578.

¹⁸⁸ New England, of which the population does not equal a sixth of the Union, has half the merchant marine of the country, 7,000,000 tons out of a little more than 14,000,000.

The cotton factories, which do not date before the last war with England, are developing rapidly, although the changes in the customs rates arising from the demonstrations last year by South Carolina have reduced manufacturing ardor. Boston tends its own Lancashire behind it, just as Liverpool does. Just as the course of abundant water descends according to the general rules for a land of granite, for a long time one has been able to move to steam engines. This part of American land is generally not very fertile. It demanded the perseverance and even the stubbornness of the Puritans to establish the luxuries of life. This land is cut up, uneven, mountainous, and cold: it is the beginning of the Alleghany Mountains that proceed toward the Gulf of Mexico, paralleling the Atlantic coast. Its residents possess a high degree of mechanical genius: they are alertly patient, fertile with invention; they must succeed in manufacturing. Hence the deed was done, and Lowell is a little Manchester. There thirty thousand bales of cotton are worked, which is a sixth of the total production of the United States,¹⁸⁹ not even mentioning the wool that is turned into drapery, carpet and kersey cloths. To reinforce the resemblance between Liverpool and their city, the businessmen of Boston have decided to have a railroad from Boston to Lowell, a distance of ten leagues. There had already been a canal like that from Liverpool to Manchester, but they judged that this was insufficient, just as was the case between Manchester and Liverpool. They did not at all permit this railroad to be built in the provisional style one finds in most American railroads. They wanted it in the Roman style, and their engineers gave them that. They made for them what was certainly the most solid railroad in the world. They adorned it with the fine masonry, arches of cut stone, columns, and all the architecture that makes the railroad from Manchester to Liverpool one of the marvels of modern times. These splendid ornaments are second to none. In the end, the railroad from Boston to Lowell in its Roman and Cyclopean simplicity, cost 800,000 francs per league.

When one travels to the area of Manchester, one is entranced by the spectacle of these great spinneries. When you see rising out of the plain by the light of the moon, with hundreds of windows shining with gas lights, chimneys higher than the highest obelisks, one would call them palaces, places of festivals and happiness. Misleading appearance! Whited sepulchers! All of this fairy fay vanishes when one passes the threshold and beholds the sad faces and the rags of the mob that these vast structures employ. One takes a glance at the poor children that Parliament tries in vain to protect against the impoverishment visited on their fathers, creating endless competitors, and against the whip of the foreman. On arriving in Lowell, the first pleasant impression made by the image of this new, fresh town, like the stage setting for an opera, fades in the face of this bitter reflection: will it go the way of Lancashire? Does this imposing façade hide misery and sadness for the worker, with the ignoble vices — prostitution and drunkenness — that poverty produces in factory towns. For the rich, sedition is suspended above their head by a thin thread that a mere accident, a simple imprudence or the whisper of evil passion will suffice to break? This is a question I hasten to illuminate.

¹⁸⁹ The total production of the United States in cotton is currently 11,000,000 bales. A fifth of this is used in the country, the rest is exported to Europe, with three quarters going to England and about one quarter to France. Varying according to its origin, a bale weighs between 140 and 180 kilograms, with an average of 165 kilograms. Forty years ago the United States began to produce cotton in considerable quantity. Right now it furnishes 145,000,000 kilograms to all the markets of the world, including its own, comprising three quarters of a total of 230,000,000 kilograms. (See Note 34).

Note 33 [Note 29, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Rigor in Lowell

The town of Lowell is one of those where Puritan rigor has been pushed the furthest. The presence of girls filling the factories is the principal cause. In 1836 a man was fined for practicing the profession of a common fiddler. He was treated as having offended public morals. The magistrates of Lowell feared that the pleasure of dancing would be occasion of disorders among the women workers.

Note 34 [Note 30, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On Cotton-goods Factories

At the end of 1835, the factories at Lowell consisted of 129,828 spindles, 4,197 looms, occupying 6,793 workers, of which 5,416 were women. Production rose to 849,300 yards per week; this is at the rate of 44,000,000 yards (40,000,000 meters) per year. Consumption of cotton was 38,000 bales, or 6,250,000 kilograms per year.

In 1831 American factories occupied 62,157 workers, of which 38,927 were women and 4,691 were children. There were also 4,760 hand weavers, and 40,709 persons employed at accessory crafts, which brings the total personnel to 117,626. The factories counted 1,246,503 spindles and 33,506 looms. They produced 211 million meters of stuffs, besides 4,800,000 kilograms of thread, which are woven during the winter in households. Hence the consumption of cotton was 35,000,000 kilograms. The value of products was estimated at 138 million francs, of which 55 million served to pay salaries. (Pitkin, *Statistics*, page 526).

In England, according to Mr. Baines (*History of Cotton Manufacture*, page 383), 100,000 mechanical looms existed in England in 1834, and 250,000 hand looms. The difference between the respective number of hand weavers in England and America is worth remarking. Hand weavers form one of the most miserable classes in Great Britain.

English factories occupy 724,000 persons (*ibid.*, page 396), specifically:

Mechanical spinning and weaving	237,000
Hand weaving	250,000
Tulle and embroidery	159,000
Bonnet making	33,000
Printing	<u>45,000</u>
Total	724,000

Including dyers, bleachers, embroiderers of muslin, folders, measurers, assistants, engravers, designers, mechanics, balers, etc., the workers who construct and repair the factories, etc., this number would be considerably increased. Mr. Baines estimates it, altogether, at 1,500,000.

In 1833, English factories consumed 133 million kilograms of cotton. They were expected to consume that much in 1835 and even more in 1836.

The products of English factories are evaluated by Mr. Baines (page 406) at 30 or £34 million (760 to 860 million francs), of which more than the half is exported. Mr. Mac Culloch estimates them at 860 million francs. The salaries of the 724,000 workers mentioned above are estimated at around 330 million.

According to the commercial investigation of 1834, French factories employ nearly 600,000 persons and produce a value of about 600 million francs. The quantity of cotton consumed would be about 40 million kilograms.

If these figures are exact, one must conclude that our workers produce less than either English or American workers, and consequently that industrial education of the working class would be a productive initiative for our manufacturers.

[First publication in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 4 August 1834, pp. 3-4, "Variétés," "Lowell."]

XIII THE WOMEN WORKERS OF LOWELL

Boston, 22 June 1834

War, the ultimate reason of kings and peoples, war where they wage their force with rage, is still not what may give the most elevated idea of human power. A battlefield may excite fright or febrile excitement, pity or horror, but human force applied to produce is more majestic than human force applied to destroy and kill. The pyramids or the colossal temples of Thebes, the Coliseum or St. Peter's of Rome, reveal more grandeur than a battlefield covered with dead and debris, even if choked with three hundred thousand corpses as in the two great battles where our fathers, under Merovech and under Charles Martel, staunched the flood of barbarians and saved the Western World from the encroachments of the Orient — the power of man is thus, like that of God, no less visible in small things than in large ones. There is nothing in the material order of which our species has more right to glory than the mechanical inventions, by means of which man subdues the disordered vigor of nature or develops its latent energy. With the help of the mechanic, he, being weak and pitiful, extends his hand over vastness of the world, taking possession of the waves, the unlimited winds, of the flux and reflux of the sea. Using it, he extracts from the interior of the earth combustibles and metals hidden there and rules the subterranean rivers that dispute him. By this means, he makes of each drop of water a reservoir of steam,¹⁹⁰ that is to say, a storage of power, and thus he transforms the world, besides which he seems no more than an atom, into a working servant, indefatigable, submissive, who does the hardest demand under its master's control. Is there anything that inspires a higher concept of man's power than the steam engine in the form that has been given him to apply to movement on railroads? It is more than a machine, it is nearly a living being. It charges, its belly to the ground like a horse.¹⁹¹ Even better, it breathes; the mist that shoots periodically from the cylinders genuinely resembles the snorting of a racehorse. A steam engine has a complete respiratory device that functions like our own, by expansion and compression. It lacks only a circulatory system to be alive.

A short time ago, in Virginia, I watched a locomotive arriving from afar, on the Petersburg & Roanoke Railroad,¹⁹² some hours after sunset. It was one of the many fine works that a still-young engineer, Mr. [Moncure] Robinson, has spread across the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The machine advanced with its accustomed rapidity along a straight path cleared to make way for a railroad through primitive forests, once the domain of King Powhattan and his bronze warriors. The wide funnel on high spouts

¹⁹⁰ Water passing to the state of steam increases its volume by one thousand seven hundred times. Thus an ordinary porter's barrel of water, with ten hectoliters, is enough to fill a space fifteen feet high and thirty wide, by a hundred in length.

¹⁹¹ It is no rare feat on railroads to go at a speed of twelve leagues an hour (an English mile in two minutes). This is exactly the speed of a good horse on the course at the Champ de Mars.

¹⁹² The railroad is 24 leagues in length. Along its entire course, it advances through pine and oak forests. The few houses and clearances one encounters along this line today date from the construction of the railroad.

thousands of sparks like a large mouth. You hear from a considerable distance the sound of the forced respiration of the cylinders. In this darkness, in this savage place, in the midst of a vast solitude and profound silence, you must be imbued with the incredulity of the world or know mechanics not to be tempted to believe that this machine, flying, panting and noisy was a rushing dragon, vomiting fire and flames. A short time ago, Brahmins, the fathers of ancient science, saw a steamboat braving and conquering the current of the sacred Ganges and believed in good faith that it was some unknown animal recently discovered in a distant land by the English.

In our modern societies, the progress of mechanics has given birth to manufactures that promise to be an inexhaustible source of prosperity and well-being. English factories currently produce about eight hundred million ells of cotton cloth. That is nearly one ell for each of the persons peopling our planet. If you had to produce this mass of cloth without using any machine, with fingers, it is possible that each of us could barely card, spin and weave an ell a year, with the result that all of humanity would be absorbed by a labor that, thanks to mechanics and factories, is accomplished by five hundred thousand hands in Great Britain. From that it must be concluded that, so long as the factory regime is well regulated, it would require the moderate labor of a part of the human race to procure for all mankind the pleasure of material life. There is no doubt that it will be that way some day,¹⁹³ but this fine order of things is still far away. The factory system is a new thing; it is improving, even the pessimists can doubt that. But you expose yourself to cruel misunderstanding if you imagine that progress can be realized more than step by step. There are seven-league boots in fairytales, but none in history.

Currently, the manufacturing system has dreadful inconveniences; it would be superfluous to detail them here; who has sampled them without shock? Who has not groaned over them? It is England's plague, a plague so cruel that one is occasionally seized with the thought that all the efforts employed over the years by the statesmen of Great Britain for the internal reform of their country has been sheer waste.

The establishment of a manufacturing district in a new land, under the sway of circumstances different from our own, is a fact worthy of the greatest attention. I have hardly recovered from the enchantment that seized me at the sight of this improvised town of Lowell; I had to assure myself that it was not a town of cardboard such as what Potemkin constructed for Catherine [the Great] along the Byzantium Road, to learn at what point the creation of manufactures had given rise to the same perils as in Europe, insofar as this concerns the well-being and the morality of the working class, the security of wealth and public order. Thanks to the cooperation of the chief officers of the two principal companies (the Merrimack Corporation and the Lawrence Corporation), I was able to satisfy my curiosity.

The cotton-goods factories in Lowell alone employ six thousand persons. Of this number, close to five thousand are young women from seventeen to twenty-four years of age, daughters of farmers of the various states of New England, particularly of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont.¹⁹⁴ They are far from their families, on

¹⁹³ The cotton used in England has risen to eleven million English pounds in 1785, in 1816 to 94 million pounds; in 1831 to 245 million. These three numbers have the same relation as $1 - 9 \frac{1}{2} - 22 \frac{1}{4}$ (See Note 35).

¹⁹⁴ Note that these farmers are not renters but owners of the soil they cultivate.

their own. In the mornings and evening and at the hours of eating, they fill the streets, properly dressed. Hanging on the walls of the workshops, between vases of flowers and shrubs that they maintain, hang their neckerchiefs and shawls, and their caps of green silk are to shroud their heads when they go out, to protect against the sun and the dust that prevails in Lowell (they have not had time to pave the town). “This is not like Manchester!” I said to myself. When they gave me the table of salaries, I realized how decisively it differed from Manchester. Here are the average salaries paid by the Merrimack Corporation last May, per week, that is, for six days.

Various operations before spinning:	15.73 francs
	16.07
	14.83
Spinning proper	16.00
Weaving various qualities	16.64
	16.75
Preparing the warp and sizing	18.40
	21.12
Measuring and folding	16.75

These numbers are, I repeat, the average. The salaries of skilled workers amount to 25 francs and even 30 francs. Note that last March, following the crisis that accompanied the president’s conflict with the Bank, there was a general reduction of 1.50 francs to 2 francs a week. You know how women’s work is paid comparatively less than that of men.¹⁹⁵ There are few women on the European continent, save for those in a few large cities, who make one franc a day or six francs a week. One should also recall that the basic necessities in the United States are cheaper not only than in England but even lower than in France.¹⁹⁶ Hence a large number of the workers in Lowell can save as much as a dollar and a half (8 francs) a week. At the end of four years in the factories, their savings could be between \$250 and \$300 (1333 francs to 1600 francs). They thus have a dowry, so that they quit the factory and get married.¹⁹⁷

In France, it is hard to imagine the position of young girls, most of them pretty, thrown twenty, thirty, forty leagues from their families, in a town where their relatives have no one to oversee them or help them with wise counsel. It is in fact significant that until the present day, apart from a few exceptions that confirm rather than deny the rule, that this state of affairs has not had bad effects in Lowell. The English race has mores different from us French. There are different habits, different received ideas. Protestant upbringing creates around each individual a barrier difficult to breach that is not found in

¹⁹⁵ The salary of a manual worker with only the power of his hands is between 27 and 30 francs a week in the factories of Lowell. A man who has a skill, such as a smith or a tapestry worker, receives 40 to 50 francs; the engravers who make the models for the fabric printing cylinders receive 90 to 95 francs per week.

¹⁹⁶ Today the price of bread in France is very low. In Paris a sack of 159 kilograms of flour of the second quality would cost 35 francs on 10 May 1834 at the Wheat Market, which is 22 francs per hundred kilograms. In New York or Boston it is rare that similar flour would sell for less than 5 dollars a barrel, in other words 30 francs 40 centimes a hundred kilograms.

¹⁹⁷ Of every thousand women employed by the Lawrence Corporation, there are only eleven married; nineteen are widows.

Catholic upbringing. This results from a greater coldness in social relations, more or less of an absolute absence of emotional outpouring, but in reaction to this each is obligated and accustomed more to respect the personality of others. What with us would be youthful frolic or enjoyment is severely reprov'd among the English as well as among the Americans of New England, who are, as is said, Englishmen intensified. Hence, no one in New England is shocked to see the daughters of small-scale proprietors quit their village and parents after having received an adequate education, or to go fifty or a hundred miles to settle in a town where they know no one, and to spend three or four years in this state of isolation and independence. They are all under the protection of public confidence. This presumes in them an extreme reserve in mores, and a vigilant and inexorable rigor in public opinion. One must admit that this system, when expanded to all of society, lends a tone of sadness and even of ennui, but when one reflects on the dangers to which the opposed system exposes the daughter of the poor who lack anyone to look out for her, when one considers the victims,¹⁹⁸ despite popular sympathies it is impossible not to see that Anglo-American prudery works better, all considered, than the looseness of our tolerant mores, whatever its charms.

The manufacturing companies watch with scrupulous care over these young girls. I told you that twelve years ago, Lowell did not exist. When it was intended to build these factories, it was also necessary to build housing for the female workers. Each company erected within its bounds buildings that each became a boarding house exclusively for their use. The girls are under the wing of matrons who maintain the boarding house, and for their profit the company subtracts from each salary a dollar and a quarter (6.67 francs) per week. These matrons, who are usually widows, are responsible for their residents, and they themselves are subjected to the control of the company for their administration of their little community. Each company has its own rules, which are not only regulations on paper, and of which strict execution is guaranteed by that persevering vigilance that is one of the distinctive attributes of the Yankee. I will give a brief summary, since they seem to me to expose many essential traits of the physiognomy of the country. I use the rules of the Lawrence Corporation, which is the most recent of all of them. This is an edition of the reviewed and corrected rules of the other companies. They are dated 21 May 1833.

Article 1 of the general regulations declares:

All the personnel employed by the company must pursue their duties assiduously during the hours of work. They must be able to complete the work to which they are assigned or to put their entire effort to that effect. On all occasions they must show themselves, by their speech and acts, to be committed to a laudable love of temperance and virtue, animated by the sentiment of their moral and social obligations. The company agent is required to give everyone a good example in this sense. All persons who are notoriously dissolute, lazy, dishonest or intemperate, who are accustomed to absent themselves from divine service, who violate the Sabbath, or who involve themselves in games will be removed from service in the company.

¹⁹⁸ See Note 36.

Article 2:

Every type of spirits¹⁹⁹ is banned from the area of the company, except as medicine. Every game of chance, every game of cards is prohibited within this area and in the boarding houses.

The following articles 3 to 13 describe the functions of the chief employees, the superintendent, the assistant agent, the supervisors, the warehouse custodians, and the firemen. Article 13 establishes that all female workers have to live in one of the company boarding houses, regularly attend divine service, and strictly observe the rules of the Sabbath. Article 14, the last, repeats the necessity of subordination and the compatibility of obedience with civil and religious liberty.

There are also special rules for the boarding houses. There they repeat that the company built the houses and rented them cheaply out of consideration for the residents.²⁰⁰ As a result, the company imposes special obligations on those the company selects. It makes them responsible for the property and the comfortable condition of the buildings, for the punctuality and quality of meals, and for good order and harmony among residents. It demands that the matrons only receive persons employed in the workshops, and it makes them render an account of the conduct of their young girls. The same rules prescribe closing the doors at six, and they repeat the requirement to attend divine service.

These regulations, which would excite a thousand protests and would be impossible in fact in France, are regarded here as the simplest and most natural thing. They are observed without contradiction and without difficulty. When it comes to Sunday, for example, which is regarded by us as a day of festival, movement and pleasure, they are used here to consecrate to reflection, silence and prayer.²⁰¹ This is one of the aspects in which the French type differs from the Anglo-American type. In response to moral and religious strictness there is here an indifference and tolerance that corresponds to the American indifference in politics. Just as the principle of political authority, which has tended to persist in France at all times and under all forms of government, whether monarchy, empire or republic, this corresponds to the severe reserve of Americans' mores, to the inelasticity of their habits of life, and to the religious rigidity that exists here alongside the multiplicity of sects. It is indeed true that the need for order and for liberty are both essential to human nature, and that it is impossible to found a society with only one of these principles! If you abandon one portion of social institutions exclusively to liberty, rest assured that the principle of order will be no less exclusive at another point. Dedicate the field of politics to liberty without restraint and you will be imperiously constrained to render religion and mores to order totally. Leave

¹⁹⁹ This order concerning spirits is addressed to men employed by the company. Every drunk is pitilessly fired.

²⁰⁰ The company only retires 4 percent per year of the capital used to build these buildings, while the average interest on capital engaged in the factory is between 5 and 6 percent per semester.

²⁰¹ In the United States, out of respect for the Sabbath, theaters are generally closed on Sunday. There is no exception to this practice except among the French population of Louisiana. In New England, this religious scruple is pushed even further than anywhere else. Thus in Boston there is an order by the municipal authority dating from some months ago prescribing the closure of theaters on Saturday night as well, because, following the practice of some rigorists, the Sabbath commences with the setting of the sun on Saturday.

religion and mores to liberty and you will find yourself obligated to reinforce the principle of order in politics, lest the society fall into dissolution. This is the will of the laws of universal equilibrium that rule the nations and the world of worlds.

To the present day, the rules of the companies have been observed. Lowell, with its factories surmounted by bell towers, is like a Spanish village with its convents. There is only this difference that at Lowell you encounter neither rags nor madonnas, and that the nuns there, instead of making Sacred Hearts of Jesus, spin cotton and weave calico. Lowell is not amusing, but Lowell is proper and decent, peaceful and wise. Will it always be so? Will it be so for long? I am daring enough to say so. Until now the life of the factories has been little favorable to maintaining a severe morality. This is verified in France as well as in England, in Germany and in Switzerland as in France. A few days ago I received the following lines from a friend who was passing through Aarau (Canton Aargau):

I have seen industry invading the mountains, its arms tearing at the most fertile soils. I was able to see how much it emancipated and how much it demoralized. When passing by a stranger, the peasant or worker no longer greets him; the girl no longer murmurs ‘*Grüss Gott!*’ Rather she stares fixedly at him and smiles.

Still, since there exists an intimate connection between these two facts, mores and comfort, it is possible to see it as very likely that, as long as the salaries at Lowell remain high, the influence of a clean upbringing, the sentiment of duty and the fear of public opinion will suffice to maintain these habits of morality there. But will the salaries at Lowell remain what they have been?

There are reasons why they will decline. The protective tariff for American industry is being reduced in steps. On 1 July 1842 it will be reduced to a maximum of 20 percent. But procedures will also be improved, the workers become more skilled, the capitalists will profit from their investments, and as a result they will no longer believe it is right to draw dividends of only 10 to 12 percent. There is a possibility of a decline, even since last March, since workers are paid more in the factories at Lowell than in the neighboring counties. But this decline will be limited. In Europe, there is often a lack of business for the hands available; here, in contrast, it is the hands that are lacking for the business. Since the Americans have the vast domain of the West, a common source where every person may take a fine heritage by himself and for himself through labor, there can be no fear that labor will depreciate.

Competition between the chiefs of industry tends to reduce salaries, in America as in Europe, but in America this reduction is not aided, as in Europe, by competition between workers, that is to say, by the surplus of hands without employment, since the West is ready to offer refuge to all unoccupied hands. In Europe a union of workers has only two alternatives: “Raise our salaries lest we, our wives and our children die of hunger,” which is absurd, or, “We will seize our guns,” which would be civil war. In Europe there are no other alternatives. In America, in contrast, a union says, “Raise our salaries or we will go West.” Any union that is not capable of expressing it this way is only a passing fantasy, an accident without importance. So this is why unions in Europe are repeatedly forced to confront powers much more robustly organized than they, but

they present no real danger to public order. It is in America that authority is disarmed. Behold why our European countries, burdened by population, need to have a West to be opened, for their security and well-being, on which each may draw in its own manner. This is why France has reasons to keep Algeria.

Note 35 [Note 31, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

World Cotton Production and Consumption

According to the commercial investigation of 1834, one of our most able industrialists, Monsieur Nicholas Koekhlin, evaluated world production and consumption of cotton as follows:

Production	
In the United States of America	175,000,000 kilograms
In India	30,000,000
In Brazil	12,000,000
In the Bourbon, Cayenne colonies and Others	3,000,000
In Egypt and the Levant	<u>10,000,000</u>
	230,000,000 kilograms
Consumption	
In England	150,000,000
In France	40,000,000
In the United States	18,000,000
In China, half the harvest of India	15,000,000
In Switzerland, Prussia and Belgium	<u>17,000,000</u>
Total	240,000,000 kilograms

Various other countries furnish cotton. China produces some that it consumes or that it sells to us in the form of nankeens. Mexico supplies its own consumption. Monsieur Koekhlin only wishes to speak of production that interests general trade.

The production of cotton has been growing rapidly in the United States. It is currently at 220 million kilograms, which brings total production to 275,000,000 kilograms.

Monsieur Koekhlin exaggerates the consumption of England somewhat. In 1833 it was only 133,000,000 kilograms (see Note 34). At the same time he has lowered that of various other countries, particularly that of the United States.

Note 36 [Note 32, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the Morality of the Factories

In his *Essay on Wages*, Mister M[atthew] Carey [1760-1839] cites the following letter of a director of one of the factories of Lowell (p. 89):

In our establishment there have not been more than three cases of illicit relations, and, in these three cases, the parties were immediately married, several months before the birth of the infant; as a result we do not count any birth to be positively illegitimate.

Mr. Carey adds that he has been assured that at the large factory of Dover, New Hampshire, there has not been a single illegitimate birth.

I do not think that such an exemplary purity prevails in all the manufacturing centers of the United States, but I am convinced that the morality of the working class there is generally in harmony with that of the rest of the population. Mr. Baines (*History of Cotton Manufacture*) reports the efforts in recent times to place some English factories on the same footing as those in Lowell:

There is a large number of manufacturers [he says] in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and in Scotland, where one sees that the workshops are well-aired, clean and almost elegant, to the great advantage of the master and his workers; where severe regulations restrict immorality and dishonest intentions; where schools are open for all the children employed in the establishment; where girls are taught to sew and make clothes; where one finds libraries for the use of the workers; where compensation is given to children who attend Sunday school; where aid societies are organized in case of illness or accident (p. 482).

Mr. Baines cites, among others, the philanthropic efforts of Mr. Ashton, who employs twelve hundred workers at Hyde, County Chester (p. 447).

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 31 October 1834, pp. 1-2, under this notice: “We have received a letter from our correspondent dated at the end of August, from Elmington in Virginia. The last one, published in our issue of 22 August, was dated 27 June from Rhode Island. Our readers have doubtless regretted, as have we, the interruption of this interesting correspondence and, as we, will be happy to read this new letter, worthy in every way of those that have preceded it.”]

XIV
THE BANK — SLAVERY

Elmington, Virginia, 24 August 1834

Elections for the House of Representatives will take place in October and November in the principal states of the Union, in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Although the representatives elected then do not take their seats until the session that commences in December 1835, everyone attaches great importance to the result of these elections, even relative to the coming session.

They are preparing with great activity from both parties. Each party has definitely set its theme. One uses the power of harangues on the aristocracy of money to excite the prejudices of the working class, which forms the electoral majority, against the Bank, the word of order of the opposition does not ostensibly turn on the Bank. It speaks to the electors, referring to the last acts of the president that were directed against the Bank, and the doctrines he has sustained in his messages:

The executive power is in full usurpation. Let us hasten to save the constitution from these unheard-of desecrations. It is not a question of the Bank, it is a matter of our liberties won by the blood of our fathers, and which one audacious soldier, escorted by a mob of servile functionaries, has put in play with impunity.

It is in effect the best that the opposition has to say, since General Jackson, in the Bank affair as in most of the circumstances of his life, pays little attention to forms. He marches straight ahead to his goal, with little care about where he puts his foot.

The party of the administration, which knows full well that the Bank is unpopular with the masses, since it is the party that has developed this unpopularity, exploiting the public spirit, speaks of the Bank and nothing but the Bank:

The opposition is mocking you, it says to the people, when it begs you to save the constitution and the laws. What does the constitution and the laws mean to the opposition? It is the Bank they want to save. War against the Bank! General Jackson, the *hero of two wars*, who, at peril of his life, ejected English bayonets from the Union, wants to purify the soil of his fatherland from this support for tyranny and corruption. The Bank is once more the English influence that wants to enslave you. The question is whether you are free men or slaves of the Golden Calf. Despite all the hypocritical protests of the Bank fanatics, remember when you go to the

polls, that the question, the sole question, the whole question, is *Bank or no Bank?*

At the bottom, what the party of the administration says is true: the opposition is not abandoning the cause of the Bank at all. The question being discussed, and which will resound in the elections, is the Bank question. But who is to fault them if the opposition has legitimate motives today to call citizens to the defense of the constitution?

The chiefs of the Democratic Party have also sensed that their politics, which has consisted of backing local banks against the general bank, necessarily fails, and that in the long run all the finance, all the commerce of the country, including the local banks, will rally around the Bank of the United States. The reproaches they throw at that bank are doubly true with the local banks. It was impossible for the democratic mass not to see that it has many more real grievances against local banks than against the Bank of the United States, which has never caused anyone's dollar to be lost. After hesitating a long time, the leaders of the Party appear ready to take the brave decision of openly declaring against all banks. Banknotes, they say, are just miserable tissues (*rag-money*). The praise of metals, gold and silver, is the order of the day. Gold is called *Jackson-money*. The United States Mint has received unaccustomed business to strike gold coins, half-eagles and quarter eagles. The chief journals of the *Jackson Party* pay the workdays of their printers in gold. Hot supporters of the administration affect the carrying of gold in their pockets, and since in general here you pay for business and even small purchases with paper money, you can tell for certain that a man is a Jackson man when he has seen gold-pieces in his hands. Last of all, the president has gone to his country home, the Hermitage, in Tennessee, and all along the way he has paid his expenses in gold. The *Globe*, a committed journal, has taken the trouble to inform the public, and in the great banquet that the inhabitants of Nashville, Tennessee, gave him, he made the following toast: "Gold and silver, the sole representative sign recognized by the constitution!"

This apotheosis of gold and silver, considered in itself, is only suitable. Up to the present time, the metals have formed only a rather small part of the circulation of the United States. Gold was generally invisible there. At its last session, Congress caused one of the obstacles that prevented gold from remaining in the country and substituting for smaller *banknotes* to disappear: it raised the legal price of gold. Up to that point, did anyone desire the goal that was proposed, which was to cause a certain quantity of gold to remain in the country? I don't know. I am persuaded, however, that the sole prompt and effective means to clean away small banknotes would be to give the task to a national bank.

Certainly prudent and experienced men of the Party are opposed to a formal declaration of war against all banks, but this is very difficult since, in the Democratic Party, the most passionate and violent men do not impose law on men of moderation and experience. In this circumstance, Mr. Van Buren will need all his ability to maintain discipline with his adherents. He knows the commercial situation of the United States all too well to give in a single instant to the idea of destroying the banks. His sworn formula is to overturn the Bank of the United States, not because it is a bank, but because, according to him, its existence is contrary to the constitution.

The tactics of the opposition has had some success in the partial elections of less importance. Even if the opposition has the majority of the next Congress, this will only

be a semi-victory, since the Bank cannot be saved. Many men who have rallied to the opposition because they have written *the constitution and its laws* on their flag would be totally opposed if they saw there the name of the Bank, so much has one known how to spread defiance against this useful institution.

Even admitting that the opposition triumphs in the next election, to save the Bank they would have to move to new areas of action. It is easy now to see one on which the friends of the Bank would agree.

The Union, entirely homogeneous as it is in language and the totality of habits, is subdivided, as I have said, in three increasingly more distinct groups. North of the Potomac are the states of rather poor soil, but rich in the commerce²⁰² and industry of their inhabitants. There are found the great ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the secondary ports of Portland, Salem, New Bedford, Nantucket, and Providence. There also are most of the manufactures that the Union possesses. These states do not allow slavery, other than Maryland, where the relative proportion of slavery is in continual decline, and the Lilliputian state of Delaware, where slavery has almost in fact disappeared. South of the Potomac, between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, are the slave states, agricultural states, the sole ones that have large-scale agriculture, producing particularly cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, without a manufacturing industry, barely doing any commerce except coastwise shipping, except by means of the great cities of the North. In the West, from the line of Great Lakes descending to the South, along the Ohio and the Mississippi, there is the richest of soils, on which, since Independence, has suddenly grown new states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, not counting Michigan, now in the process of becoming one of the members of the Union. These are the agricultural states exploited by free labor, producing wheat and cattle of all types, whiskey and salted meats, where properties are small in the sense that every family has its own domain.

Of these three groups, that of the North is most interested in the existence of a central bank. It is also the one that knows best the financial mechanism of the Union, and where one comprehends the best that such a bank is the most indispensable of instruments. But the North alone, even with the support of some commercial towns of the South and the West, such as New Orleans and Cincinnati, would not be enough to make a majority. Even in the North, in the countryside that extends behind New York and Philadelphia, there reigns in these towns a jealousy against commerce that is worse than injustice because it is composed of ingratitude, manifesting itself now in a blind hostility to the Bank. In a word, while the question of a national bank may almost be considered as a question of to be or not to be, by the commercial metropolises of the North, without the industry of which the North would now be nothing but a semi-savage land, the North is far from unanimous in favor of this institution, and as it is, it alone cannot save it.

The North must search for allies in the West and the South. There are symptoms that announce that opposition is growing in the West, but this is because it has momentarily left behind the question of the Bank. The West loves neither the Bank nor banks. The hatred of these eminently democratic states against the *banking system* is formally written into the constitutions of two of them, Indiana and Illinois. It says there in substance (article 10 of the first, article 8 paragraph 21 of the other) that banks are

²⁰² In 1833, out of imports of 108,000,000 dollars, the ports of this section received the value of 96,000,000. Making a deduction for the imports of New Orleans, the total imports of all the other states than those of the North was only 2,700,000 dollars. The South exports much more than it imports.

prohibited in the state, at least until the state judges it convenient to establish one itself with its proper funds, which as it happens both are in the process of doing. It is in the South that the North should seek its alliances.

The populations of the North and South differ from one another in many ways.²⁰³ Up to a certain point, one recognizes the same analogies, the same contrasts between the states of the North and those of the South as between France and England.²⁰⁴ The South impresses, as does France, by its brilliant qualities; the North, like England, by its solid qualities. The big ideas come largely from the South; good practice is more often a fact in the North. The North is endowed with English perseverance, and this perseverance is the wager and condition of success. The South, like us, is mobile and easy to discourage; it is all ardor at the start of an enterprise, and all discouragement when an unforeseen obstacle comes to stop his progress. One was truly shocked in the Union last year when the inhabitants of South Carolina completed (and well) a railroad from Charleston to Augusta (Georgia); that is the distance from Paris to Le Havre. From the mixture of men of the North with men of the South in Congress results the spirit of calculation and the practical sense helped from the other side by lively imagination and large conception. Their balanced concourse is the profound reason for the direction of acts of Congress that are habitually marked by being at the same time bold and wise. Up to the most recent time, when the West suddenly arose, the interior politics of the United States consisted of a balancing between the South and the North.²⁰⁵

There are very grave political dissonances between the North and the South. The North has more respect for the federal tie, and it is more inclined to strengthen than to weaken it. The South has the opposite tendency. In the South, they oppose the tariff of customs, the subsidies of the federal government for public works, and anything extending federal authority:

The lighter the federal tie is, the South says, the more easily it can be borne, the less it will be to fear that some of the members of the confederation will desire to break it.

By seeking to weaken the federal tie, the North responds, you will destroy it. For the little you will permit to continue, the Union will be abolished in fact and not exist except in name only. The smallest accident will suffice for the name itself to vanish.

In all the quarrels to date, even that over nullification, when one part of the South threatens to break the federal pact, up to now it has been ended by extending it. One part and the other have made concessions, but the North has conceded more often than the South. Since the North and the South already have a rather long community of existence, there is room to hope that they will continue to live together longer yet.

²⁰³ See Letter X.

²⁰⁴ In Richmond, Virginia, I questioned a Frenchman who had been established there for fifty years, and whose patriotism had not chilled even after such a long absence, why he preferred Richmond to the towns of the North, which were more favorable to business, despite the progress of Richmond. He responded to me, "It is because the Virginians are the Frenchmen of America."

²⁰⁵ See Note 37.

By virtue of the ordinary tendency of the South to interpret the constitution in the sense most favorable to the individual sovereignty of the states (*states' rights*), many of the Southern publicists maintain that the existence of the Bank is unconstitutional, while the opposite was formally recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States, whose premier magistrate (*Chief Justice*), Mr. Marshall, is a man of the South revered in the entire Union, and even more in the South than elsewhere. The constitution, say the purists of *states' rights*, does not grant to Congress the right to create a Bank of the United States. On the other hand, they are touchy on what they call the usurpation of one of the branches of the federal government, the Congress, and they are no less sure on the invasions of which the opposition accuses another branch of federal authority, that is, the president. Hence, at the same time they fight against the Bank, they also fight the president because of his measures against the Bank. This third party is numerous in Virginia.

Assuming that the conclusions of the party of *states' rights* against the current Bank, and against any national bank, is founded in law, it is no less inadmissible in practice. And since in the United States it is impossible to cause the slogan, "Let the colonies perish rather than a principle," the North hopes that the party of *states' rights*, following the example of some of its leaders, such as messrs. Calhoun and McDuffie (of South Carolina), will relax the rigor of their theories a bit. The administration is making many efforts so that the ideas of the theoreticians of Virginia on the question of the Bank will be sustained in all their purity in the land of its birth. And finally, Mr. Van Buren, who observes these things from a distance, directed a toast to Virginia at one of the banquets of 4 July (anniversary of independence), choosing "Unqualified war on the Bank of the United States!"

The North has for itself a means of acting on the South through slavery. This requires some clarifications.

When independence was declared (1776), slavery existed in all the states. During the war of Independence, in 1780, Pennsylvania adopted a plan by which it was rapidly to disappear. In 1781, the people of Massachusetts declared slavery incompatible with the laws then existing. Successively the other states of New England, then New York, and all the other states north of Potomac, with the exception of Maryland and Delaware, passed measures²⁰⁶ similar to that of Pennsylvania. The matter was easy for them. Their slaves did not form more than a twentieth or a fifteenth of the population. It was entirely different for the states of the South, where the proportion of slaves was six to seven times greater, and where agricultural and domestic work was done by blacks. Thus slavery was perpetuated in the South. The acquisition of Louisiana and Florida multiplied the slave states. Through a passive acceptance that will be cruelly repented one day, slavery was authorized in new states, such as Missouri, where it would have been easy to get rid of the blacks.²⁰⁷ In 1790 there were 660,000 slaves in the Union distributed over six states, one territory and the federal district; in 1830 there were 2 million distributed among twelve states, two territories and the federal district. The white population intermingled

²⁰⁶ It consisted of abolishing slavery for all blacks to be born henceforth, on condition that they remained in the service of their masters during a determined period of from 25 to 28 years.

²⁰⁷ The state of Missouri at the time of its admission into the Union only counted six to eleven thousand slaves. Nothing would have been easier than to abolish slavery without depriving the slave owners, since these slaves could have been taken cheaply to the states of Mississippi and Alabama and sold there.

with slaves in 1790 was 1,250,000 or 190 to 100. In 1830 the white population was 3,760,000 or 186 to 100. The proportional growth of blacks was more considerable if one adds free persons of color to the slaves, and if one eliminates the states of Maryland and Delaware. In 1830 the number of slaves exceeded that of whites in Louisiana and South Carolina.²⁰⁸

In our days, slavery is a curse for all the lands where it exists. In the United States, in the South as in the North, they are convinced of this, but how to end it? The bloody experience of Santo Domingo and the sad results it has produced for the majority of blacks themselves, does not encourage immediate emancipation. The large-scale experiment undertaken by the English government²⁰⁹ in its colonies is not advanced far enough for one to gain any light on this. English colonies do not contain more than a third of the slaves that exist today in the Union. And once they are free, what are they to do? This last question is the most embarrassing of all for those who know how miserable the condition of free persons of color is in the United States.²¹⁰ On the other hand, as a measure of how times are moving, the difficulties increase, and the states of the South see themselves or believe themselves compelled to adopt legislative measures²¹¹ on the subject of the black population in favor of which one could invoke necessity, but which are no less of an excessive harshness.

Despite all their precautions against an insurrection of blacks, the discontent of the Southern states is always growing. Note that after the first of this month the blacks of the English Antilles are half-freed. These islands are three days from the American coast. Between them and the ports of the South and North trade is active and communication frequent. Finally, the religious proselytism that in England seeks to promote the emancipation of blacks has its organs in the United States. There is never any lack in Boston, Philadelphia and Ohio of philanthropists always ready to facilitate the flight of slaves. This last winter, while I was in Richmond, forty or fifty slaves vanished, and it is without doubt that what they call *fanatics* of Philadelphia or of New England have provided them with the means to escape.

The question of slavery is therefore properly what most preoccupies the states of the South. Whenever it is raised, even indirectly and secondarily, they respond with violence; from the instant it is touched upon, one is sure to make them shout. It is their weak point, it is there that the North has a hand over them.

The states of the North have never varied, in the matter of slavery, from a policy of concession. This conduct of the North can even appear to be a criminal conniving to Europeans who do not see that it is a question of saving what to the Americans of the North is the most precious, that is, the fact of the Union. The North has written into law whatever the South has demanded. The North has granted to Southern men the right to come and reclaim their fugitive slave before the proper tribunals, with the result that the republican soil of the North, unlike that of certain monarchical soils of Europe, does not enjoy the privilege of communicating liberty to whomever places his foot on it. The North has permitted that slavery be maintained in the federal district, at Washington, at

²⁰⁸ See Note 38.

²⁰⁹ See Note 39.

²¹⁰ See Note 40.

²¹¹ See Note 41.

the foot of the steps of the Capitol. The North, seeing that the South took fire in the affair over Missouri, has withheld their just repugnance. The North, which desired to recognize Haïti, renounced this because the states of the South said that it would encourage the spirit of revolt. Hence, to maintain good harmony within the Union, the North has pushed abnegation to the point of imposing silence on its religious sentiments, on its principles of liberty, on its commercial interests. Since the Union profits all, all must make sacrifices to it, it would be just if the South on its side renounced theoretical ideas on the constitutionality of a national bank, ideas that the practice of the Union deems,²¹² and of which the condemnation was pronounced by judges of which the South itself is proud.

It has been several months now that public clamor imposed silence in the states of the North on societies²¹³ called those of *abolitionists*, whose object is the abolition of slavery. Newspapers have told you the details of the scenes of devastation and pillage that a column of vagrants — taking as their pretext some imprudence of the abolitionists — committed against poor, inoffensive people of color through three consecutive nights in New York in July, and through three consecutive nights in Philadelphia, barely a week ago. Far from me to accuse the opposition that dominates in these two towns of complicity with these cads! I still believe I express a true thought by saying that these unexampled disorders, where houses, schools and churches by the dozens were sacked and demolished each night, and where pitiable people of color were pillaged and mistreated, should have encountered energetic repression, if the North is not now using this as a subterfuge, to prove to the South that it disapproves of the *abolitionists*, and that it has nothing in common with them.

The North, in a word, has given and continues to give the South all possible guarantees on the subject of slavery. The South, which could some day need not only the passive toleration of the North but also its effective assistance against rebellion, will have to see that the North is doing well to demand in return tolerance for an institution that is indispensable to the North, and from which the South has never received anything but services.

Note 37 [Note 33, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On Balancing North and South

They constantly take care to balance the number of states without slaves with that of states with slaves, as much as possible. By this means, one of the two houses, the Senate, is to be divided exactly between the two interests. In 1789, of thirteen states, six admitted slavery. In 1792, the number of states was sixteen, equally divided between the two regimes, but this was only for one year. In 1802 there were seventeen states, of which nine were without slaves. In 1812, Louisiana reestablished the balance. From 1816 to 1819, four states were admitted, Alabama and Mississippi with slaves, Indiana and Illinois without slaves. In 1820 Maine, which had no slaves, was detached from Massachusetts and elevated to the rank of a state, but it was followed in 1821 by

²¹² Since 1791, there has always been a Bank of the United States except from 1811 to 1816, and one knows into what dreadful disorder the commercial and financial system fell during that interval of five years.

²¹³ It is estimated that the number of these societies is more than 250. They publish a great number of journals and brochures. They have a more religious than political character.

Missouri, which had slaves. They received Michigan in the North and Arkansas in the South in 1836. Next comes the turn of Florida, which has slaves, and the new territory of Wisconsin,²¹⁴ which does not. It is necessary to observe that Delaware, where the law recognizes slavery, could in fact be recognized as a state without slaves, and is thus counted as such.

One could remark that the president until now has almost always been a man of the South.

If Texas is incorporated into the Union and formed two or three states, it would be difficult to maintain the equilibrium in favor of states without slaves.

Note 38 [Note 34, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On the population of the United States

Here I present various tables on the movement of population of the American Union.

TABLE of the population of the states according to five censuses

States	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
Maine	96,540	151,719	228,705	298,335	399,955
New Hampshire	141,899	183,762	214,360	244,161	269,328
Vermont	85,416	154,762	217,713	235,161	280,652
Massachusetts	378,717	423,245	472,040	523,287	610,408
Rhode Island	69,110	69,122	77,031	83,059	97,199
Connecticut	238,141	231,002	262,042	275,202	297,665
New York	340,120	586,756	959,949	1,372,812	1,918,608
New Jersey	184,139	211,949	249,555	277,575	320,823
Pennsylvania	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,049,438	1,348,233
Delaware	59,096	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748
Maryland	319,728	341,548	380,546	407,350	447,040
Virginia	748,308	880,200	974,622	1,065,379	1,211,405
North Carolina	393,751	478,103	555,500	638,829	737,987
South Carolina	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185
Georgia	82,548	162,101	252,433	340,987	516,823
Alabama			20,845	127,901	309,527
Mississippi		8,850	40,352	75,448	136,621
Louisiana			76,556	153,407	215,739
Tennessee	35,791	105,602	261,727	422,813	681,904
Kentucky	73,077	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917
Ohio		43,365	230,760	581,434	687,903
Indiana		4,875	24,520	147,178	343,031
Illinois			12,282	55,211	157,455
Missouri			20,845	66,586	140,445
Federal District		14,093	24,023	33,039	39,814
T. of Florida					34,730
T. of Michigan			4,762	8,896	31,639
T. of Arkansas				14,273	30,388
Totals	3,929,827	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,638,131	12,866,020

²¹⁴ It was organized after 4 July 1836; it is situated to the north of the state of Illinois.

The five tables that follow indicate the movement by states of the free population and the slave population since 1790. (*American Almanac* of 1835, tables communicated by Mr. E. Taylor of Virginia) For each of the five censuses, the states were ranged by order of population. It is curious to see how Virginia descends and how Ohio rises.

I				
1790				
States	Population		Number of free persons to one slave	Total
	Free	Slave		
1. Virginia	454,983	292,627	1.55	747,610
2. Massachusetts ²¹⁵	474,327			475,327
3. Pennsylvania	430,636	3,737	115	434,327
4. North Carolina	293,179	100,572	2.91	393,751
5. New York	318,796	21,524	15	340,120
6. Maryland	216,692	103,036	2.10	319,728
7. South Carolina	141,979	107,094	1.32	249,073
8. Connecticut	235,182	2,764	85	237,946
9. New Jersey	172,716	11,423	15	184,139
10. New Hampshire	141,727	158	897	141,885
11. Vermont ²¹⁶	85,523	16	5,345	83,539
12. Georgia	53,284	29,264	1.82	82,548
13. Kentucky ²¹⁷	61,247	12,430	5	73,677
14. Rhode Island	67,877	948	72	59,094
15. Delaware	32,274	3,417	9.44	36,691
Totals	3,231,629	697,697	4.63	3,929,326

II				
1800				
States	Population		Number of free persons to one slave	Total
	Free	Slave		
1. Virginia	539,181	346,968	1.55	886,149
2. Pennsylvania	600,842	1,706	352	602,548
3. New York	565,437	20,013	27	586,050
4. Massachusetts ²¹⁸	574,564			574,564
5. North Carolina	344,907	133,196	2.59	478,103
6. Maryland	241,985	107,707	2.24	349,692
7. South Carolina	199,440	146,151	1.36	345,591
8. Connecticut	250,051	951	263	251,002
9. Kentucky	180,616	40,343	4.47	220,959
10. New Jersey	198,727	12,422	16	211,149
11. New Hampshire	183,850	8	22,981	183,858
12. Georgia	102,987	59,699	1.72	162,686
13. Vermont	154,465			154,465

²¹⁵ Massachusetts 378,787, Maine 96,540, these two states did not form until 1820.

²¹⁶ Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791.

²¹⁷ Kentucky was admitted to the Union in 1792.

²¹⁸ Population of Massachusetts, 422,843; of Maine, 151,719.

14. Tennessee ²¹⁹	92,018	13,584	6.77	105,602
15. Rhode Island	68,742	380	18	69,122
16. Delaware	58,120	6,153	9.44	64,273
T. of Ohio	45,365			45,365
Federal District	10,849	3,244	3.34	14,093
T. of Mississippi	5,361	3,489	1.53	8,850
T. of Indiana	5,506	135	40.78	5,641
Total	4,422,913	896,849	4.92	5,319,762

The table concerning the population of 1800 is a bit different in Seybert than what it was in the last publications. In the *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. XII, p. 428, the population of 1830 is given as 5,309,758, but if the details are precise, the total number is 5,310,718.

III 1810

States	Population		Number of free persons to one slave	Total
	Free	Slave		
1. Virginia	582,104	392,518	1.48	974,622
2. New York	944,032	15,017	63	959,049
3. Pennsylvania	809,296	795	1,018	810,091
4. Massachusetts ²²⁰	700,745			700,745
5. North Carolina	386,676	168,824	2.29	555,500
6. South Carolina	218,750	196,824	1.11	415,115
7. Kentucky	325,950	80,561	4.04	406,511
8. Maryland	269,044	111,502	2.41	380,546
9. Connecticut	261,632	310	8.44	261,942
10. Tennessee	217,192	44,535	4.87	261,727
11. Georgia	147,215	105,218	1.39	252,433
12. New Jersey	234,711	10,851	21.69	245,562
13. Ohio ²²¹	230,760			230,760
14. Vermont	217,895			217,895
15. New Hampshire	214,460			214,460
16. Rhode Island	76,823	108	711	76,931
17. Delaware	68,497	4,177	16.39	72,674
T. of Louisiana	41,896	34,660	1.20	76,556
T. of Mississippi	23,264	17,088	1.35	40,352
T. of Indiana	24,283	237	102	24,520
Federal District	18,628	5,395	3.45	24,023
T. of Missouri	17,834	3,011	5.67	20,845
T. of Illinois	12,114	168	72	12,282
T. of Michigan	4,738	24	197	4,762
Total	6,048,539	1,191,364	5.07	7,239,903

²¹⁹ Tennessee was admitted to the Union in 1796.

²²⁰ Massachusetts, 472,040; Maine, 228,703.

²²¹ Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1802.

**IV
1820**

States	Population		Number of free persons to one slave	Total
	Free	Slave		
1. New York	1,362,724	10,088	135	1,372,812
2. Virginia	640,213	425,153	1.50	1,065,366
3. Pennsylvania	1,049,247	211	4,972	1,049,458
4. North Carolina	433,812	205,017	2.11	638,528
5. Ohio	581,434			581,434
6. Kentucky	437,585	126,732	3.45	564,317
7. Massachusetts	523,287			523,287
8. South Carolina	244,266	258,475	.94	502,741
9. Tennessee	342,716	80,097	4.27	422,813
10. Maryland	299,952	107,398	2.79	407,350
11. Georgia	191,333	149,656	1.27	340,982
12. Maine	298,335			298,335
13. New Jersey	270,018	7,557	36	277,575
14. Connecticut	275,151	97	2,836	275,248
15. New Hampshire	244,161			244,161
16. Vermont	235,764			235,764
17. Louisiana ²²²	84,343	69,064	1.22	153,407
18. Indiana ²²³	146,988	190	7.73	147,178
19. Alabama ²²⁴	86,022	41,879	2.05	127,901
20. Rhode Island	83,011	48	1,729	83,059
21. Mississippi ²²⁵	42,634	42,814	.996	75,448
22. Delaware	68,240	4,509	15.13	72,749
23. Missouri ²²⁶	56,364	10,222	5.51	66,586
24. Illinois	54,294	917	59	55,211
Federal District	26,662	6,377	4.18	33,039
T. of Arkansas	12,656	1,617	7.82	14,273
T. of Michigan	8,896			8,896
Total	8,100,108	1,538,118	5.26	9,638,226

**V
1830**

States	Population		Number of free persons to one slave	Total
	Free	Slave		
1. New York	1,918,533	75	25,580	1,918,608
2. Pennsylvania	1,347,830	403	3,343	1,348,233
3. Virginia	741,648	469,757	1.58	1,211,405
4. Ohio	937,897	6		937,905
5. North Carolina	492,386	245,601	2	737,917
6. Kentucky	522,704	165,213	3.16	687,917

²²² Louisiana was admitted to the Union in 1812.

²²³ Indiana was admitted to the Union in 1816.

²²⁴ Alabama was admitted to the Union in 1819.

²²⁵ Mississippi was admitted to the Union in 1817.

²²⁶ Missouri was admitted to the Union in 1821.

7. Tennessee	540,301	141,603	3.81	681,904
8. Massachusetts	610,407	1		610,408
9. South Carolina	265,784	315,401	.84	581,185
10. Georgia	299,292	217,531	1.37	516,823
11. Maryland	344,046	102,994	3.34	477,040
12. Maine	399,953	2		399,955
13. Indiana	343,028	3		343,031
14. New Jersey	318,569	2,254	142	320,823
15. Alabama	191,978	117,549	1.63	309,527
16. Connecticut	297,650	25	12,943	297,675
17. Vermont	280,652			280,652
18. New Hampshire	269,325	3		269,328
19. Louisiana	106,151	109,588	.96	215,739
20. Illinois	156,698	747	209	157,445
21. Missouri	115,364	25,091	4.60	140,455
22. Mississippi	70,962	65,659	1.08	136,621
23. Rhode Island	97,182	17	5,717	97,199
24. Delaware	73,456	3,292	22.31	76,748
Federal District	33,715	6,119	5.50	39,834
T. of Florida	19,229	15,501	1.24	34,730
T. of Michigan	31,607	32	987	31,639
T. of Arkansas	25,812	4,576	5.63	30,388
Total	10,851,447	2,009,043	5.39	12,866,020 ²²⁷

Table of Population Movement

For the entire Union, distinguishing three classes of whites, slaves and free persons of color.

The total population

YEARS	TOTAL NUMBER	GROWTH IN 10 YRS	% GROWTH
1790	3,929,326		
1800	5,319,762	1,390,436	35.3
1810	7,239,903	1,920,141	36.1
1820	9,638,226	2,398,323	33.1
1830	12,866,020	3,227,784	33.5

White Population

	TOTAL NUMBER	GROWTH IN 10 YRS	% GROWTH
1790	3,172,117		
1800	4,318,033	1,145,916	36.0
1810	5,862,293	1,541,360	35.8
1820	7,876,598	2,014,205	34.5
1830	10,526,248	2,649,650	33.6

Slave Population

YEARS	TOTAL NUMBER	GROWTH IN 10 YRS	% GROWTH
1790	697,69		
1800	968,849	199,152	28.5
1810	1,191,364	294,515	30.4
1820	1,538,118	346,754	29.1
1830	2,009,043	470,925	31.2

Free Persons of Color

²²⁷ Including 5,318 persons at sea.

YEARS	TOTAL NUMBER	GROWTH IN 10 YRS	% GROWTH
1790	59,512		
1800	104,880	45,368	77.7
1810	186,146	87,266	83.3
1820	223,510	37,364	19.1
1830	319,599	96,089	43.3

From these tables the following conclusions may be drawn:

The number of whites grows a little faster than that of blacks in the Union considered on the whole, which leaves us to say that the states without slaves have grown at a faster pace than states with slaves, to date. As a group the states with slaves have white populations that grow a bit slower than that of the slaves.

North America is, of all the lands where blacks and whites exist together, the one where the class of free persons of color is the smallest.

In 1830, the population of the United States subdivided in the following manner:

Whites	82	%
Free persons of color	2 1/2	%
Slaves	15 1/2	%

That is to say that the free population of color is only a sixth or 17 percent of the slave population. This result proves that the English race practices little individual manumission. While this figure is the smallest, it is the one that grows the most.

In the island of Cuba in 1830, according to Monsieur Ramon de la Sagra, the population was composed in this way:

Whites	311,051 or 45 %
Free persons of color	106,494 or 15 %
Slaves	<u>286,942 or 40 %</u>
	704,487 100 %

Hence, in Cuba, for every hundred slaves, there are 37 free persons of color.

The population of French colonies may be evaluated as follows:

Whites	43,000 or 11 %
Free persons of color	70,000 or 18 %
Slaves	<u>272,000 or 71 %</u>
	385,000 100 %

that is, for every hundred slaves there are 26 free persons of color.

Those of the English Antilles in 1832 composed themselves as follows (Mac Culloch, *Dictionary of Commerce*, article *Colonies*):

Whites	71,136 or 8 1/2 %
Free persons of color	71,827 or 9 %
Slaves	<u>689,002 or 82 1/2 %</u>
Total	832,965 100 %

Hence, in the English Antilles, for every 100 slaves, there were, before emancipation, eleven free persons of color.

I will terminate these observations by several tables that indicate the movement, by states, of the free population and the slave population. The growth or decline are expressed there in percentages, and are marked by the signs + (plus) and – (minus). For each census, the states are ranged in the order of their relative growth.

I
From 1790 to 1800

States	Free Pop.	Slave Pop.	Total
1. Kentucky a	195	+224	200
2. Georgia a	93	104	97
3. Vermont	81		81
4. New York	77	- 3	77
5. South Carolina a	40	+ 36	39
6. Pennsylvania	40	- 54	39
7. New Hampshire	30	- 95	30
8. North Carolina a	18	+ 32	21
9. Massachusetts ²²⁸	21		21
10. Virginia a	18	+18	18
11. New Jersey	15	- 9	15
12. Maryland a	12	+4	9
13. Delaware a	16	-31	9
14. Connecticut	6	- 65	5
15. Rhode Island	1	-60	0
Average	37	29	35

a= States where slavery is recognized.

II
From 1800 to 1810

States	Free Pop.	Slave Pop.	Total
1. Ohio	409		409
2. Tennessee a	136	+228	148
3. Kentucky a	81	+100	84
4. New York	67	-27	64
5. Georgia a	43	+ 76	55
6. Vermont	41		41
7. Pennsylvania	35	-53	34
8. Massachusetts ²²⁹	22		22
9. South Carolina a	10	+34	20
10. New Hampshire	17		17
11. New Jersey	18	-13	16
12. North Carolina a	12	+27	16
13. Delaware a	18	-32	11
14. Rhode Island	12	-71	10
15. Virginia a	8	+13	10
16. Maryland a	11	+3	9

²²⁸ Massachusetts, 12; Maine 57.

²²⁹ Massachusetts 12; Maine 51.

17. Connecticut	5	-67	4
Missouri a	334	+390	356
Indiana	341	+75	334
Federal District a	72	+66	71
Average	37	30	36

a= States where slavery is recognized.

III From 1810 to 1820

States	Free Pop.	Slave Pop.	Total
1. Indiana	505	-20	500
2. Illinois	348	+446	351
3. Ohio	152		152
4. Louisiana a	100	100	100
5. Tennessee a	58	+80	62
6. New York	44	-33	43
7. Kentucky a	34	+58	39
8. Georgia a	30	+42	35
9. Maine	30		30
10. Pennsylvania	30	-75	29
11. South Carolina a	12	+32	18
12. North Carolina a	12	+21	15
13. New Hampshire	14		14
14. New Jersey	15	-30	13
15. Massachusetts	11		11
16. Virginia a	10	+8	9
17. Vermont	8		8
18. Rhode Island	8	-56	8
19. Maryland a	11	-4	7
20. Connecticut	5	-69	5
21. Delaware a	0	+8	0
Missouri ²³⁰ a	287	+293	283
Michigan	88		88
Federal District a	43	+18	38
Average	34	29	33

a=states where slavery is recognized

²³⁰ Including Arkansas here.

IV
From 1820 to 1830

States	Free Pop.	Slave Pop.	Total
1. Illinois	189	-81	185
2. Alabama a	123	+181	142
3. Indiana	133		133
4. Missouri a	105	+145	111
5. Mississippi	66	+100	81
6. Ohio	61		61
7. Tennessee a	58	+79	61
8. Georgia a	56	+45	52
9. Louisiana a	26	+59	41
10. New York	41		41
11. Maine	34		34
12. Pennsylvania	28	+91	28
13. Kentucky a	19	+30	22
14. Vermont	19		19
15. Rhode Island	17	-65	17
16. Massachusetts	17		17
17. South Carolina	9	+22	16
18. North Carolina	15	+20	15
19. New Jersey	18	- 70	15
20. Virginia a	16	+10	14
21. New Hampshire	10		10
22. Maryland a	15	-4	10
23. Connecticut	8	-74	8
24. Delaware a	8	-27	5
Michigan	255		256
Arkansas a	104	+183	113
Federal District	26	-2	20
Average	34	31	33

a = states where slavery is recognized.

Slaves that are figured among the population of states whose constitutions do not recognize slavery are very few. These are the remnants of the slave population that existed once and today are living in a sort of servitude, or they are slaves introduced into states before they were organized. The latter is the case with Indiana and Illinois.

One may remark that those states where cotton is cultivated figure in the first ranks of the last table; these are Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee and Georgia.

It is also worth attention that, while slaves are exported in great quantity from the old states of the South, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Maryland, the proportion of slaves is growing, with the exception of Maryland, where slavery is tending to disappear along with Delaware. *Niles' Register* most recently (15 February 1836) called Americans' attention to the fact that, in the group of five states of Virginia, Maryland, Georgia and the Carolinas, from 1790 to 1830, the white population grew by 180 percent and the black population (free and slave) by 224 percent.

Note 39 [Note 35, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Costs of Emancipating the Slaves

The English law of 1833 stipulates that on 1 August 1834, blacks will become *apprentices* and may not be held to more than 45 hours of work per week, that is seven and a half hours a day over six days. The apprenticeship ends on 1 August 1840 for field

slaves, and 1 August 1838 for slaves in towns, workers and domestics. After these fixed dates, slaves shall be free workers. All infants born after the date of the law shall be free. A sum of £20,000,000 (500,000,000 francs) was allowed to indemnify the slave owners. The indemnity, for 750,000 slaves, would be 667 francs by head for Negroes of all ages and sex. Supposing the same figure for the 2 1/2 million slaves that exist in the United States, this would be 1,667 million francs. The indemnity, at the rate of 500 francs a head, would today cost 1,250 million francs. For the federal government to cover this cost would require that the ideas generally received on the limits to the action of this government would have to be radically changed.

Note 40 [Vol. 1, Note 36, 1836 edition]

The Degradation of Free People of Color

Here is an extract from the first report of the *Prison Discipline Society*, which monitors the degree of abjection to which free persons of color are reduced in the United States:

The population of Massachusetts amounts to 523,000 inhabitants, and the colored population at least 7,000. The total number of convicts is 314, that of the convicts of color 50. This is to say that men of color form a 74th of the population and about one sixth of the number of convicts.

In Connecticut, the total population is 275,000; the colored population amounts to almost 8000; the total number of convicts is 117, and that of the colored convicts is 39, which means that men of color, a 34th of the total population, has a third of the convicts.

In Vermont, the total population of people of color is only 918, of which 34 are in the penitentiary.

The entire population of the state of New York is 1,372,000; the colored population is 39,000; the total number of state convicts in the state prison, located in the city, is 637, of which 154 are men of color. This means that a thirteenth of the population, the people of color, provides more than a third of convicts.

The state of Pennsylvania presents a population of 1,049,000: the colored population there is about 30,000. In 1816 the total number of convicts was 407, of which the convicts of color are 176. In 1819 the total number of convicts was 474, and the convicts of color are 165. This tells us that for the people of color, a 34th of the total population, they are more than a third of the convicts.

During a speech to the Colonization Society of Kentucky, Mr. Clay said:

The vices of free persons [of color] do not at all derive from a depravity inherent in their natural organization, but is also due to their unfortunate situation. Social ties constitute a need that people tend to obtain for themselves through all their faculties. These relationships cannot be established by free blacks with the honorable classes of society, nor even among themselves, and they mingle with slaves and extremely corrupt

individuals and the most degraded among whites. Corruption and everything that results in attacks on society are the consequences of such an existence. The owners of slaves who have in their vicinity some free people of color know well how pernicious this contact is. Judicial records, particularly in the larger towns, present horrifying witnesses to the disproportionate number of crimes committed by free individuals of color. The danger of their increase in the towns has become serious and calls for effective remedy. They sense it so vividly in Cincinnati that they thought themselves compelled to resort to a measure to expel all free persons of color who cannot offer a bond of their good conduct.

Note 41 [Note 37, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On Slavery in Republics

It is shocking that the slave and the free person of color in the South of the Union should be submitted to a legislation much more rigorous than in the colonies that depend on an absolute monarchy, such as the island of Cuba, and that it should even be forbidden, for example, to teach them either to read or to write, under the penalty of fine and prison. The opposite would be more surprising. If, in a land where liberty is unlimited for whites, you have once recognized slavery, you will not be able to maintain it except by laws of iron. You will be obligated to put the black person in a situation so as not to be able to read, because if he can read your constitutions and declarations of rights that commence with the words, "All men are by natural law free and independent," how cannot he be in permanent conspiracy against you? It is just to say that if the slaves are intellectually and morally degraded in the United States, they are treated with humanity in material terms. Slaves here are less overloaded with work, better nourished and better cared for than most of the peasants of Europe. Their state of well-being is demonstrated by the rapidity with which their race reproduces.

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 8 December 1834, pp. 1-3, with a note to the reader: "We receive from our collaborator Monsieur M. C. a new letter from America, of the most recent date (see our issue of 31 October). It contains new and curious details on the results of the latest elections in New York State. We hasten to present them to the eyes of our readers."]

XV
THE ELECTIONS

New York, 11 November 1834

The autumn elections have now taken place in most of the states. They have turned to the advantage of the Democratic Party and the president.

Last April, the mayor of New York, a *Jackson man*, was elected by the imperceptible majority of 181 votes out of 35,147, and the opposition gained a majority of the municipal council. Today the majority in favor of General Jackson is 2,400. Various motives contributed to this turn of fortune.

The name of the Bank, of which the cause is directly tied to that of the opposition, sounds ever worse in the popular ear. This is unjust, but it is a fact. Some recent measures of the Bank have redoubled this animosity of the Democratic Party. It has refused to show its books to the investigating committee, named by the House of Representatives, other than in the presence of its own officers,²³¹ and they are persuaded in great number that the *Monster* refuses to allow its mysteries to be seen by the delegates of the people. The Bank continues to insist, in keeping with the usages of the commercial world, in claiming damages due to the protest concerning the letter of exchange against the French government that the administration sold it, and it has retained dividends due to the federal government in its position as shareholder. It is, the Bank claims, uniquely its role to bring before courts the debate currently taking place between itself and the public treasury. The Democratic Party sees this as testimony to accuse the Bank of usurpation of powers. "Look here," it says, "who is placing itself above the laws, who makes its own justice, who, on an imaginary pretext, places its hands on the pennies of the people." In these two affairs it is entirely possible that the law is on the Bank's side, but appearances are against it, and nothing would be more troublesome in a country governed by universal suffrage. Many of the Bank's friends, while admitting that in these two circumstances its conduct was legal, would have preferred that it had acted differently, through prudence, in the interest of the opposition and in their own interest as well.

The silence of the great orators of Congress, who are almost all in the ranks of the opposition, has contributed no less to the losses it has received since the end of the session. The friends of the administration in Congress, particularly in the Senate, have been the losers in debate; they are aware of it; their faces alone were a formal confession, and the entire party was disconcerted by the fact of the embarrassment and disorganization of their chiefs. Since 30 June, generals and soldiers have had the time to reorganize themselves: they have regrouped far from the hearth of messrs. Clay, Calhoun

²³¹ The Bank supports its refusal on a previous committee of investigation, when notes taken during a parallel examination permitted many indiscretions.

and Webster, and they go to take back a victory such as they had not hoped for four months before.

Finally, the reestablishment of industrial business has also turned to the disadvantage of the opposition. At the time of the April elections in New York, they were emerging from a crisis; all the classes had suffered and will suffer again. It was difficult not to recognize that this temporary suffering had its cause in the president's attack on the Bank, in his *experiment* on society's body, as he called it himself. Commerce is now prospering, the autumn campaign was excellent, everything leads to think that next spring will be no less advantageous. General Jackson's experiment appears to have succeeded. A crowd of people who are in the Democratic Party as their natural element, and who left in the spring, has returned there entirely naturally.

It is necessary to explain further the extent of the victory the administration will achieve. The opposition has not lost the positions it occupied before, but the *Jackson Party* has conserved the larger number of its own, and further it has remained strongest in the states of Pennsylvania and New York. In one word, to judge by the elections that have taken place up to now, the House of Representatives in the Congress that opens at the end of 1835 will be, like the present House, composed of a majority of *Jackson Men*. The opposition has certainly won more than it has lost. It has won the state of Maryland by a considerable majority. It has even won Democratic Ohio, on which it certainly did not count. Ten representatives from this state, out of nineteen, are of the opposition. And although the state governor is a *Jackson Man*,²³² the majority of the legislature is *anti-Jackson*, an essential result — since it is the legislatures that elect the members of the Senate of the United States.

The elections of the state of Pennsylvania, where the opposition lost two²³³ representatives, surprised no one. Those of New York, in contrast, upset all calculations.²³⁴ I know that very well informed *Jackson Men*, who have predicted previous elections well in advance, did not expect a majority of between three and four hundred votes in the city. They had this, I repeat, from two thousand four hundred voters. The opposition believed that it had the strength to dispute the state, and it depended on the city. It is really extraordinary that the commercial interest was beaten in the premier commercial city of the New World; such a result did not make for praise of the system that produced it.

The unexpected triumph that the opposition was able to gain in Ohio redoubled its confidence in New York. With excitement they celebrated the arrival of the young giant of the West under the standard of the *Anti-Jackson* party. One of the magnificent steamboats of the New York to Albany Line, bearing the name of the *Ohio*, had been sent pompously steaming the length of the river, with a cannon. They fired off the artillery to the cheers of the cities and villages that border the Hudson. They offered to the attention

²³² He was elected by a majority of a little more than three thousand out of 35 thousand voters.

²³³ In the current Congress, of the 28 representatives of Pennsylvania, 13 are in the opposition. In the new Congress, it cannot count on more than 11.

²³⁴ Of forty representatives that the state of New York sends to Congress, 32 now are *Jackson Men*. There will be 31 in the new Congress.

of the peoples the little frigate *Constitution*,²³⁵ this palladium of the opposition in New York. A packet boat traveled from Albany to Lake Erie on the great canal, and had displayed the cannon in honor of the state of Ohio across the network of new towns and flourishing villages that send and receive the wealth, the movement and the life of this artery of the state. Today the cannon of the opposition is silent; today it is none but that of *Tammany Hall*²³⁶ that resounds. The little frigate that was suspended in the air before the Masonic Hall, headquarters of the opposition, during the three days of the election, no longer displays in its rigging the colored glass with which it was illuminated every night. The streets of New York, which otherwise do not need it, no longer receive the additional light of the *Jackson men*, who made processions by torchlight every evening.

The New York elections are not important simply because of their electoral result, they are also significant for the order that never ceased to reign. For the last six months, the spirit of anarchy was on the edge of causing serious alarms, even by men little open to fear. You know what happened in New York at the April elections; later, in July, New York was the theater for several days of a series of devastations and violence against poor people of color. In August the same Saturnalia was repeated at Philadelphia under the same pretext, with no less audacity and persistence; then came that brutal attack near Boston against the peaceful religious women devoted to the education of young girls, who saw their convent attacked, sacked and burned without the *selectmen* (municipal councilors)²³⁷ of Charlestown being able to control the authors of the assault, and without the good citizens, on seeing this savage intolerance, trying to intervene.²³⁸ It was barely a month later, at Philadelphia on the evening of the elections, there was another fire; six houses were burned down and the fire pumps²³⁹ dragged away by force by the culprits, as in Charlestown. This night an even graver deed was committed. Shots were fired by some men of the opposition being attacked with stones by a mob of the other party. There were some injured and two killed. Eight days earlier, at the time of the primary election,²⁴⁰ an inoffensive, totally ordinary man was killed by stiletto.

They feared a repetition of these disorders in New York, but it did not happen. Nearly 36,000 electors exercised their rights without tumult. The two parties were extremely excited. The merit of this wise conduct was obvious to the entire population. The two sections of the municipal council²⁴¹ have, it is true, taken extraordinary measures to maintain public peace. But what is extraordinary in this matter here is far from what would be routine in Europe. If the masses abstain from disorder in the United

²³⁵ This is a miniature frigate made in the image and in honor of the frigate *Constitution*, which covered itself with glory under the command of captains Hull and Bainbridge during the last war of the United States with England.

²³⁶ Traditional place for meetings of the Democratic Party.

²³⁷ In the six states of New England, they give this name to members of the municipal council of all localities that do not have the rank of *city*, and which are only qualified as *town*.

²³⁸ See Note 42.

²³⁹ In the United States these are volunteer companies with admirable devotion and very often busy.

²⁴⁰ In Philadelphia, the election judges are named in advance by a primary election that takes place on the street. The two parties line up, one on one side of the street, the other on the opposite sidewalk. The constable, an inferior police officer, counts the two groups: the more numerous has nomination of the judges.

²⁴¹ See Note 43.

States, it is because they wish to do it. If they observe good order, it is because they love it. About three hundred constables in a city of 260,000 souls can accomplish nothing. Some persons also attribute this moderation of the democracy to its confidence in victory, and if the election had appeared to turn to the profit of the opposition as it did in April, one would have seen bands armed with clubs appearing in the street as in April.

The fate of the Bank was decided in these elections. In fifteen months its charter will expire, and the Bank will die, to be reborn a little later under another form, once a new series of commercial distresses shall have demonstrated to the most incredulous that one cannot do without it. It is worth attention that it perishes precisely at the hand of the two states that need it most, Pennsylvania and New York. The blindness of Pennsylvania in particular is inexplicable. How are we to conceive the blind rage with which this state acts to terminate a source of prosperity that, for it, has run so abundantly? For without the capital of Philadelphia, its interior districts would be deserted. It would have neither the four hundred leagues of canal and railroads that run through it, nor the even more extensive roads, nor the innumerable wooden bridges,²⁴² the most beautiful in the world, nor the factories and mines that enrich it. What person can pretend that Pennsylvania, which starts in Philadelphia, perhaps the most cultivated city in all the Union, ends with its farmers of German origin, who are perhaps the least intelligent in North America. The conduct of the Pennsylvanians in relation to the Bank is not enough to rehabilitate them in the spirit of these severe judges.²⁴³ So far as the electors of New York, it is permitted to suppose that if the seat of the mother bank had been in their metropolis, the votes of the city and the state would have turned out differently.

The sole chance for salvation that remains to the Bank is that the region of the South, which is under the influence of Virginia, would deign to extend a hand in aid. This act of compassion on the part of the South is not likely, but it is not absolutely impossible. I have often attended discussions between Americans of the South and the North in which those of the North say to their adversaries:

Without us you would be at the mercy of your slaves; it is our union with you that prevents them from revolting and slitting your throats.

Those of the South respond:

We are in charge of containing our own slaves. We have long since ceased to need your help against their attempts at rebellion. We only demand one thing of you, which is not to provoke insurrection. But you, you are overrun by ultra-democracy. Your workers make your law. Before long, you will be all too happy to receive the help of the South to reestablish the balance that universal suffrage has upset.

The South has at this moment a fine occasion to exercise in the North that moderating power of which it boasts.

²⁴² Sometimes Pennsylvania is called by the name of the *Bridge State*.

²⁴³ The Abbot C . . . , who was minister of Portugal to the United States, said on his return from a trip into the interior of Pennsylvania, that this state reminded him of the Sphinx, because it had, like the Egyptian symbol, the head of an angel and the body of a beast. This phrase is often cited in the United States.

Frederick the Great, after a victory over the Imperials shortly after Fontenoy, wrote to Louis XV, "Your Majesty has sent from Fontenoy a letter of exchange on my account; I will pay it at" General Jackson has already paid the letter of exchange the electors of New York have presented to him. A circular letter has been addressed by the secretary of the treasury to all receivers of public funds, by which he forbids them to receive in payment certain orders of branches of the Bank. These orders were issued by the Bank because of the material impossibility that the president and the cashier of the mother bank in Philadelphia have to sign five dollar and ten dollar bills in a sufficient number to replace those that their more active circulation uses up and destroys. They have the same form as bills and pass as them, although the charter of the Bank does not mention them. This decision of the administration doesn't create a problem for the Bank, since if it is forced to retire all the orders from circulation, amounting to about 36 million francs, nothing prevents them from issuing bills properly so called for the same sum.

The Bank is ready for every event. The mass of bills does not exceed 85 million francs, including the orders on branch banks, and the additional resources in coin or other values immediately liquid exceeds 100 million. It is only that the president of the Bank, Mr. Biddle, and the cashier, Mr. Jaudon, who are already loaded with duties, consecrate three or four hours every day signing bills, for, I repeat, these branch orders were conceived to free them from that labor. The decision of the secretary of the treasury descends to a sort of penalty inflicted on messrs. Biddle and Jaudon: this is its purpose.

On both coasts of the Atlantic, there is a reaction today against the aristocracy of money. Both on the signposts or trees of liberty erected by the Democratic Party and on the banners it displays in its parades, one sees the eternal refrains: *No Bank! Down with the Bank! No rag money!* here, from the summit of the national tribunal, bankers are summoned to popular derision, in the loudest voices, like lynxes. That is to say that they abuse those who hope that industry will soon rise to influence and political dignity? Or is it rather that industrialists, particularly those placed at their head, the men of finance, do not have enough awareness of the future that is reserved for them and do not try to cure the bad habits they are likely to contract the notion that the saber makes the law, and that labor is the lot of slaves or serfs? Is it not that these princes of industry grasp too little the sentiments that go with letters of nobility, and without which no supremacy is ever possible? To approach public affairs worthily, one must love the public good a bit more than his own strongbox, and commerce is organized in such a way today that unless born with a triple dose of generosity and patriotism, it is difficult not to dirty one's hands at it and not to harden the heart.

How many are there today among the ranks of industrialists, honest men who groan over the uses to which they feel compelled, over the examples they are constrained to follow! The Bank of the United States had to bear the pain of vices that, already in our own days, oppress commerce and which, as far as we are concerned, had to be regarded as the domain of history alone. The Bank is being punished for the sins of others, for this great institution does not merit the reproach of cupidity. The services it has rendered to the country are immense; what it has received in profits is moderate.

It is necessary to render this justice to America by recognizing that, although the desire to *make money* is universal, one finds there in the commercial centers of some importance and some age more conscience and particularly less narrowness than among us. American egoism is larger than ours; they abase themselves less often to stinginess

than we do: the American cuts out of whole cloth. Here, without a doubt, frenetic speculators, blind and insatiable gamblers are not missing, but almost always they choose as objects of their combinations, enterprises of public utility. In the United States, speculations have been and have the result of seeding this vast country with useful establishments, with canals, railroads, roads, manufactures, farms, villages and towns. Here they are more frenetic, more foolish and much less productive. This is ordinarily nothing but stock jobbing without any connection to the prosperity of the country. It is a game where one is often taken in, and where the credulous man proceeds to devour in a feverish instant the savings of long years. Their unique result is the production of ruin and despair of large numbers. If they fill anything with people, it is the Hôtel-Dieu or the morgue of Saint-Cloud. These are sad verities, but they are still what has to be said.

Note 42 [Note 38, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

The Trial of the Arsonists of the Convent of the Ursulines

The intolerance of a portion of the Protestant population viewed a convent of the Ursulines established on *Mount Benedict* in the community of Charlestown, a suburb of Boston with a very evil eye. These nuns had consecrated themselves to educating girls, and many Protestant families had entrusted their children to them. Everything shows that they were not obsessed with proselytizing. At the start of August, 1834, the rumor spread in Charlestown that a girl, one of the sisters, was being held in the convent by force. The *selectmen* met; five of them went to the convent and searched from the basement to the roof, seeing the nun who was described as a victim of Catholic discipline, and were convinced that she was in the convent as a result of her own free will. They stated this publicly. Despite this, on the evening of 11 September the convent was surrounded, attacked by a gang of bandits, at whose head was a man named John Buzzel, a brick-maker, known for his brutality. The sisters were violently expelled; everything was delivered up to pillage; the tombs of the dead were opened. They set fire to the convent, and it burned in the presence of the selectmen; the firemen of Boston arrived, and the population prevented them from approaching, repelling them with violence.

Several men were arrested *flagrante delicto*, including Buzzell; they were tried in Boston in 1835. Witnesses did not dare to testify, and a mysterious influence changed their language. Public authorities, prevented from suspending prosecution until the cause provoking the attack was clarified, finally pleaded violation of the peace with generous indignation. All the accused were acquitted, with the exception of a poor young man named Marcy, who was condemned to fifteen or twenty years custody, but public opinion soon led the lieutenant governor of the state to pardon him. Buzzell, along with Kelly, one of his accomplices, became heroes. They were borne in triumph and lists of petitions circulated to their profit. The nuns sent a petition to the Legislature of Massachusetts asking the state to compensate for their losses because public authority had permitted the destruction. The most enlightened citizens of Boston intervened intensely in their favor, but the House of Representatives rejected their demand by a huge majority. The anniversary of the burning came and the residents of Charlestown celebrated it as a day of glory. They organized a firing range in which the target was the Mother Superior of the Ursulines. The selectmen intervened to suppress the portrait, but not the celebration. Finally, as the acme to all this violence and indecency, in 1836 two of the arsonists requested compensation from the Legislature for the damage they had suffered as a result

of the trial. The committee examining the petition drafted a bill to grant to each of these sufferers the sum of \$500. To the honor of Massachusetts, I am able to add that the bill was rejected at its second reading.

Note 43 [Note 39, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Municipal Authorities

In large towns, the municipal council is ordinarily divided into two bodies, by analogy with the system of two houses. In New York there are the *aldermen* and the *assistant aldermen*. In Philadelphia it is the *select council* and the *common council*. The division of powers between the two bodies is made in a very diverse manner in various towns. In certain determined cases, they are gathered in a single assembly. They are elected by districts, as with municipal councilors, and generally for a year. In New York, there are fifteen *aldermen* and fifteen *assistant aldermen*; in less populous towns, they are less numerous. Their services are free, except for some towns where they fulfill the function of justices of the peace, and in which they have to sign documents. In this case, they receive honoraria from the public that must address them. In Philadelphia, these positions are quite lucrative. These councils administer the commune as the legislature administers the state. Their authority is more extensive than that of our own municipal councilors. In some cases, they exercise rather important judiciary functions; they sit as judges in the *Mayor's Court*. The cities ordinarily have a mayor who is the executive power of the commune. The authority of the mayor is much less, relative to that of the municipal council, in America than in France. He has a salary in the large towns, in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, etc. The mayor is sometimes elected by the citizens, sometimes by the municipal council. In the state of New York, the city of New York is the sole one where the citizens name their mayor.

The executive power, reduced as it is, does not reside entirely in the hands of the mayor. It is generally divided between the mayor and the *recorder*. The functions of the latter are particularly judiciary and supervisory. The prisons and hospitals are under his special responsibility. He is salaried like the mayor, and he is elected in the same way. In the city of New York, he is named by the governor and the state Senate. This functionary is analogous to our *procureurs de la commune*.

The number of *cities* is quite small. Their prerogatives are not granted except with populations of 12,000 to 15,000 souls. In the entire state of New York, there are only nine *cities*. There is a great number of villages, which are small towns, with a government endowed with fewer prerogatives than those of cities. All the rest are assimilated to rural communes. These are governed by a municipal council assisted by various special magistrates, for schools, for the poor, for roads and *fences*.

The government of localities also varies a great deal from state to state.

In the South, rural communes do not exist, there are only counties.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ See Note 14.

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 21 January 1835, pp. 2-4, together with a notice on page 2 of the first publication of Alexis de Tocqueville, *On Democracy in America*.]

XVI
PITTSBURGH

Pittsburgh, 24 November 1834

Seventy-five years ago to the day, a French column evacuated a fort situated at the point of a tongue of land where the Allegheny and the Monongahela join their waters to form the Ohio. The Frenchmen, with their faithful Indian allies, had made a vigorous resistance; they had conquered the expedition of 1754 and constrained Washington, a lieutenant colonel of the Virginia militia, to surrender Fort Necessity. They destroyed the army of the presumptuous Braddock and delivered to the English colonies a terror of which the memory has not yet faded. But the destiny of France was in the hands of the king who will be the most severely judged by the tribunal of history. Under the reign of this debauched and egoistic prince, France, sacrificed to the boudoir, humiliated within, could not triumph abroad. France was reduced to abandoning Fort Duquesne. On this day, 24 November 1758, one of the most magnificent plans ever conceived was destroyed.

France was in possession of Canada and Louisiana. We were the masters of the two most beautiful rivers, the two vastest and richest basins of North America, that of the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi.²⁴⁵ Between the two basins nature raised no elevated point of separation: during a season of high water, one can pass from Lake Michigan to the bed of the Illinois and continue on without an obstacle to the mouths of the Mississippi. The plan of our heroic *pionniers*, preachers, sailors and soldiers, was to form in this double valley a New France. It is beyond doubt that this idea would have caught the attention of Louis XIV, and it would have received a start of execution through the establishment of a chain of posts, of which the sites were admirably chosen. There is no country in the world that provides lands of superior quality in such a grand abundance; there is none that offers the natural communications comparable to the network of great floodways and navigable rivers that irrigate the grand central valley of North America. There is none healthier, since, other than a few districts subject to autumnal fevers, which cultivation will rapidly improve, one can only find two infected points, New Orleans and Natchez, where Yellow Fever makes its appearance from time to time for a few months. The sums absorbed by one of the impolitic wars that marked the reign of Louis XV would probably have been sufficient to assure the success of this noble project. But the enterprise, pressed with an admirable devotion and wisdom on the part of local agents, never encountered anything but indifference from the ministers, for whom the grand affair was to know who would be the favorite Sultana of the Most Christian King. The taking of Fort Duquesne was soon followed by the conquest of Canada by England, and in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris (Treaties of Paris have never brought us happiness), France surrendered plainly and totally with an abnegation and

²⁴⁵ The valley of the Mississippi, including a small portion of that of the Saint Lawrence that pertains to the Union, is six times larger than France. It includes toward the extreme west a great deal of very poor land. The most fertile portion, inhabited today, comprehends the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, a part of Pennsylvania and of Virginia, the territories of Michigan and Arkansas, and a part of that of Florida, occupies a space triple that of France.

discouragement whose examples are so rare in English annals and so frequent in our own. France ceded with one hand the basin of the Saint Lawrence and the left bank of the Mississippi to England, and with the other the right bank of the great river to Spain.

Hence it came about that the Empire of New France, like so many other superb projects conceived on the soil of our fatherland, never existed except on paper, or in the hopes of young officers full of daring and perceptiveness, and of intrepid missionaries, heroes without name to one another, of whom the memory is not honored today except in the wigwam of some poor sachem relegated to the deserts.

Fort Duquesne is now Pittsburgh. There I have piously sought some debris of the French fortress, but in vain. There is on the Ohio no longer a stone or a brick attesting that France was once sovereign there.²⁴⁶

Pittsburgh is today essentially peaceful. If one still sees cannons and cannonballs, it is because a merchant people supplies the market with all the articles for which there is a demand. These are entirely new cannons, and the cannonballs come from a mold at the disposition of Sultan Mahmoud or the emperor of Morocco just as well as the government of the United States, by means of finance. Pittsburgh is a manufacturing town that will one day be the Birmingham of America. They have even given the name of Birmingham to one of the villages nearby. Pittsburgh is surrounded, as is Birmingham and Manchester, with a black cloud that belches in torrents from forges, glass factories, the chimneys of all the factories and all the houses, dropping back in flakes of soot, depositing on the homes and on the faces of the inhabitants. Pittsburgh is therefore the dirtiest town of North America. Pittsburgh is certainly far from being as populous as Birmingham,²⁴⁷ but in proportion it offers more activity. No place on earth is as regularly and continually busy to the same degree as Pittsburgh. I do not believe there is on all the earth, including the United States, where less time is given to pleasure, a single town with fewer diversions that may be had on this earth. There are no interruptions of business through six days of the week except for the interval of three meals a day, of which the longest is about ten minutes. And Sunday in the United States, rather than a day of distraction and gayety as with us, is, in keeping with English custom, reinforced by the Anglo-Americans to be scrupulously consecrated to prayer, to reflection, and to silence. By this energetic application to work, which is common to all ages and classes, and thanks to the numerous machines where steam works like a docile slave, the population of Pittsburgh creates masses of products out of all proportion with the number it represents. The nature, volume and weight of products manufactured in Pittsburgh renders this disproportion very apparent, for, either because American industry, still starting up, has not yet reached the goal that demands luxury objects, or because Americans have the good sense to realize at first glance that the manufacture of objects of first need or essential usefulness is more profitable than that of the knick-knacks which civilization loves to spread about where there is wealth and also where it is not. They do not work at Pittsburgh except in the common interest.

While Pittsburgh today is the premier manufacturing town of the Union, it is still far from what it is destined to become. It is located at the center of a widespread coal formation that is easily exploited. In the country to the east of Pittsburgh there is much

²⁴⁶ See note 44.

²⁴⁷ The population of Pittsburgh and its various suburbs does not pass thirty thousand inhabitants. In 1831 that of Birmingham was 142,251.

ore that can be converted into wrought or cast iron in the form of machines, devices and tools of all types. Pittsburgh also has at hand coal and iron, that is, the force, and the lever with which that force exercises its productive faculty. The product of the factories of Pittsburgh is even more unlimited than its provisioning, for the basin of the Mississippi is open to it, with all the lateral valleys that will become basins of the first order on our continent. Among a population that reproduces and grows as rapidly in ease as it does in number,²⁴⁸ there is an open place for the machines, foundries, irons, nails, glassworks, ironmongery, potteries and textiles of Pittsburgh. There is need of hatchets to chop down primitive forests, saws to cut planks, plowshares for plows and spades to enrich unprepared soil. There is need of steam engines for this fleet of steamboats that come and go on the waters of the West. There is need of ironwork and nails to build houses, white lead to paint them inside and out; there is need of glass to illuminate them, and new sets of utensils and linen, since the whole world wants some comfort.

Hence Pittsburgh is beginning to become what Birmingham and Saint Étienne are, and what diverse localities of Aveyron and Le Gard are, for example, when we want to become a more enterprising people, when we make the effort to bring to daylight the treasures hidden in the soil of our *belle France*, which is what those outside call it. Further, Pittsburgh is and should be a commercial town, a market. It is at the head of steam navigation on the Ohio,²⁴⁹ and hence it is, both directly and indirectly, so to speak through the medium of more central cities such as Cincinnati and Louisville, the natural exchange point between North and South. The state of Pennsylvania has spared nothing to support it and to develop all the advantages resulting from this position. It has made of Pittsburgh one of the pivots of the system of communications it has launched with such audacity and pursued with such perseverance.²⁵⁰ Pittsburgh is tied to Philadelphia by a line of canals and railroads with a length of 158 leagues. The ramifications of the Pennsylvania canals joined the essential points of this state. It still lacks, it is true, a direct link to Lake Erie, but soon it will have it twice and three times over. A railroad of a hundred leagues in length is projected between Baltimore and the Ohio; it is already a third complete along its course. The Pennsylvania legislature has required that the company place the western extremity of its line at Pittsburgh. A fine canal, of which the path and design are the work of General [Simon] Bernard, is supposed to join the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio via Washington; the same clause has been composed to the profit of Pittsburgh.

²⁴⁸ In 1762, the Mississippi valley contained, imagining the Indian population, fewer than 100,000 inhabitants
 In 1790, there were about 150,000
 In 1800 580,000
 In 1810 1,365,000
 In 1820 2,625,000
 In 1830 4,232,000

The Indians, largely relegated to west of the Mississippi, amounted to no more than 310,000 souls.

²⁴⁹ They have launched some steamboats during high water at Brownsville on the Monongahela, above Pittsburgh, but the boats going upstream always stop at Pittsburgh.

²⁵⁰ In the era when it undertook its public works, the state of Pennsylvania did not count a million inhabitants. It always found the means to support by its credit or its taxes expenses of from 150 to 160 million, including the interest on loans.

Pittsburgh is one of the few American towns that owe their birth to war. It was once a fort in the French line, which was then an English fortress against the savages. In 1781, Pittsburgh consisted of a very small number of houses under the protection of the cannons of Fort Pitt. The origin of Cincinnati is the same. The one and the other began with a citadel, but more fortunately than some of our commercial metropolises, such as Le Havre, stuffed within the walls of its fortifications as if by a girdle, Pittsburgh and Cincinnati have caused the traces of their original destination to vanish. All that remains of Fort Pitt, which the English constructed a few paces above Fort Duquesne, is a little storage building converted into a home. All that remains in Pittsburgh from the war period (which here are legendary times) is the name of a little street called *Allée de la Rédoute*, because of a battery that was placed to cover the course of the Monongahela. In Cincinnati, Fort Washington was razed, and on the soil it occupied now arises a bazaar built by Madame [Fanny] Trollope. There is not even one more curious example of the dramatic metamorphosis made by America in the last half-century than the comparison between the process by which the towns were founded then and the current fashion of causing them to emerge from the earth.

A few weeks ago, I visited a district in Pennsylvania where they extract anthracite mineral coal, the most convenient of the combustibles,²⁵¹ currently in universal use from Washington to Boston, and whose substitution for wood has produced a domestic revolution. Six or seven years ago, when the use of this precious combustible began its rapid expansion, the soil holding it became the object of speculation, at first prudent, then measured, then extravagant. Speculators traced towns on the land, each to the envy of the others. I have detailed plans with the roads traced in a straight line, and lovely public squares carefully reserved, when such a town did not even have a road and barely three houses. This frantic stock jobbing has still produced a town of three thousand souls, Pottsville, with ten or twelve railroads large and small, with canals, basins, and rather prosperous underground enterprises. So far as these pretended metropolises go, many of them are villages that are flourishing, although the dreams of their founders recall *A Thousand and One Nights*.

In this region of anthracite mining, or in the manufacturing districts of the states of the Northeast, or along the canals of the state of New York, or on all the points of the West, a traveler has occasion several times a day, to see how towns are created today. First one builds a vast hotel, with a wooden colonnade, a true barracks where all movements, getting up, breakfast, lunch and supper take place to the sound of a bell, with a precision, a gathering and a rapidity that is military, and which the *landlord* is, by right, a general or at least a colonel of the militia. The *bar room* of the hotel is also the exchange where hundreds of markets are made under the auspices of a glass of whiskey or gin, and the club holds forth political discussions, and where civil and military elections are planned. Almost at the same moment a post office is established. In the first period, it is normally the *landlord* who performs the functions of *postmaster*. Once there are several houses, a church is built at the expense of the emerging community, besides they found a school and a printing press with a journal. And soon after comes a bank to complete the triple representation of religion, science and industry.

²⁵¹ The anthracite of Pennsylvania resembles the coal of Fresne (Nord), of which a small quantity reaches Paris, or perhaps better the anthracite of Dauphiné. One cannot use it effectively except with chimneys or stoves of a special design (See Note 45).

A European of the Continent, to whom this idea of a bank is intimately tied to that of a large amount of capital, receives a great surprise, even the hundredth time, when he encounters an institution of this sort in localities that are not yet at the intermediate place between the village and the forest primeval, inhabited by the bear and the serpent of poems. On the banks of the Schuylkill, a river recently canalized that, departing the heart of the anthracite region, proceeds to empty into the Delaware near Philadelphia, one finds the start of a town, built on the speculations on mines, at the point where navigation begins. *Port Carbon* is its name, consisting of thirty houses displayed on the slope of a little valley, conforming to the alignment of the future town. They were so pressed to build that they did not take the time to clear the trees that covered the area. They burned them halfway and chopped them down with the hatchet. Their tall charred corpses still encumber the ground. They have heaped up a part in a manner to form roads, finally to support the railroad above the level of the valley to haul the coal from the mines to the landing on the Schuylkill. Their stumps, all upright, raise their charred heads to a height of five to six feet. One passes from one habitation to another on this serpentine, across these shortened and blackened stumps, jumping over large trunks that are dispersed around. From the midst of all this emerges a large house on which one reads:

*Office of
Deposit and Discount
SCHUYLKILL BANCK*

The existence of a bank in the middle of the stumps of Port Carbon had struck me as much as the elegant and universal propriety of pleasant Philadelphia, and the immensity of the fleet ceaselessly unloading and receiving the products of all parts of the world at the docks of New York.

I recall the triple symbol of the church, the school with its printing press, and the bank. A society that forms itself by agglomeration around such a core cannot help but differ more and more from the current European society, which is principally constituted under the auspices of war and by a succession of conquests superimposed one on the other. American society takes as its point of departure labor, supporting itself on general ease and on elementary instruction available to all, and advancing with the religious principle for compass, appears destined to attain a degree of prosperity, power and well-being considerably superior to what we possess with our semi-feudal organizations and our unquiet antipathy for every moral rule, for every authority. Without doubt it presents, particularly in the newest states, imperfections in great number, and it has much to be modified. It is the fate of all works that are nothing but a first draft, even when God is the modeling artist. But some problems and ridicule are of little importance to those more interested in the grand interests of the future than in the paltry miseries of the present. The distresses and despairs undergone by a European with delicate nerves matter little if he takes the risk of steamboats and the inns of the West to kill time. It is too bad for him if he is launched into a world where there is no place for a pointless *tourist* who needs to be amused! It even matters little that a stranger has the opportunity to smile at the naïve expressions of a national vanity without measure. This patriotic pride that excuses the brilliant results gained, the troubles and ridicules correcting themselves and changing every day, the inevitable grossness of *backwoodsmen*, will

cease the moment there are no forests to cut down, no swamps to drain, no savage beasts to destroy. The evil will pass and does pass, the good remains and grows, transforming itself like a mustard seed.

Note 44 [Note 40, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Traces of French domination in Kingston

I was more fortunate at Kingston (Upper Canada), once Fort Frontenac, at the extreme northern end of Lake Ontario. In the courtyard of the barracks of one of the English regiments stationed there, one can see the foundations of a wall that was part of the construction raised by La Salle or his successors.

Note 45 [Note 41, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On Anthracite

In 1814, as the English held the Americans blockaded in their ports, preventing the coal of Virginia from reaching Philadelphia by sea, which was the sole practical means, some manufacturers who needed coal had heard that a seam existed near the source of the Schuylkill, and they sent some wagons there at great expense; they were not able to get it to light. One of them, Mr. J. P. Wetherill, told me that he made use of a hole in a field, today covered with roads, and that he buried his anthracite there to get rid of it. The incident furnished an undoubted demonstration of the combustibility of the anthracite. One of those who had bought it had given up in despair and abandoned a pile of it near his house. One night, he was awakened by a very bright light and by a crackling sound: it was the anthracite that had kindled. They repeated the experiment and came to understand the nature of anthracite. They constructed furnaces more appropriate to its nature. Soon it was used for all domestic purposes. In the North, on the coast, no one uses any other combustible in kitchens and salons. They use it in a very large number of factories to heat boilers. They began to use it aboard steamboats. On the *Colombia*, which goes between New York and Charleston, I saw them burn anthracite regularly. One burns nothing else on the boats going from New York to *Jersey City* on the other side of the Hudson. In 1836 Doctor Nott tried it with success on the steamboat *Novelty* between New York and Albany.

Anthracite does not exist, or at least is not exploited, except in Pennsylvania in the mountains between the Susquehanna and the Delaware. There are three principal centers of exploitation, one at the source of the Schuylkill, the other at that of the Lehigh, the third at that of Lackawaxen [or Lackawana]. These three streams are tributaries of the Delaware. The following table shows the number of tons of anthracite extracted and carried to market from the origin to the present.

Year	Lehigh	Schuylkill	Lackawana	Total
1820	365			365
1821	1,073			1,073
1822	2,240			2,240
1823	5,823			5,823
1824	9,541			9,541
1825	28,393	5,306		33,699
1826	31,280	16,835		48,115
1827	32,074	27,492		61,566
1828	30,232	47,181		77,413

1829	25,110	78,293	7,000	111,403
1830	41,750	89,984	42,000	173,734
1831	40,965	81,854	54,000	176,819
1832	75,000	209,271	84,300	368,771
1833	124,000	250,588	111,777	486,365
1834	106,244	226,692	43,000	376,636
1835	138,000	339,508	80,000	557,000

[The occasion of this letter is Jackson's impatience with France over the payment of compensation for French seizures of American ships during the Napoleonic Wars. A treaty had been signed promising compensation, but the National Assembly had not voted the funds. The result was that Jackson threatened action against France. France eventually paid the money.]

[First publication in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 4 February 1835, pp. 1-2. Due to the crisis situation, it headed the journal that day. The editors' statement to the reader, dated Paris, 3 February: "We are in possession of newspapers and letters from the United States until the date of 2 January. The newspapers have nothing on the question of the American treaty, but they confirm the nomination, that we have already announced via the newspapers of London, of Mr. Clay to the chair of the Senate committee on foreign relations. This choice is a witness to the force of the party opposed to the policy of President Jackson, and it seems to us a positive sign for the future deliberations of the Senate on the question that so preoccupies spirits now. Here is a letter of Monsieur M. C., our collaborator."]

XVII

GENERAL JACKSON

Louisville, Kentucky, 15 December 1834

(Here are a few lines on the subject of the extraordinary message of President Jackson. I regret being so far from Washington now and being obliged to travel yet further.)

You in France were right to be shocked on reading the message of General Jackson. Here the free and trenchant tone of a part of the press had prepared spirits for some sort of energetic demonstration, but the message surpassed the hopes of those who wished to see, concerning France, a haughty attitude, and the premonition of those who feared imprudence.

If such a message had come from one of the earlier presidents, from Washington to Mr. John Quincy Adams, it would rightly be considered as the expression of the sentiments of the majority of the American people. None of them would desire to compromise the United States in this manner without being assured that this was truly the national will. Their rule would have been to allow themselves to be pressed forward by the nation rather than to push against it or to act in opposition to it. They would have pursued a profound discussion among members of their cabinets, not only in speech, but also in writing, such as Washington did concerning the creation of the First Bank of the United States in 1791. They would have individually consulted notable men of all opinions and all interests. They would have listened carefully to those on whom the heaviest weight of a war would have rested, the traders in the large ports, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, New Orleans. After having weighed all objections, measured all difficulties, if it was evident to them that the interest and honor of their country absolutely demanded going to the final sanction, they would have regretfully considered action against their oldest ally, their firmest support for liberty and progress in the Old World.

General Jackson has *changed all that*. The rules and demeanor of his administration are not those that the wisdom of his predecessors has established. One

could assert that change is good; in this matter, the future, a very near future, will decide. But the fact of change is incontestable.

General Jackson possesses in high degree the qualities necessary to carry on a war of sudden blows. Audacious, indefatigable, always alert, given to quick perceptions, with a body of iron and a resolution of bronze, devoted to his own, harsh and terrible against his enemy, overcoming obstacles, loving the passion of danger, his wars against the Creeks and Seminoles had the most brilliant success. His short campaign at New Orleans against the English army of General Pakenham was heroic. Thanks to his exploits, and by virtue of the enthusiasm his military services excited in the whole country, General Jackson found himself the most popular man in the United States when death caused the founders of independence to disappear, and he naturally became a candidate for the presidential chair. One objects to his inflexibility, the passion with which he has received contradiction throughout his career; they mention his inclination to follow his personal whims without concern for the requirements of the law, and brusquely to cut through problems with Alexander's sword rather than to proceed slowly in keeping with constitutional forms. One adds to this that his natural inclinations, reinforced by the habit of military command and the customs peculiar to war, as he has pursued them, have to have become uncontrollable. They say that he cannot act with the moderation the exercise of civil authority requires. It is predicted that he will be in politics as he is in war, warm for his friends, implacable against his adversaries and violent against anyone who blocks his way. They say that instead of remaining above the conflicts of parties, we will soon see him descend in person into the arena. They cite the judge arrested in New Orleans,²⁵² the militiamen shot,²⁵³ the execution of the two Englishmen Ambrister and Arbuthnot,²⁵⁴ the invasion and conquest of Florida from Spanish possession in peacetime,²⁵⁵ his rage and his threats when Congress instigated accusations about his summary trials.

Nevertheless, his chivalric loyalty, his high probity, his warm patriotism, provides sufficient guarantee. For reasons of domestic politics that would be too long to enumerate here, many enlightened men who at first treated his candidacy with disdain joined together to have him succeed. They hoped to use their influence over him. And, in fact, his foul humor appeared to be moderated after his elevation. The memory of his promises that were, when made, free expressions of his sentiments, were still too fresh.

²⁵² Two months after the Battle of New Orleans, when the rumor spread of peace between England and the United States, and a few days before the reception at New Orleans of the official news, General Jackson had a member of the Louisiana Legislature (while in session) arrested for a newspaper article he had written. The judge of the United States court quashed the arrest, and General Jackson had the judge himself arrested and escorted out of town. A few days later, the general was condemned for this act to a fine of a thousand dollars.

²⁵³ During the War of 1812.

²⁵⁴ These two Englishmen were found among the Seminoles during the Second War (1818). They were accused of having taken part in the war, despite being subjects of a power at peace with the United States. General Jackson put them before a court martial that sentenced the two to death. He then had them executed one after another.

²⁵⁵ At the end of the Second Seminole War, in March 1818, General Jackson seized the Spanish fort of Saint Mark, under the pretext that the Indians were taking refuge under the guns of the fort and were able to regroup there. The Governor of Pensacola stated in a letter that General Jackson, who had evacuated the fort, turned about, marched on Pensacola and took the place. A short time later he took the fortress of San Carlos de Barrancas by military force.

He had conscientiously promised to observe the principles consecrated by Washington, Jefferson, and other patriarchs of America to continue scrupulously within the narrow limits of the presidential prerogative as he determined them or had determined, to follow the course of public opinion without seeking to alter it or turn it from its instinctive and calm inclination, to be moderate, patient and calm. During his first term of four years, he remained somewhat faithful to his own commitment, his declaration of principles and to the views of the men he had elevated to power. But this was an intolerable restraint for him. One does not change oneself after the age of sixty. It takes a great deal more than whims, or better said, for the distinctive qualities of all men to accommodate themselves to that high level of serenity needed when one governs. It was more difficult for General Jackson than for anyone else: the turbulent ardor of youth was not tempered in him either by age or by the most dreadful efforts of wars. The political discussions in a country with universal suffrage are enough to try the patience of angels. Bit by bit one begins to see reappearing the raging tendencies of the Tennessee planter. Bit by bit the adventurous character, intrepid, unquiet, obstinate, fierce, fearless, of a chief of partisans, of the exterminator of the Creeks and Seminoles, pierced through the curtain of reserve, gravity and universal benevolence with which he was covered, shredding the constitutional mantle in which his friends have wrapped him with such pains.

Finally, in 1832, South Carolina furnished him with a natural occasion to open the way for his bellicose passions, compromised for the previous four years. This state, on its own authority, proclaimed the nullity of the tariff of customs established by Congress, and armed its militia to sustain its nullification decree. President Jackson immediately made preparations for war, conserving language full of moderation, and obtained an act of Congress (the *Force Bill*), authorizing the use of all means to make the rights of the Union respected. Once he had conjured the storm, General Jackson was proclaimed the savior of the Constitution; and perhaps it was no natural slight to an old soldier, and to have him feel the thanks of the people less due to his warlike attitude than to the peaceful compromises made under its auspices.

In the heat of debate and the noise of the cheers that followed the reestablishment of order, the old martial leavening rose in the soul of General Jackson: without taking a rest, he launched a vigorous campaign against the Bank. This was a war almost without provocation, and certainly without justice. For some time, it appeared that the General would lose. But he won: he did not shrink back or change. In this situation he was the same *Old Hickory*²⁵⁶ that the Indians knew, always rabid on their tracks, who could not give in or give up, whom they could not beat by trickery or open force. The last elections for the House of Representatives assured him of victory, and the Bank²⁵⁷ is condemned to suffer the fate of the Creeks and the Seminoles, of Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun, of the Spanish government of Florida and of the English General Pakenham.

Now it appears that the excitement of this great success has given him all the ardor of his youth, and that at an age when all men seek repose (he approaches seventy years of age) he has need for new perils, new efforts. Last winter, Mr. Clay said in the

²⁵⁶ *Hickory* is a variety of nut tree that does not exist in Europe and is very common in America. It is a hard, compact wood, very difficult to bend. The Indians gave the name to General Jackson, and his friends have preserved it. The old general is as popular in America under the name of *Old Hickory* as Napoléon was under the name of the *Little Corporal*.

²⁵⁷ See Note 46.

Senate that if phrenology were a genuine science, President Jackson must have the bump for combativeness, since his life has been nothing but a continual exercise of that passion: at fourteen against the English, then against his neighbors, the first settlers of Tennessee, a people hard to deal with and as ready as he with the saber, the dagger, the pistol and carbine. Then it was against the Indians, without even mentioning the harmless Spanish; then against him, Mr. Clay, then Mr. Calhoun and South Carolina, and then on lacking other opponents, he declared himself against the Bank. It appears that General Jackson is possessed by a war-demon, since he had barely applied his foot to the throat of the Bank than a new enemy appeared, and troubled that America had nothing but conquests or enemies unworthy of their wrath, it is at France that he throws his gauntlet.

Up to now, the challenge directed at France is only an expression of General Jackson's humor. Unfortunately, this individual act comes from a man who is President of the United States until 4 March 1837, and who is tenacious in the hostilities he has created, more than in his friendships. Even more unfortunately, the challenge was inserted into a solemn document that one is used to understand in Europe as a faithful statement of the sentiments of the American people. Finally, this man called to lead the United States is making an attempt that shows he knows how to make the mass of the population espouse his personal quarrels.

In politics as well as war, his tactic is to place himself in the lead, shouting "*If you love me, follow me!*" This bold method succeeded marvelously against the Bank. If he had demanded that the Congress withdraw the deposit of public funds from that institution, he would certainly have failed. Congress would have declared that it could not take place. But he boldly took the initiative. He ordered this withdrawal against the majority of his cabinet, two months before the session of Congress, without the pretext of an emergency; *I take the responsibility*, he said. The secretary of the treasury refused to carry out this measure, because he regarded it as the worst abuse of power. He was removed. The majority of House of Representatives and, in the last elections, the majority of the population ratified these efforts at dictatorship. General Jackson lost, in truth, most of the friends remaining to him among the educated classes and businessmen, but a few individuals meant little to him, as eminent as they might be, by virtue of universal suffrage, it is numbers that rule here.

Will this daring tactic, by which he turned the masses against the Bank succeed now when he seeks to agitate them against France? It is permissible to compare this tactic to one of those acts of force where you succeed once, twice, and where one *busts a gut* when one tries to repeat it the third time. One may suppose that General Jackson has one of those popularities of which the influence is irresistible for a short time, but of which the durability and solidity are inversely related to their intensity and impact. These are pure conjecture. One fact is certain, which is that the General has the majority of the House of Representatives behind him, and once the composition of the next Congress is known, it will appear that he will conserve it through the rest of his presidency, while the opposition, which has a majority in the Senate, could lose it after the present session. Further, it has not been demonstrated to me that the opposition will be unanimous in rejecting the acts of General Jackson concerning France. The adversaries of General Jackson, as well as his friends, are obligated to manage their common master, the sovereign people. After all, on the whole the masses are hardly cosmopolitan. Their patriotism is livelier and more ardent, but also more brutal, more unjust and more

arrogant than that of the bourgeoisie. In France, they sing enthusiastically, "I am French, my country above all!" Here they cry, "*Our country, right or wrong!*" which is the essence of national egotism.

Since General Jackson is not an idiot, one should not assume at the outset that he intends to move the United States without a halfway position, in one blow, from close friendship with France to war. If he believes that France has passed beyond all delays, has expended all the patience he has a right to expect of an old ally of a nation whose independence was bought with our gold and our blood, why doesn't he propose changes in customs duties? A tax on our merchandise would a model means of paying the 25 million francs. He is not ignorant of the fact that, if France has more to lose than the United States in a tariff war, the United States, whose maritime affairs are much more extensive than our own, has more to lose in a war with cannon, where the sea would be the natural theater of war. But what is the class in the United States that would suffer the most? It is that of commerce. Who owns the buildings and the merchandise? The businessmen and privateers who vote against the General and his supporters, to his enemies who detest and belittle him; to the traders of Boston who have mutilated his figurehead placed on the frigate *Constitution*; to the New Yorkers who have caricature medals struck at Birmingham provoking hatred and contempt for his government; to the capitalists of Philadelphia, friends of Mr. Biddle and admirers of Mr. Clay. General Jackson is little concerned about the interests of those people.

On the contrary, an increase in the tariff rates, whatever the justification, would particularly provoke the Southern States and be very badly received by them. For it is the South that produces cotton, the chief article of export of the United States to France, and reprisals by the French government would not fail to deal with cotton, and this would come largely at the expense of the South. For the Democratic Party needs the South right now. It is particularly concerned about Virginia, the most influential state in the South. The success of the plans of the Democratic Party, namely the election of Mr. Van Buren to the presidency, depends largely on the attitude Virginia will take, not in 1836, at the time of the election, but today. Public opinion is in the balance in Virginia right now. One is particularly concerned not to allow another step in the direction of the opposition, and it is known that Virginia does not wish to create particular obstacles to the interests of the South. The Legislature of Virginia is assembled at this moment; one of the first acts is to be the naming of a United States Senator. If the Legislature names Mr. [Benjamin W.] Leigh [1781-1849, of Virginia], the current senator, it will compromise in favor of the opposition, and perhaps will be lost for the Party. The loss of the Legislature could lead to the loss of the state; the loss of Virginia could lead to the loss of the South. Considerations of this nature could have much more weight than one could imagine in Europe. In the midst of the mobile institutions of this country, politicians are the new proletarians, living only from day to day.

It can occasionally happen that European governments are intertwined with their foreign policy through complications of their interior politics. General Jackson would be more restrained if he did not think that this was the situation of the French government at this moment. Believe that he, too, has problems that determine his exterior movements. He has more than any other president because, more than any of his predecessors, he is a Party man, engaged in Party combinations. Parliamentary intrigues and the opposed interests of diverse portions of the Union create here, particularly for an administration

such as his, the same difficulties that arise in France from an unstable population and the burden of our past. The French government can hold this to be certain and should act in keeping with it.

Note 46 [Note 42, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Conclusion of the Affair of the Bank and the Public Deposits

The Bank appears decisively ended, saving an unforeseen change of fortune, of which examples are frequent in democratic countries, coming to grant it existence.

In the general elections of 1835, in Pennsylvania, the opposition had the complete advantage. It named the governor of the state, the majority of the House of Representatives, and a mass of municipal and county officers. It is not that the opposition was in the majority in Pennsylvania: of 201,000 votes, the administration had 107,000, but by an unexpected madness, this party was divided in the state into two irreconcilable factions. The one wanted the reelection of the old governor, Mr. [George] Wolf [1777-1840], and the other did not believe him to be a sufficiently pure Democrat and solicited a rival, Mr. [Henry A. P.] Muhlenberg [1782-1844]. The friends of Mr. Wolf and Mr. Muhlenberg were unable to agree on anything, even the choice of a sheriff or coroner. The one and the other were a minority virtually everywhere, and since the relative majority alone ruled, the candidate of the opposition, Mr. [Joseph] Ritner [1780-1869], was elected governor with a House of Representatives of the same opinion.

The Bank asked the state legislature for a charter as a local bank of Pennsylvania. The House of Representatives agreed. The Senate, where the Democratic Party remained the majority because this assembly had only been changed in part, did not dare refuse, because of the great advantages that the bill of authorization stipulated to the profit of the state. On 18 February the bill was signed by the governor and took effect as law.

The Bank paid the state treasury considerable sums:

1. \$2,500,000, one payment, or	13,300,000 francs
2. An annual payment of \$100,000 over twenty years	10,670,000
3. In subscriptions to various works executed by the companies, \$675,000, or	<u>4,100,000</u>
	28,100,000

Further, it engaged to pay to the state the sum of \$6,000,000 dollars (52,000,000 francs) at 4 % at par, or 5 % at 110, which was the equivalent of 600,000 dollars or 3,200,000
31,300,000 francs

It is a lot of money, without a doubt, but it is necessary to remark that one part, to be sure, of this sum will report some interest, which is that which is consecrated to subscribe to various works. Besides, the Bank is assured of its existence for the long period of thirty years, during which it will be possible to resume its old position. Further, its new charter authorizes it to trade in public bonds, which had earlier been forbidden it. Further, it will reimburse at par the subscription of the federal government, and it will replace at least 20 percent of the profit: 20 percent of \$7,000,000 represents \$1,400,000

or 7,470,000 francs. Finally the Bank has a considerable reserve that will help cover the disbursements imposed by the legislature.

Further, if the Bank had not consented to this sacrifice, its charter would never have passed the Senate. Pennsylvanians, all *Jackson men* as they are, were not able to resist the satisfaction of terminating their public works without breaking the stock exchange, and reducing the taxes they have imposed to cover the public debt contracted on the occasion of these works. The Senate of Pennsylvania had to follow the torrent of public opinion, and it never openly declared if the largess of the Bank would not be enough. The charter of authorization for the Bank is entitled,

An Act for the suppression of taxes established for the profit of the state on the mobile and real property of the state, and to continue and extend the public works of the state, and for *other objects*.

One of the other objects is the authorization of the Bank.

The partisans of General Jackson have promoted the most menacing clamors against the legislature of Pennsylvania and against the Bank. The General had an attack of violent rage. He had earlier said in his messages that the Bank was insolvent. In his message of 1834/35, he accused it of having citizens assassinated on the streets of Philadelphia. In this circumstance, the journals that were devoted to him called on the populace to *go and raze the Bank, sow salt on it lest it arise again*. Everything remained in good order. The bank obtained a loan in Europe to reimburse the federal government. In the principal cities of the Union it created agencies to procure for it the greater part of the benefits its branches had supplied. And in place of making interior exchanges virtually gratis as before, it made it expensive. I have already said that in the middle of 1836, its price for an exchange between New York and New Orleans was 2 1/2 percent.

It is curious that it is the federal government that has paid the largest part of the war of General Jackson against the Bank. He has lost, in effect, not only the sums kept by the Bank in the state of Pennsylvania, but also the difference of 20 percent on the subscription, in admitting that this was reimbursed at par, and finally his part of the reserve.

The animosity of the Jackson Party against the Bank is not inactive. It probably succeeded in stopping the circulation of bills of the Bank outside of Pennsylvania, not by direct legislative prohibitions (the legislature of Pennsylvania has kept good order), but by not punishing those who counterfeit them. The case is in litigation now in Virginia. After 3 March 1836, a miserable fellow who counterfeited the bills of the Bank of the United States was tried, the jury declared him guilty, "provided there are laws to punish him." The judge charged with applying the penalty released the accused under the pretext that there were no applicable penal laws. This judge's decision was obviously dictated by party spirit. Since the Bank had two years to close its affairs as a national bank, its bills were legal tender until 3 March 1838. The penalties against counterfeiting by the charter of 1816 should be applied until the expiration of this delay, just as before 3 March 1836. Since the state of Pennsylvania had accorded a charter to the Bank of the United States, the honor and independence of this state are interested that it not suffer any insult through the other states, and Pennsylvania will not forget. Further, while the Bank cannot circulate its bills through the entire Union, it loses relatively little. The profits of

the Bank as a bank of circulation were relatively small, as I have said (Note 13), when it had a relatively small quantity of these bills in circulation, and it recovered what it had lost on this side through interior exchange.

At the end of the session of 1835-36, the Congress took up the subject of the funds of the treasury, which, since they had been removed from the Bank of the United States, were in the vaults of local banks, over which the government had no legal control. These disposable funds were raised from 1833 to 1836, from 50 to 200 million francs, and it exceeded enormously, in certain cases, the entire active account of the banks in which they were deposited.

It was declared by statute that these disposable funds, except five million dollars (27 million francs) should be successively retired by quarter into local banks, from 1 January 1837 to 1 January 1838, and deposited in the coffers of the states, proportional to their representation in Congress, senators and representatives together. The states will not pay interest until the moment when the public services of the Union demand reimbursement. This is only a disguised distribution.

The rest of the treasury funds (27 million francs) will remain deposited in local banks chosen by the secretary of the treasury: they are to pay 2 percent interest whenever the deposit exceeds a quarter of their capital.

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XVIII PUBLIC OPINION

Louisville, State of Kentucky, 22 December 1834

[In a few days I expect to be at New Orleans, which is to say as far from Washington as you are, and I cannot give you news of General Jackson as I desired. You can get as good account of affairs from newspapers.]

The first impression produced in the United States by the message of General Jackson was shock. For everyone, it was unexpected, a true theatrical coup.

I suppose that it would have excited more than surprise in Europe. Without doubt one could have asked how it was possible that such an unmeasured act, with little reflection, could have come from a government that, since its origin, was marked by its tact and prudence.

I have now sought to explain this mystery, and I have said that this semi-declaration of war was personal to President Jackson, that in this case as in all things, he has done what he wanted. The intelligent men who surrounded him at his debut, and whose sage counsels moderated his passion, are no longer there to retain him. One by one they have separated from him. Many, such as Mr. Calhoun, his vice president during his first term, have become irreconcilable enemies. His position as chief of the Democratic Party, also obliges him to feed, bit by bit, the lively passions that the recent struggles have unchained.

One will expose oneself to miscalculations if one judged from the reception that public opinion here must make on a document of this character, according to what takes place in Europe. Public opinion does not have here the same arbiters as in our European societies: what is called public opinion in Europe is the generally accredited opinion of the bourgeois and noble classes, where a noble class still exists. It is that of businessmen, manufacturers, scholars, men of study and of affairs, of those who, having received an assured existence from their fathers, consecrate their time to the arts, letters or sciences, and often also, unfortunately, to leisure. That is the world that rules opinion in Europe. It is he who sits in the Chambers, hires others and directs the most influential organs of the press. It is a polished and cultivated world, used to restraint, on guard against enthusiasm, more inclined to skepticism than to enthusiasm, repulsed by every violent extremity, revolted by all grossness, loving moderation often to excess, as well as half-measures and average terms. In such a world, a message such as that of General Jackson would have aroused universal blame, or, better, if General Jackson had pressed his inspirations in such a world, he would not have issued his message.

The minority that makes opinion in Europe and is sovereign by it, is dislodged here from position after position, has finished by no longer directing opinion except in the rare salons of the great cities, and by being governed here like *the minors, the women and the disabled*. Until the advent of General Jackson, it had exercised influence over all the presidents, who generally were what one would call *scholars*²⁵⁸ here, and who all,

²⁵⁸ That is, men of literary and scientific education.

those who were their party followers, had on their side their relations of family and friendship, thus were their habits. Up to this day, it has asserted a sort of control on the two Houses. Today it has completely broken with the president, or rather it is he who has broken with it. Today it has no more credit except with only one of the Houses, because the Senate today is still composed of men who claim it as their own because of their superiority of intelligence, education or fortune. Thus the Democracy does not err in calling the Senate by the name of a House of Lords. The mass that is used to carry the pack in Europe and to receive the law, here puts the pack-saddle on the shoulders of the enlightened and developed classes, who with us are the superior classes, and they make the law instead. The *farmer* and the *mechanic* are the rulers of the New World. Public opinion is *their* opinion, the public will is *their* will. The president is elected by *them*, he is *their* receiver of a mandate, *their* servant. If it is true that the class holding power in Europe is all too disposed to use it to their profit, without consulting the interests and the voice of the mob that agitates below them, it must be recognized that in America the classes holding the scepter are no more exempt of egoism, and that they make less effort to hide it. In a word, North America is Europe with the head down and the feet on high. The European society, at London and Paris as at St. Petersburg, in the Swiss Republic as in the Austrian Empire, is aristocratic, in the sense that again today, surviving even after the great changes of fifty years ago, it reposes in a more or less predominant manner on the principle of inequality or hierarchy. The American society is essentially and radically a democracy, not of words, but of things. In the United States the democratic spirit has infiltrated into all the national habits, into all the usages of life. It dominates, it importunes through all the pores that the foreigner cannot guess before debarkation, at which point European education has impregnated his fiber and nerves with aristocracy. It has effaced all differences, save the differences of color, for here a nuance of the skin puts between two people more distance than in any other land of the world. It dominates in two places, only one excepted: and it is precisely there which, in Catholic Europe, is consecrated to equality: the Church. Here all whites are equal everywhere, except in the presence of that for which the distinctions of this world are misery and vanity.²⁵⁹ Bizarre exceptions, or rather solemn protestations, that attest that the hierarchical sentiment is pinned in the human heart alongside of that of equality, and that in all circumstance as in all lands it is necessary that it have its place!

In all places democracy has less restraint in its voice, less flexibility in its forms, it responds little to leadership and to detours. It is subject to confound moderation with weakness, violence with heroism. Little capable of mastering itself, it commits itself to its friends without reserve and makes the idols to which it burns incense. It expresses itself rudely, with a tone of menace and rage, on its grievances and suspicions against which it believes it has complaints. It is extremely intolerant toward foreign nations. American democracy in particular, nourished in the persuasion that the peoples of Europe ignobly groan under the yoke of despots without restraint, has bestowed on them disdainful pity. When they cast a glance to the other side of the Atlantic, they affect the air of superiority of a free man who drops his gaze on a troop of slaves. His pride expands to the idea of humiliating the monarchical principle in the person of one of the “tyrants who hold Europe under their feet.”

²⁵⁹ See note 47.

One may expect that here public opinion approves the message in its basis and in its form, that it will find it full in measure and proportion. It is probably that most of the men and newspapers of the opposition will not dare criticize it except feebly. It is not because *Jackson men* themselves are so unanimous in its favor: it is because the opposition newspapers, like those of the party of the administration, believe they are held in liege homage to popular sovereignty. It is that they all are obliged to manage the susceptibilities of the mass, which has little capacity for flexibility in the matter of national dignity and vanity. A certain number of papers and political men has expressed themselves with independence on the opportunity and the consequences of a declaration of war, and have been careful to conciliate their patriotism with a high courtesy toward the oldest and most faithful ally of America, but these are the exceptions. Some of the most enlightened and most influential newspapers of the opposition have, to general surprise, done an about-face in a sudden maneuver and received with brilliant acclamations the part of the message relative to France. These persons are more democratic than the Democracy, untouchable on a point of honor, ready for every sacrifice to obtain reparation for an outrage they see for the first time after twenty years. One such who was a peaceful and reasonable writer yesterday, now speaks of nothing but the offended national dignity, dreams of nothing more than to breathe fire. Here is the secret of this sudden metamorphosis: if the United States were at war, it would need a lot of money, and the Bank would be indispensable for the transactions of the federal government, for *a* bank and *the* Bank are, at bottom, one and the same. This is called politics, adaptable politics. It remains to be seen whether the Democratic Party will fall for this, and if those who are interested in the existence of the Bank, specifically the businessmen of New York, Boston, New Orleans, and even those of Philadelphia, will also want the Bank at any price.

Happily for the peace of the world, the Senate of the United States is composed of a majority of men eminent in their experience, their capacity and their patriotism, who judge the interests of their country from the heights, and who, among other questions, pose that of knowing whether the worst way to assure, as they desire, the liberty of the seas would be to have the French Navy and the American Navy destroy one another. They do not hesitate to place themselves, when necessary, above the demands of ephemeral popularity and to deal with the problems face to face. In this illustrious assembly, last winter, a column of eloquent and firm men sufficed to sustain the shock of the popular masses and to make them hesitate and retreat. The Senate has only to remain equal to itself to deserve well of its country and of humanity.

Note 47 [Note 43, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Places in Churches

In Catholic countries, the churches, vast edifices, are open to all the people without distinction, each takes the place he chooses, all ranks are confounded. In the United States the churches, extremely numerous and very small, are built by businesses and, so to say, by joint stocks. They pertain as property to the founders and are for their exclusive use, save for a balcony open to persons less well situated. The property of each is represented by a bench or *pew* that is enclosed. The whole surface of the church is thus filled with these benches. The gallery that usually rises on the periphery at a certain

height is often divided in the same way. Ordinarily this gallery is open in part to the people.

Each bench is inherited and sold like any other property. The price varies by town and sect and the position of the bench in the church. The owners of the benches have to pay an annual sum for the cost of the cult, heating and lighting of the church and the salary of the minister. This payment grows with the value of the bench.

In many cases, the benches belong to the church itself. It grants them to the faithful. The revenue that results, sometimes considerable, is used to cover the costs of the cult.

In this system, the place occupied by the faithful in the churches depends on their fortune, or at least the price they pay for their benches.

In Boston, the ownership of certain benches, containing four to six persons, sells for 2 to 3,000 francs: more commonly from 1,000 to 2,000. The annual revenue that one pays further to the church is between 150 and 200 francs for a bench costing between 1,500 and 2,000 francs. One still has to pay some accessory fees, for example for the *ministers at large*, charged to visit the poor of the communion.

In New York, the location of the benches owned directly by the church is, in certain communions, for rich persons, at 300 to 500 francs.

In country churches it is a lot less, from 100 to 150 francs.

The Catholics of the United States have adopted the Protestant system in this regard.

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XIX CINCINNATI (I)

Memphis, Tennessee, 1 January 1835

Cincinnati has been rendered famous by Mrs. [Fanny] Trollope [1779-1863], whose aristocratic ire has been raised against the salted-provisions commerce that is done there on a grand scale. On the basis of her testimony, many people believe that the inhabitants of Cincinnati are all pig merchants, and their city a slaughterhouse. The fact is that Cincinnati is a large, beautiful city, admirably placed on one of those folds that the Ohio makes in retrograde. The mountains that border this *Belle Rivière*²⁶⁰ all along its course, which appear to have been raised to leave along the riverbank an elevated and united plateau to which it serves as a rampart along all the coasts where the Ohio does not serve as a barrier against it, and finally so that men may build there a spacious city sheltered from the terrible inundations of the river.²⁶¹ The geologists, who do not believe in the efforts of the mythological Oreads, simply say that this plateau is the result of undermining erosion through flooding on a mass of mountains through the shock of the waters of a river that is very modest today, the Licking, which descends from the heights of Kentucky and goes to empty into the Ohio opposite Cincinnati. However that might be, there is not a single point along the entire course of the river that naturally could do more to seduce the founders of a city.

The architectural nature of Cincinnati virtually resembles that of the new parts of English towns. They are for the most part brick houses, usually two stories high, with neat, glittering glass windows, each one for a single family, regularly aligned along streets 66 English feet (20 meters) wide. Here and there, the uniformity of these buildings is interrupted by edifices of a more monumental appearance. These are, for example, houses of cut stone in excellent taste, true palaces in miniature with small portico, where dwell Madame Trollope's aristocrat pig merchants, or small manor houses surrounded by gardens and terraces. Besides, there are the *common schools*, where girls and boys learn reading and writing, geography and calculation, under the dual supervision of a male and a female teacher.²⁶² At another place you see a church, small, narrow, simple, without sculpture or paintings, without stained glass or Gothic arches, but cozy, furnished with thick carpeting and supplied with excellent stoves that protect attendees from the cold through the long Sunday services. In Cincinnati, as in all the towns of the United States, there is a multitude of churches: they are of all the sects,

²⁶⁰ This is the name the French gave it.

²⁶¹ The floods of the Ohio are enormous. In February 1832 it rose 66 feet (20 meters) above the low-water level. Over several days one could take a steamboat down some of the streets of Cincinnati.

²⁶² These schools are supported by a tax analogous to our *centimes additionnels*. Simultaneous teaching is preferred to combined teaching. The schools are located in large square buildings bearing the name of the quarter in golden letters. According to the official report of the trustees and visitors, dated 30 July 1833, there were then in Cincinnati six thousand children between six and sixteen, not counting 230 children of color for whom there is a separate school. About 2,300 children frequent the common schools, and 1,700 attend private schools. The number of common schools is eighteen. There are twelve master teachers and five sub-masters, six mistresses and seven sub-mistresses. Masters receive 400 dollars, sub-masters 250, mistresses 216 and sub-mistresses 168. These salaries are believed to be insufficient.

from Anglican Episcopalians, who have under their banner the wealth of the country, all the way to Baptists and Methodists, cults for the workers and Negroes.²⁶³ At another place, there is a vast hotel that you would take to be a royal residence from outside, but I can guarantee you that you will not receive a princely reception, or a museum, which is a private speculation, like all American museums. They consist, according to the general formula, of some fossils, the mammoth bones that are abundant in the United States, an Egyptian mummy, of costumes and arms used by the Indians, of a half-dozen wax statues representing, for example, Washington, General Jackson and the Indian chiefs Blackhawk and Tecumseh;²⁶⁴ there was a figure of Napoleon on foot or on horseback, a French breastplate from Waterloo, a collection of portraits of American notables in general, including Lafayette, and those of the locality in particular. Then there are stuffed birds, snakes preserved in spirits of wine, and sometimes a large living snake, a boa constrictor or an anaconda. One of the museums of Cincinnati is distinguished by its remarkable Indian antiquities taken from the vast caverns of Kentucky or from the very numerous mounds on the banks of the Ohio, and of which many existed on the site where Cincinnati rose.²⁶⁵

So far as banks go, they are modestly lodged in Cincinnati, but at this moment they are discussing the plan for a sumptuous edifice, worthy of its great fortune, where it will assemble its various bureaus. The foundries where the steam engines are made, the yards where the *steamboats* are built, the noisy, dirty or distressing shops, all are located at the extremities of the town or in the neighboring municipality of Fulton, or in the villages of Covington and Newport, situated on the opposite bank, in the state of Kentucky, or even far into the countryside. So far as the immense killing of pigs, about 150,000 a year, and the preparation of salted provisions that follow, Cincinnati is neither dirtied nor infected. All of this happens outside town, on the banks of a little stream, *Deer Creek*, where the waters are continually red from this vast massacre, earning it the name of *Bloody Run*, or near the basin of a canal that goes from Cincinnati to Dayton, in the interior of the state, and which is to be extended a hundred leagues further, to Lake Erie. Cincinnati also has neither planted *squares* in the English style, nor splashing fountains, although it would be easy to place them there. One expects that to establish what properly may be called embellishments, that taste derives from the inhabitants: up

²⁶³ There is also a good number of Catholics in Cincinnati. These are emigrants from Ireland and Germany, poor people mostly. I understand from the bishop of Cincinnati that there are about twenty thousand Catholics in the state of Ohio, of which the total population is 1,100,000 souls.

²⁶⁴ Tecumseh, and his brother The Prophet, organized from the north to the south a general confederation of the Indians against the United States. They began hostilities a little before the War of 1812. During this war, they allied with the English, who had been their instigators. Tecumseh left behind the memory of a superior man. Blackhawk is a lesser personage who, at the head of small Indian tribes of the Sacks and the Foxes, made war on the frontier of the upper Mississippi in 1832. He was soon defeated and captured: they paraded him through the great cities of the North, which gave him a certain celebrity.

²⁶⁵ This museum also possesses a marvel I have seen nowhere else. It is a representation of hell where the young girls of Cincinnati go to find the emotions refused them by their comfortable and pleasant (but cold and monotonous) existence. They are made to assist in the torments and cries of the damned, to the furor of a gored bear that howls in rage and grinds his jaws. Then they encounter a gigantic serpent of paper that coils and uncoils with magnificent slowness, then with a menacing jerk. This strange spectacle, mixed with variations of light and darkness, of some minor fantasy effects, with banging drums, and shocks provided to visitors through an electrical machine hidden behind the walls, appears to thrill deliciously the nerves of young Cincinnatians, especially the girls. It is the chief money maker of the museum.

to now they only think of utility. It also must be said that every amelioration demands an increase in taxes, and that in the United States one does not easily move the population to support them.²⁶⁶ Even today, Cincinnati lacks public lighting: it is this resistance to taxes that is the cause.

It has been twenty years that Cincinnati has possessed a *water works*. By means of an annual payment, which is between 8 and 10 dollars (43 to 64 francs) for a family, each has a small spigot that more than suffices for consumption. A steam engine, placed on the banks of the river, pumps the water to the height of 300 feet to a reservoir situated on one of the hills that surround the town. The water descends from there through pipes to all the quarters of the town. The elevation of the reservoir is such that the water naturally rises in every house for use. Hydrants placed along the sidewalks at regular intervals are destined to supply the pumps and hoses in case of fire, and they do not function except on these sad occasions. Many of the new towns of the United States are supplied with hydraulic establishments. Among the older towns, Philadelphia has a magnificent one²⁶⁷ that was very expensive (at least 15 million) as a result of unfortunate indecision. At this moment there is discussion to create one in Boston, which will also cost millions because it is necessary to seek the water far away so that it arrives at the right altitude. New York will have one that, for the same reason, is evaluated at 25 million. That of Cincinnati, which has been torn down and renovated three times, barely costs 800,000 francs. One thinks generally that in the United States that *water works* must belong to the towns. In Cincinnati, as it happens, they are under a company, and for this reason water there is more expensive than at Pittsburgh or Philadelphia.²⁶⁸ The city was in negotiations with the company three times, and three times the company refused to sell at advantageous prices. The first time, they offered the entire establishment for an average 275,000 francs; a second time, an average 400,000 francs, the third time it demanded 670,000 francs. It finished by paying 1,500,000 francs or 2 million. In this affair, just as with that of lighting, the refusal of the city had for its chief reason the difficulty of winning toleration of new taxes.

Arrival at Cincinnati is imposing when one comes there by water, and it is even more imposing when one looks at it from the summit of one of the hills surrounding it. The eye embraces the snake-like Ohio, with the Licking that intersects with it at a right angle, the steamboats filling the port, the basin of the Miami Canal with the warehouses bordering it, and the ten locks that put the canal in communication with the river, the white spinning mills of Newport and Covington with their great chimneys, the federal army depot where the banner snaps at the top of a pole, and the sharp shafts of the wooden spires that crown the churches. On all sides, the view terminates in a chain of mountains and slopes of which the amphitheater is still covered with the powerful vegetation of the forests primeval. This rich green is broken far and away by some

²⁶⁶ See Note 48.

²⁶⁷ Water consumed in Philadelphia is furnished by the Schuylkill, which borders the town on the southwest. A waterfall, taken from the river, puts in play the pumps that refill the reservoirs. The establishment of *Fairmount*, including the hydraulic wheels, pumps and reservoirs, was decorated with a great deal of taste and very little expense. The decoration, properly so called, is composed of some lawns, wooden balustrades and two bad statues. Its effect is of great elegance.

²⁶⁸ The tax for water at Philadelphia and Pittsburgh is from 5 to 6 dollars for an ordinary family. At 6 dollars (32 francs) per year, it is only nine centimes a day.

country houses surrounded with colonnades for which the forest has paid its due. One is happy to say to oneself that the population living in this panorama lives in the midst of abundance, that it is industrious, sober, thrifty, eager to learn, that if, with a very small number of exceptions, it is an absolute stranger to delicate pleasures and to the elegant manners of a refined civilization of our European metropolises, it also does not know its vices, dissipation or folly.

At first glance one does not see any difference between the right bank and the left.

From a distance, it appears that the prosperity of Cincinnati extends to the other bank. This is an illusion. On the right bank, that is the state of Ohio, there are only free beings, and slavery is on the other side. You can descend the river for hundreds of miles, and more hundreds of miles yet, and you always have liberty on the right, on the left slavery, with the same soil that the labor of the white man fertilized equally. When you enter the Mississippi, there is equality between the two banks: slavery on both banks. A blind permissiveness, or perhaps a desperate impotence on the part of the governed, has permitted this plague to infest a land where no necessity has called it. Who could say when and how, and with what sorrows it will be possible to extirpate it?

At Cincinnati I had an encounter whose remembrance I will long preserve. I noted at the hotel table a man of medium stature, with a temperament dry and robust, of about sixty years, who still had the lively air and the bearing of youth. I was struck by his happy and expansive physiognomy, of the pleasantness of his manners and a certain air of command that pierced his dress of *Lindsay*.²⁶⁹

It was, (they told me) General Harrison, *clerk* of the Court of *Common Pleas*²⁷⁰ of Cincinnati. — Is this the General Harrison of Tippecanoe and the Thames?²⁷¹ It is the same, it is the former general in chief, the conqueror of the Indian Tecumseh and the Englishman Proctor. It is the vindicator of our disasters at Detroit and the Raisin River, it is the former governor of Indiana Territory, former senator of the Congress of the United States, former minister of our nation to one of the republics of South America. He has grown old in the service of his country, he has spent twenty years in rude wars against the Indians, where he had less glory to earn than at Rivoli or Austerlitz, but more dangers. He is now poor, burdened with a numerous family, abandoned by the federal government, yet still full of vigor because he has an independent mind. While the opposition is in the majority, his friends have decided to come to his aid by firing the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, a *Jackson man*, and giving him the position, which has a good salary, as a retirement pension. His friends of the Eastern states speak of making a president of the United States. In expectation, we have made him the clerk of a small court.

²⁶⁹ *Lindsay* is a cloth that is woven during the winter in farms, combining the cotton provided by spinning mills with the linen spun at home. One of these is the warp and other the woof.

²⁷⁰ The Court of Common Pleas corresponds to our tribunals of first instance.

²⁷¹ These are two battles celebrated on this side of the sea, very glorious for the Americans and particularly for their general. The first took place in 1811 against the Indians, the second against the English and the allied Indians. Tecumseh was killed there.

After a small pause, my interlocutor added,

Another candidate for the presidency, who appears to have more of a chance than General Harrison, is Mr. Mac Lean,²⁷² judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The examples of this abandonment of men whose career was the most honorable are not rare in the United States. In New York I have already seen the illustrious Mr. Gallatin, who, after growing old in the service of the republic, after having been over forty years a legislator, government minister, foreign diplomat, after having taken active part in everything that was done that was good and wise by the federal government, was, one fine day, discharged purely and simply, and who would have ended his laborious career in poverty if his friends had not offered him a place as president of one of the New York banks. One knows the distress of President Jefferson in his old age, and how he was reduced to soliciting the legislature of Virginia for permission to put his lands in a lottery, while President Monroe, even poorer, after having wasted his patrimony in the service of the state, was constrained to ask for the compassion of the Congress. Their country owes to these men the incomparable acquisitions of Louisiana and the Floridas!

Retirement systems are unknown in the United States. There is no social care for the elderly days of eminent men who accept superior employment, while it is impossible to save from their relatively modest incomes, and many even see their fortunes dissipate along with their health while exercising their functions. Public functionaries are treated like the most humble servants. Domesticity is so constituted in the United States in private life that every American has more regard for the least of their white domestics, which the large number of them attests, than to the most elevated of their functionaries in public life. They are removed for any reason and under a thousand forms as if they are mere dust, and a mere lifting of the eyebrow of the people can send them at once into oblivion.

This manner of things for Americans in relation to functionaries is a mathematical consequence of the principle of the sovereignty of the people. I dare to believe that it conforms neither to reason nor to justice. If it is true that the people has an irrevocable right to which their interests fix the rule of conduct of the depositories of power, it is equally true that truly superior people have a natural and sacred right to be vested with high social functions. If it is criminal to play with the needs of the people, it is no less to trample on the feet of people of talent and heart. And if those whose capacity and devotion to their country are called to employment are thrown aside in ingratitude and disdain, on whom shall the concern for the public good be conferred? What will then happen to the future of the sovereign people? In the face of a people who, impatient of every superiority, pays the services of illustrious citizens with disdain, and which, on a caprice, throw them out the door like garbage, is this less an act of despotism than one of the Asiatic princes imposing on all indistinctly the same level of servitude, treating all with an equal insolence and an equal brutality, believing genius and virtue too compensated by the honor of kneeling on the steps of their throne?

²⁷² See note 49.

As a result of the dominant ideas in the United States on offices and office-holders, they have not deigned to institute any guarantee in their favor. They are revocable without any sort of formality, without owing them any account of the motives for their recall, without taking the trouble to inform the public. It happens that by this means one has created a redoubtable instrument of tyranny. Under the benevolent and moderate administration of previous presidents, no use has been made of this,²⁷³ but since the advent of General Jackson, a regime of systematic destitution has been established. Public employment has become booty, it is intended that they become the *spoils of victory* in the struggle between the parties.²⁷⁴ President Jackson granted to his creatures all the positions in the Customs and the Post Office. This method won the individual states, the counties, the towns: at each revision of opinion, the states change their administrators, the legislatures their secretaries, their printers, all the way down to their bailiffs. The courts change their clerks, the towns their treasurers, their market inspectors, their overseers of weights and measures, all the way to their street cleaners and their *watchmen*. The functionaries know that the conservation of their positions and the bread of their families are put in jeopardy at each municipal or federal election,²⁷⁵ whether they rely on the communes, the states, or the central government. Earlier they took no part in electoral maneuvers: the presidents formally forbade it to all the office holders of the federation. Today they are the most active agents of it. The president today has an army of 60,000 persons²⁷⁶ at his service during the elections, depending on him, whose interests are closely tied to his own, and who are his damned souls. So it is true that the extremes touch one another, and that in pressing indefinitely a unique principle, as true as it might be, one finishes by generating conclusions whose application in practice is the reversal of the principle itself. It is thus that by pushing the sovereignty of the people to an extreme one may, step by step, arrive at tyranny and oppression of the people. Isn't this a proof that logic is not always reason, and that one can usually, if not always, find it in the harmonic balance of two principles that appear contradictory?

Note 48 [Note 44, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Taxes in the United States

The repugnance that taxes inspire in the Anglo-American population justifies itself by the habits of *self-government*. The localities administer themselves, the particular governments have few expenses to cover. There are those whose budget is almost reduced to appointments of the governor, of his bureaus and the legislature. Otherwise there is no reason for demanding considerable taxes.

For several years, however, public works executed at the expense of the states or with the aid of subscriptions of towns have involved the states and towns in considerable

²⁷³ Mr. Jefferson alone took a small number of non-political offices from men of the opposed party, to give them to his friends.

²⁷⁴ "Spoils of victory" was the very term used three years ago in the open Senate of the United States. Mr. [William L.] Marcy [1786-1857], today governor of the state of New York, then senator of the same state, and one of the principal friends of General Jackson. "We do not hesitate to proclaim," he said, "that the spoils of victory must belong to the conqueror."

²⁷⁵ Elections generally return every year or every two years in states and towns. The presidential election takes place every four years.

²⁷⁶ See Note 50.

obligations. They have supported these obligations principally by means of loans. They have serviced the interest of the loans with public receipts and certain special taxes, as well as the revenue of the works for which the loans were made. Thus the state of New York has specialized a duty on sales at auction and a light duty on salt extracted from state springs to service the canal debt. Pennsylvania, which has borrowed three times what the state of New York borrowed, has specialized a large number of taxes.

The system of loans substituted, as much as possible, for the taxes, presents a large advantage. It takes money from where it is and gets the agreement of those who possess it.

There are four sorts of taxes in the United States: 1) federal taxes, which amount to 1.25 dollar (6.67 francs) per head, coming almost entirely from the customs; if one includes the postal system, which in the United States is not considered a source of revenue, federal taxes amount to 7.50 francs [\$1.41 dollars] per head; 2) state taxes, which are usually lower; 3) county taxes, which are also quite modest; 4) local taxes, which, in the large towns are quite high.

From this first glance, it appears that the inhabitants of the countryside are very lightly taxed. The agricultural population rarely pays more than 15 francs per head, including federal taxes of the customs and the postal system. In this figure, I do not include two or three days of work that are habitually imposed on the inhabitants of the countryside to repair the roads.

Direct taxes collected for the profit of the states or counties, both on furniture and real estate, are very low. In many states, such as New York, Maryland, New Jersey, etc., there are no direct taxes to the profit of the state. In the states where they do exist, they are almost imperceptible, a few cents on a dollar. They are 5, 10, 12 per hundred dollars of real capital²⁷⁷ according to an evaluation that is rarely above half of the actual value of the properties.

The states where commercial centers exist ordinarily collect for their account a tax on sales at auction, operations that are very common in the country.²⁷⁸ This tax varies, depending on the state and objects, from 1 to 2 percent. Often they also impose licenses on the auctioneers, besides the duty on sales, and rather high licenses on innkeepers, sellers of liquor and traveling merchants.

Some states tax the banks. In Pennsylvania they make them pay 8 percent on their dividends.

In various states there is a capitation, *poll tax*, which is collected only from effective citizens, male over twenty years of age. I do not think they exceed a dollar in any case.

Pennsylvania was obligated to multiply the taxes to assure the service on its debt. Hence it has a tax of 2 1/2 percent on succession in the collateral line, a tax or patent on merchants in general, a tax on public employees, which produces about 80,000 francs, a tax on the estimation of capital of various professions, even including ministers of religion, and a tax on bachelors older than 25 years living without a profession. It has a

²⁷⁷ In some states, they add in the mobile capital, which, almost everywhere, is small and evaluated very low.

²⁷⁸ In 1835, sales at auction in the city of New York alone attained the figure of \$34,311,609 (183,000,000 francs).

premium paid every time it issues a bank charter or renews an old one. This premium is 5 percent of the capital, for a charter of fifteen to twenty years.

The states once had lotteries, or they sold the privilege of lotteries to individuals, or again conceded the right as an encouragement to companies of public works. These have been given up almost everywhere. Maryland is the only state north of the Potomac to have preserved this form of revenue. The chances are more equal between the player and the *banker* in American lotteries than in the French lottery.

By establishing few or no real estate taxes to the profit of the states, the inhabitants of the countryside, who dominate the legislatures, make the inhabitants of towns support the major part of the costs of government. The duties on sales at auction form one of the major resources of states where there are commercial towns, and are entirely made in the large cities. In the state of New York they produce 1,406,000 francs, which all comes, except for 10 to 12,000 francs, from the city of New York. In Louisiana, the state taxes in 1835 were \$114,047 (608,000 francs), of which \$31,918 came from a real estate tax, and \$82,129 dollars produced by an excise tax on the one town of New Orleans on the movable goods of businessmen and merchants, on *courtiers*, auctioneers, pharmacists, innkeepers and bar owners, and on the value of slaves.

In the state of New York, the state taxes are reduced to 1 franc per head, of which a third derives from the impost on salt, and two-thirds from the duty on sales at auction, but they are insufficient. They should perhaps increase the charges of the canals, which are 8 million, or 3.64 francs a head, but if this is a tax, it is the least onerous tax one could imagine.

In Pennsylvania the state taxes run from 3.75 francs to 4 francs a head. Since the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, this should be about 3.33 francs.

In Maryland, they are 1.85 francs, deriving from diverse licenses, the lottery, auctions, etc.

In the Southern and Western states, they are also very moderate, from about 1 to 2 francs, sometimes less.

County taxes are always direct and assessed on movable and real property, chiefly on the latter. In the state of New York, except for the city of New York, they are about 3,900,000 francs, or 2.05 francs a head. In Pennsylvania they are more considerable.

Municipal taxes are composed almost uniquely of an impost on movable and real property. The large towns also derive some revenue from the licenses of sellers of beverages, carriage owners, cabs, pawnbrokers, etc. Municipal properties, such as markets and fields, make a notable payment.

In New York, local taxes properly so-called, independent of revenue of markets and other municipal properties, which is \$107,300 (570,000 francs), were raised in 1835 to about a million dollars for 290,000 inhabitants, that is, 20 francs a head. This figure comprehends county taxes, the city of New York forming a county in its own right. In Boston, one can evaluate it at 26 to 27 francs by head. In Philadelphia, including the poor-peoples' tax that is rather high, the municipal taxes are around 20 francs per head, and with the county tax, it approaches 30 francs. In Washington, the imposts are higher, particularly as related to the wealth of the localities. In Paris, municipal taxes are 50 francs per head; in Lyon 18 francs. At London the taxes surpass the limit of the believable.

In the countryside, where municipalities exist, the municipal taxes are very low. They are direct. In the state of New York, outside the city of New York, they average 1.65 francs per head, not including taxes for primary schools.

There therefore exists a great difference between the United States and France in the relations of municipal taxes. In France, the taxes are based on objects of consumption; in the United States, they rest on fortunes acquired, on capital. In France everyone pays, in the United States the rich are the only ones who pay.

Thus, in the state of New York, outside the metropolis, the inhabitants pay roughly the following taxes:

Federal taxes	7.50 fr.
State taxes	1.00
Charges of state canals	3.64
County tax	2.05
Municipal tax	1.65
Local school tax	<u>0.50</u>
Total	16.34 fr.

This figure is both above and below the average of the various states, outside large towns.

In the states of the South, taxes properly so-called are less; but the planter, who represents the commune by himself, is obliged to various expenditures considered elsewhere as public charges: it is necessary, for example, for him to have his Negroes work to maintain the roads.

In everything so far I have counted only taxes. The states and the towns have other revenues that derive from accumulated capital, from lands, facilities, shares in businesses, revenues that cannot be confounded with imposts.

In France, the sum total of ways and means for 1837, evaluated perhaps at	1,010,000,000 francs
Town dues for all communes of the kingdom, produce about ²⁷⁹	65,000,000
Départemental taxes ²⁸⁰	<u>65,000,000</u>
Total taxes of the kingdom	1,140,000,000 francs
Adjusted, for omissions	1,150,000,000
From that should be deducted to represent fictive expenses or from sources other than the tax. ²⁸¹	<u>90,000,000</u>

²⁷⁹ In 1833 they paid about 56,571,200 francs.

²⁸⁰ In 1832 they were 56,774,200 francs.

²⁸¹ Specifically:

1) <i>Diverse revenues</i> . Price of sales of domains.	4,211,000 francs
[p. 268] Domains and forests leased and exchanged	300,000
Rent from India	1,000,000
Interest of the debt from Spain	1,954,000

Remains for the real national budget 1,060,000,000 francs

Which, for a population of 33,300,000 inhabitants, gives a tax burden of 32 francs per head.

Some time ago the question of whether the United States is more taxed or less taxed than France was posed. This is a question that may be susceptible to being seen from various points of view. The systems of the two countries resemble one another very little. Taxes are much less numerous in the United States than among us, and they are distributed differently. The countryside population, that is, the immense majority, pay on the average barely half of what they pay in France. In contrast, the population of the large cities there pay nearly what we do, Paris alone excepted.

The disproportion between the two countries becomes much larger if, in place of counting the taxes in money, one evaluates the days of work, which is the most rational. The price of a day of manual labor being triple in America than with us, and all existences being roughly in the same relation, it follows that in the United States the tax of 16 to 18 francs, which represents the general average, does not burden the population more than a tax three times smaller with us, or 5 to 6 francs. In France, the average tax of 32 francs represents 26 days of work at 1.25 francs. A tax burden of 17 francs represents 4 1/2 days of labor at 3.75 francs.

It is true that, with us, all the expenses are comprised in the budget. All of our taxes, from those of the state to those of the communes, with a deduction for charges that are not apparent, amount to a billion 60 million francs. In the United States, a large number of costs are supported by individuals and associations and do not figure among public charges. On almost all roads, a toll is collected. Religious services are paid by the faithful. From there, there are expenditures that are very high for the rich. I have said what the cult costs. I add that there is a wooden bridge where the toll for a four-wheeled carriage is a dollar.

It is important to remark above all that in the United States the public revenue, at least in certain states, is employed almost completely productively, in useful enterprises, public works, schools, and diverse improvements. There is no longer a federal debt. Most of the states have only moderate debts, the office holders having no right to a

Prepayment on benefices of the fund for deposits and consigns	1,000,000
Recoveries of advances from industry	1,200,000
2) <i>Fictive receipts</i> . — Adjustments, reimbursements, non-monetary and drawbacks	12,412,289
<i>Fictive expenditures</i> Tobacco exploitation	20,908,000
Gunpowder	2,341,390
Besides, fifty million of funds of amortization not reaching destination. Thirty million to pay extraordinary expenses. Remains twenty million that are capitalized, thus	<u>20,000,000</u>
Total to reduce	<u>89,426,549</u>
Resulting	90,000,000

pension, and the army of the United States is composed of only 6,000 men²⁸² and a squadron, while more than half of our budget, 620 million to service the public debt, pensions, and the armed forces on land and sea. We cannot dream to establish a balance in our own favor, since we cannot go bankrupt or release our soldiers, but we would reduce our disadvantage (which seems paradoxical, and yet it is exact) if we would add to the budget a hundred million that would be employed in productive improvements.

Military service is also a public charge that is difficult to evaluate in monetary terms. This tax, the hardest of all, removes from work one man out of eighty inhabitants, and, in the United States, one per 2,300. By applying the army to public works, we could ameliorate this tax.

One could mark the two following differences between American and French taxes that appear essential to me:

- 1) American taxes, partly for their setting, partly for their proportion, partly because the conditions of work and of existence are different in the Union than among us, never destroys the taxpayer and does not preoccupy him. It limits no transaction and prevents no business. On the contrary, with us, the tax is a strong determining weight: our duties of registering and changing registration, for example, are often causes of embarrassment and even present insurmountable obstacles to the spirit of enterprise.
- 2) In the United States, the fisc is afraid of rendering itself hateful. There is nothing that resembles trouble. The system of notification for customs is liberally intended for the travelers. With us, the fisc never hesitates to subject the most honest citizens to vexing measures. We have permitted our administration of customs to take on habits unworthy of a civilized nation. It is indescribable what is imposed on Frenchmen, so that they believe themselves the most policed on earth, with regulations in virtue of which, for example, their wives and daughters are personally inspected and palpitated in back rooms by ignoble shrews. These scandalous brutalities of the fisc have no excuse, because they produce nothing for the treasury. They have for their object to block the smuggling of articles that, despite three lines of customs, flood the market. And contraband, it is known, is brought in large part by dogs²⁸³ and not by the pockets of travelers. They are intended to protect industries of a secondary interest whose interests cannot be balanced with public modesty. In a century when human individuality has made so many conquests, these violations of the person are all that is the most retrograde, the most antipathetic to populations. Add to this that if one examines in detail why the fisc acts that way, one would be stupified at the weakness of the number of individuals to the profit of whom one has created these vile tactics.

²⁸² They recently raised it to 8 to 10,000.

²⁸³ It is estimated that at the northern frontier, the number of dogs that enter annually carrying contraband is between 5 and 600,000, and only 6 or 7,000 are seized by the customs.

Note 49 [Note 45, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

[General Harrison candidate for President]

Mr. Mac Lean has withdrawn his candidacy. He had counted on the votes of a part of the West, but the military titles of General Harrison did not fail to eclipse the purely civil services of Mr. Mac Lean in the West. He had been postmaster general. In this function he had demonstrated administrative ability.

Note 50 [Note 46, vol. 1, 1836 edition]

Office Holders depending on the President

In a report to the Senate recently presented by Mr. Calhoun on the subject of employees to be named by the president (*executive patronage*), the number of federal agents was established to be:

Administrative and financial agents	12,144
Military service and Indian affairs	9,643
Navy	6,499
Post Office ²⁸⁴	<u>31,917</u>
	60,203

²⁸⁴ Only a third of postal agents are *postmasters*; the other two-thirds consists of transportation contractors and their agents. All dispatch services are handled by a business. The postmaster general chooses the contractors on his responsibility, in response to individual *proposals*.

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XX

CINCINNATI (II)

Natchez, Mississippi, 4 January 1835

Cincinnati counts close to forty thousand souls, including the surrounding villages. Founded forty years ago, its rapid development dates from about thirty years. All nations have gathered there: there are Germans and Irish in great number, and a certain quantity of Alsatians. I have often heard in the streets there the harshly accented French of the banks of the Rhine. The base of the population, which gives the tone to the rest, comes from the northeast of the American confederation. What makes the progress of Cincinnati the more surprising is that this town is the product of its own efforts. Other founded cities of the United States were constructed by investors, so to speak. Lowell, for example, is an enterprise of the businessmen of Boston who, after they put together their capital, summoned workmen and told them, "Build us a town." Cincinnati was raised and embellished bit by bit, by the inhabitants themselves, and these inhabitants all arrived poor. To their benefit, the founders of Cincinnati brought to their new residence that clear-sighted industry, alert, indefatigable, the sole patrimony that was passed to them by their fathers of New England, and of which the others made a religious law after their example. It is said that they have chosen *Poor Richard* as their fifth Gospel.

Cincinnati, I have already told you, is admirably situated. This is true so far as its topographic situation, but on following the course of the rivers on a map, and consulting the resources of soil, one recognizes that there is a good number of positions as advantageous along the long line of the rivers of the West. Pittsburgh, which has beneath it iron and coal, that is, the daily bread of industry, is seated at the summit of the Ohio, the point of departure for steam navigation, at the confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegheny, which come, one from the south, the other from the north. Pittsburgh, neighbor of a network of lakes, presents itself in advance as the pivot of a vast system of communications, of roads, of canals and railroads, of which many are completed or about to be. Pittsburgh was singled out by nature in advance to be both a great manufacturing center and a rich commercial exchange point. Louisville, built on the rapids of the Ohio, at the starting place of large-scale steam navigation, is a natural intermediary between the commerce of the upper Ohio and that of the Mississippi and its tributaries. In the matter of manufacturing resources, Louisville is as well positioned as Cincinnati, and it appears, apart from its enchanting site, destined only to be warehouse and terminus of that scrap of land between the Big and Little Miami.

But the power of men, when they are given a chance to wish something and to wish it with perseverance, is enough to balance and overcome the choice of nature. Despite the advantages of Louisville as an exchange point for provisions, and despite the resources of Pittsburgh for everything in large-scale manufacture, Cincinnati suffices to sustain a population that is double that of Louisville and more than half of that of Pittsburgh, in a state of ease that equals, if it does not surpass, the average ease²⁸⁵ of the

²⁸⁵ At Louisville there are slaves.

one or the other. The inhabitants of Cincinnati have maintained this prosperity there by one of those instinctive views with which their eminently practical and calculating genius inspires the sons of New England. Able men listen for the half-word, they say. Abler rather than finer, the Yankees listen without saying anything. They sense things among themselves, and know how to converge their efforts to the same ends. To work in the Boston manner means to complete something in perfect harmony and say nothing. The goal that the Cincinnatians have proposed almost from the beginning is to make of their city the metropolis that is the great interior marketplace of the West. The indirect means employed was to launch simultaneously a mass of manufactures, secondary when viewed one by one, but whose union forms a considerable mass, and by taking a lead over all their neighbors that is already one of the virtues of the Yankee, they have distributed roles among themselves. This procedure has succeeded for them.

Thus, aside from the slaughtering, one is entirely surprised to find that Cincinnati has none of the great industries that has made the fortune of the manufacturing centers of England and France. Cincinnatians manufacture a great variety of furniture and agricultural instruments, much carriage-work, household utensils of every sort,²⁸⁶ of clock making,²⁸⁷ and a thousand items of current consumption, soap, candles, paper, leather, ironmongery, etc., that find an endless market among the growing population in number and well-being of the states of the West, as well as in the new states of the South that are uniquely devoted to agriculture, particularly the raising of cotton, and where, because of slavery, any manufacture is almost impossible. Most of these products are of a mediocre quality. The furniture pieces, for example, are rarely influenced by Parisian taste, but they are at a low price and proper. It is what is needed in a new country where there is, save for the South, general ease but little opulence, where they better comprehend abundance and the sort of comfort we would call elementary, rather than the refinements of life. The prosperity of Cincinnati thus reposes on the well being of the populations of the West, on the first necessities of the greatest number. It is a guarantee solid in a different way from the caprices of fashion, whose destinies are best in the hands of the industries we do best in France. They also occupy themselves with intellectual things. Currently there is in Cincinnati a large foundry of fonts supplying the needs of the whole West and of the army of journals that express themselves there. According to the English or American method, the work of men is replaced as much as possible by machines, and I have seen among other things two small devices, the first to mould characters, the other to clean them on their coming from the mold, which is probably missing at the royal printing house and at Didot.²⁸⁸ Further, there are many printing establishments, and nothing comes from their presses but publications of universal use, such as journals, and books for church or school.²⁸⁹ To help this multiplicity of

²⁸⁶ See Note 51.

²⁸⁷ I visited a factory of pendulum-clocks whose movements are of wood. It sells six to seven thousand a year at very low prices.

²⁸⁸ These devices are the invention of the proprietors of the establishment, messrs. Guilfort and White. The first replaces the labor of two men paid 8 francs each for this, one of them a child paid 2.70 francs and the second reduces workers in a ratio of one to eight.

²⁸⁹ In the trimester commencing on 1 January 1831, about 88 thousand volumes were printed at Cincinnati, besides journals. They may be classed as follows:

Primary education	36,500
Religion	26,800

industries, apparently isolated, Cincinnati has taken a position from which it would be difficult to remove it, since in industry there is no small advantage in being the first. The merchant of the interior, who does trading in the most heterogeneous of things, and who gathers in his small warehouse all that is sellable in the world, is sure to find his more or less complete assortment in Cincinnati. He goes there to make his provision for every other place. Hence Cincinnati is in fact the great central market of the West; a multitude of products go there to find their gathering point, despite the superiority that the disposition of waters or of minerals in their lands would seem to favor other locations.

To characterize the tendency of the nineteenth century, the term “industrial feudalism” has been proclaimed.²⁹⁰ The human species, some thinkers have said, has thrown off one yoke to assume another perhaps less hard, but also less noble. The warrior lords of the Middle Ages have departed, and here come the industrial barons, the princes of manufactures, of bank and commerce. These new masters will better the existence of the poor with fewer privations and sorrows, but also with less glory. They will augment support for the body but reduce that for the soul. To view the great factories of England, and those that exist on the European continent, those that multiply in the northeast of the United States, in marvelous Lowell, industrial feudalism seems in effect, already constituted, slithering under its democratic institutions like the serpent under the grass. Those who do not believe that the human species can move backwards, and who would rather feed on hopes rather than to abandon themselves to despair, even while admitting this tendency as a fact, reassuring themselves from other facts no less characteristic of the epoch, at the head of which must range a general tendency of liberation that has encountered obstacles. If in England, for example, there is in the factories thousands of germs of despotism, there is in the working class a thousand germs of resistance, there is in the population a thousand germs of liberalism; there are the *trade unions*, there are the radicals. Neither the one nor the other will carry the destiny of the future. From their impulsions will result another unique impulsion, different from them both, and which yet implicates the one and the other. The liberating force that seems to some to have to be feudality will simply be patronage.

Patronage has not ended its time on earth. It will last so long as Providence does not cast all humans in a single mold. It will subsist for the good of the weak and the poor, and for those of this nature of people, so numerous in southern Europe, for example, who need to feel their personality supported by another who is more powerful. But it is modified over time by passing through forms less and less violent, to more and more gentle. The inferior had once been a slave, he was a serf, now he is a free salaried man. In time he will become in an indefinite future he will be an *associate*, without ceasing to be inferior. However that might be, there is no germ of industrial feudality in Cincinnati: there are no great factories. Industry there is divided up almost as much as land is with us. Each head of family has his domain with his sons and some newly arrived people as aides and servants. Cincinnati is hence as republican in its industrial relations as in its political aspect. This manufacturing subdivision has not had its inconvenience yet, since in this vast West that is developing as we watch, production

Agriculture	11,000
Various materials	<u>13,700</u>
	88,000

²⁹⁰ Monsieur Charles Fourier.

today has difficulty keeping up with the level of demands. What will happen in a century, perhaps in fifty years? Will not industry in Cincinnati undergo some sort of metamorphosis, or perhaps the entire country will undergo a total transformation that will require an industrial reorganization?

The moral physiognomy of Cincinnati is ravishing to the eye of anyone who loves work before everything else, to whom work may take the place of everything. Whoever has tastes for pleasure and distraction, however, whoever has need to work with his heart, to acquire renewed strength through distractions and gaiety, will find that this lovely town, with its picturesque surroundings, is an insupportable place to stay. It would be terrible for a man of leisure, desiring to consecrate a great part of his life to the cultivation of the fine arts, and the rest to pleasure. For him, life there would be impossible. He would be tempted by politics, since one knows well in the United States that gentlemen of leisure are stones awaiting assembly into an aristocracy. He would be cursed by the religion, since the diverse sects are entirely in agreement to condemn everything that constitutes pleasures, luxury, gallantry, even fine arts. And the United States does not resemble any country in Europe, particularly not France, where one may defy with impunity religious ideas and the influence of the pulpit. Perceived and tracked by the laborious habits of the country, by its political axioms and by religion, he will have to resign himself to an existence analogous to the mob, or flee and seek a soil less hostile to his tastes in the great cities of the coast, to Philadelphia,²⁹¹ to New York, to New Orleans, or even to Europe. Likewise the class of men of leisure, living without a fixed profession, from revenues that their fathers willed them, or from what they themselves have acquired at an early age, is entirely missing in Cincinnati, though wealth itself is not lacking, and there is a good number of people with 500,000 francs and more. There I encountered a young man called to inherit a patrimony of several million, who, after having been educated at the Military Academy at West Point,²⁹² and having obtained the commission as officer, resigned to return to his family. There, fatigued by his solitary lack of purpose, harassed by the weight of his own person, he could not find any other means of distracting himself than to open a shop of novelties.

Throughout the United States, wherever there are no slaves, and outside the great cities of the coast, there exists a rigorous surveillance of gentlemen of leisure that obliges those that this sort of life might seduce to return to the common line and to work at least to the age when a man is obliged to rest. Public opinion is on the watch to uncover everything that could thrive on the soil of habits of dissipation, even very innocent, and render a life of leisure tolerable. Philanthropic and religious societies, instituted under various names, are in charge of enforcing the verdicts of public opinion. Vigilant sentinels, those holding their hands on the strict observation of austerities, or, if you will, the boredoms of Sunday, for the repression of drunkenness, the extirpation of gambling,

²⁹¹ Philadelphia has considerably increased in population over the last fifteen years, without business having expanded in the same proportion. It is beyond doubt that it owes this growth to the influence of rich or well-situated families who cannot live according to their own tastes in the interior, and have moved their home. Baltimore is in the same situation.

²⁹² This school, which is the *École polytechnique* of the United States, is today on an excellent basis. It furnishes all the officers of the federal army. It derives from the fine organization of Mr. S[y]lvanus] Thayer [1785-1872], a colonel of engineers. This distinguished officer recently left as director because it was desired that he readmit a cadet he had expelled, and who was the son of one of the chiefs of the Jacksonian party.

which, among people devoted to *making money*, could, if it spread, cause dreadful damage. These societies and committees pursue their tasks with a perseverance more than Britannic, and sometimes with a Puritan fanaticism. When Mr. John Quincy Adams was president, he placed a billiard table in the presidential palace. Such was the real or affected reprobation that attached to what is called play that this billiard table counted as serious among the arguments opposed to the reelection of Mr. Adams to the presidency. "It was," they cried, "a scandal, the abomination of desolation." Mr. Adams, whose private virtues are above all suspicion, was, to believe certain journals of the opposition then, a professor of immorality because he had a billiard table, and without doubt General Jackson, on replacing Mr. Adams at the *White House*,²⁹³ was to have this baleful piece of furniture chopped up and thrown into the fire.

Elsewhere, this rigorism would be accused of intolerance, inquisition, of local obsession. Here one submits without a murmur, and few persons become uneasy or complain about being so. The American can support an application to constant and uninterrupted work. He does not test the need to distract himself and to amuse himself. The silence and withdrawal of his Sunday appears to be a surer relief for him than the joy and festivals by which our own Sunday is marked. Further yet, one can say that he lacks the sense of play. All his faculties are admirably and energetically combined for production: he is deprived of those in the absence of which consummation is without joy, and pleasure is a painful occupation. For, work for work, he prefers that which relates to that which costs.

Such an organization is incompatible with a pioneer people. Without this fever for work, without this perpetual tension of the spirit toward useful enterprises and speculations, without this indifference for pleasures, without these political and religious ideas that imperiously repress all the passions that are not to work, to produce, to win, does one believe that the Americans would have accomplished their industrial triumphs? With another system less exclusively for production, they would still be planning to cross the Alleghenies. Instead of having cleared, opened, leveled the roads, seeded with farms, villages and towns this domain of the West, immense in extent and fertility, they would perhaps still be reduced to that sandy strip along the Atlantic. It is necessary to agree that this ardent and exclusive preoccupation with business throws on the physiognomy of the people of the United States a strange nuance in the eyes of Europeans. This means that Americans succeed little in conciliating the desires of *tourists*, and that they do not even have the gift of pleasing the minority of strangers who have visited them. But, on the other hand, they are certain to merit the recognition of an innumerable posterity for which they are preparing, with such energy and sagacity, a residence of abundance, a promised land. This prosperity, they say, will change the regime of life of his fathers, will adapt to other tastes and even different institutions. Little matter! It is not a question of knowing if the Americans of the 21st or 20th century will conserve the national character, the customs and the laws of present-day Americans. The question is rather to decide if the Americans of our days will not fulfill, with all the perfection that is given to human nature to expect, the mission that Providence has set for it, the mission of a pioneering and clearing people, and they do not merit being excused from having, like all individuals

²⁹³ Home of the president in Washington.

and all peoples, the faults of their qualities. The question posed this way will be easily resolved by whomever attaches some value to the interests of the future.

Note 51 [Note 48(*sic* - there is no 47), Vol. 1, 1836 edition]

On Perfecting Household Utensils

The perfecting of the utensils for households touches more closely to true and practical liberty than one would think, since it contributes extensively to liberty within the house, which adds no less to the well-being of humanity than to liberty in the public space. Such utensils *liberate* domestics from painful, unwholesome and disgusting labor; it also will permit one person to accomplish the work of three, and as a result it frees two from domesticity. North Americans are very much occupied with this liberty. They see that it has a major importance there, where a large number of families live isolated in the countryside. Many operations that, in towns and in the Old Country, form the object of specialized industries, fall to the charge of the farmer's wife and daughters in the United States. At home they make bread, butter, whiskey, cider, often even sugar from maple syrup. There they weave the cloth needed for clothing, dry apples and peaches, etc. The inventive spirit of the inhabitants of New England and their descendents spreading throughout the Union is engaged in imagining little machines to save time and trouble in households. There is a nice device to strip maize, of which they consume a great deal. There is one for beating milk, which they have the household dog power. There are numerous devices for sieving. There is even a mechanism for peeling apples destined to make up a sort of compote of dried fruit known in the United States as *apple butter*.

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XXI
THE STEAMBOATS OF THE WEST

New Orleans, 8 January 1835

One of the points on which our modern societies differ the most from antique societies is without contradiction the ease of travel. In earlier times travel was only possible for the patrician. Hence to travel, even philosophically, it was necessary to be rich. The merchants went in caravans paying tribute to the Bedouins of the desert, to Tartars of the steppes, to minor princes perched like vultures in their castles built in the passes of the mountains. Then, in place of the English *diligence* or the *post-chaise* that burns up the pavement, there was the litter or palanquin of old Asia, preserved today in Spanish America, or the camel, the ship of the desert, or then the four oxen hitched to a tranquil and slow cart; and for the citizens' commune or warriors of iron, the horse. Then, in the place of sumptuous packet boats or steamboats, true floating palaces, there was the narrow, fragile bark pursued by the thieves on the rivers, by pirates on the high seas, and of whom the view caused the Epicurean Horace his exclamation of fear:

*Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat*

[Around their breasts were iron and threefold bronze]

See the roads as narrow paths, hemmed in, made dangerous by criminals, the monsters of the woodland and mountains. It was necessary to haul along a long train of baggage, of provisions, of servants and guards. At long last, the traveler rested his head among hosts whose ancestors had promised friendship, because there were then none of those comfortable hotels where, by means of money, anyone may surround himself with the enjoyments of life and obtain the pressing services of attentive servants. If he had some public home, it was some filthy redoubt in the fashion of a caravansary of the Orient, a miserable, naked asylum where one could find water and four walls, or in the style of the hostleries of Spain or South America, something halfway between a caravansary and a stable. This was when the vast majority of people were slaves in name or law, attached in some way to the soil, chained there because of the difficulty of locomotion.

To improve communication is therefore to work for real liberty, positive and practical. It is to cause all the members of the human family to participate in the ability to cross and exploit the globe that has been given them as a patrimony, to extend the franchise of the greatest number as far and as good as it is possible to do by the laws of election. I will say further, it is to make equality and democracy. The perfected means of transportation have the effect of reducing distances not only from one point to another, but from one class to another class. There where the rich and powerful person does not travel except with a pompous escort, while the poor person, going from his village to the next village, files solitarily through the mud, sand, rocks and brush, the word "equality" is a lie. There aristocracy gouges out the eye. In India and in China, in the

Mohammedan lands, in half-Arab Spain and its America, there is little importance in whether the land calls itself a republic, empire or moderate monarchy. The cultivator or worker cannot be tempted there to think himself the equal of the warrior, the Brahmin, the Mandarin, the Pasha or the noble whose cortege splatters or overturns him. Despite himself, the onlooker seeing it approach stops and is seized with a respectful fear, bowing in servility at its passage. In contrast, in Great Britain, despite the magnificent privileges and the opulence of the lords, the mechanic and laborer who can go to the office and take their ticket to travel on the railroad, provided he has a few shillings in his pocket, and who has the right, on paying, to sit in the same vehicle, on the same seat, side by side with the baronet or duke and peer, feeling their dignity as a man, and comprehending at the touch of a finger that there does not exist between him and them an impossible abyss.

With this motive, they have trouble making me believe in the tyrannical projects of a government that seeks with its ardor to pierce its territory and reduce the cost and time of transportation. Is it not true that along the great roads, canals and rivers, ideas circulate in the same time as goods, and that every dedicated traveler is more or less a missionary? People dominated by retrograde convictions know it well. They are not inclined there to favor enterprises of communication: they fear an engineer of [the Corps of] Bridges and Roads almost as badly as an editor of Voltaire, although it is incontestable that one of the first railroads in Europe was established in Austrian provinces. When the imperial administration has opened fine roads from one end to the other of its possessions, and it has encouraged steamboats on the Danube, I dare to conclude that Herr [Clemens] von Metternich [1773-1859, Austrian Foreign Minister 1813-1848] earns better than the reputation they have given him on the left bank of the Rhine. You know that, on the contrary, during the short ministry of Monsieur [François-Régis] de La Bourdonnaye [1767-1839, Interior Minister 1829], in 1829, the studies and plans of certain roads projected in the Vendée disappeared without anyone since able to recover them. Some months ago, in one of the free and sovereign states of the republican confederation of Mexico, that of Puebla, of which the legislature possesses, it must be said, a colossal reputation for ignorance and obscurantism, the elect of the people, animated by a holy rage against the miscreants, almost all foreigners, who were pushed by the spirit of innovation and sacrilege to the point of establishing a carriage service between Mexico City and Vera Cruz, and to repair the route between the two cities, levied an annual tax of 720,000 francs and forbade them to collect any tolls on the territory of the state.

There is one land where a simple perfecting of the means of transport by water has brought on a revolution that continues on, and of which the consequences on the balance of powers in the New World are genuinely incalculable. It is the great valley of the Mississippi, which had been conquered by the redskins and wild beasts before the works of Fulton, but which, without this man of genius, would not now be covered with rich and populous states.

After the conquest of Canada had put an end to the brilliant but sterile triumphs of the French on the Ohio and the Mississippi,²⁹⁴ the Anglo-Americans, then subjects of the king of Great Britain, commenced to expand there. The first colonists established themselves in Kentucky and took control of the soil by agriculture. They immediately

²⁹⁴ See note 51.

erased from the land the faint traces that we French, almost all hunters, left behind on their passage. In the place of a race sleek, unquiet and without industry as what the French produced in mixing with the Indians, the new arrivals avoided mixing and bred a laborious and energetic population which, on this fertile soil, acquired, following the example of all the products of nature, those gigantic dimensions characteristic of the Kentuckians, the men of Tennessee, and the western Virginians, as tall as the trees of their forests. Without separating themselves for an instant from their guns, which they still carried forty years ago at church in Cincinnati itself, they cleared fine farms for themselves and their expanding families. They had to bear very difficult days. In many encounters with the Indians, whom they were depriving of their forest, more than one husband, more than one father, fell under the redskins' lead or reduced to the most horrible of servitudes or subjected to awful execution by impaling. The name of *Blue Licks* still sounds in Kentucky, as that of Waterloo among us. Before the decisive victory of Fallen Timber achieved by General [Anthony] Wayne [1745-1796], two armies of the United States went successively to bloody defeat under the command of the generals [Josiah] Harmer [1753-1813] and [Arthur] Saint Clair [1737-1818].²⁹⁵ Today one hears eloquent tales of this long struggle between the white people and the red people in the *barrooms* of the hostels of the West.

In 1811, even before the redoubtable Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were conquered by General Harrison, the American had extended his uncontested domain over the richest regions of the West. Here and there villages were constructed: it was not the forest that once in a long distance offered a clearing where a *squatter* or a more legal owner had piled the trunks of trees to make a *log house*. On the left bank of the Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted to the rank of states.²⁹⁶ *Western Virginia* was being peopled. A current of emigration was transporting the sons of industrious New England to the right bank, and, thanks to their efforts, the state of Ohio was created and has nearly 250,000 inhabitants. Those of Indiana and Illinois, still simple territories, gave great hopes. The treaty of 1803 had joined our Louisiana to the Union, which already counted as a state and many organized territories, with a total population of more than 160,000 souls. The West as a whole gathered nearly a million and a half inhabitants. Pittsburgh and Cincinnati were important cities. The West had therefore made rapid progress, but, isolated as it was from the Gulf of Mexico by the bogs and detours of the Mississippi, from the cities of the East by the seven or eight crests that form the Alleghenies, lacking exits and entrances, their progress was heading for a halt. The embryo could only develop poorly due to a lack of canals by which it could receive life and give it back in its turn.

Today they have pierced or are piercing communications, from both sides, between the rivers of the West and the coast of the East, where are the commercial metropolises of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond and Charleston. At first there was no one route practical in all seasons, and capital was still too rare for one to dare to invest. All the commerce of the West moved via the Ohio and the Mississippi. It was already and will probably always be the most natural and economical

²⁹⁵ General Harmer was beaten in 1790. The next year saw the defeat of General Saint Clair by the hordes of the Miami. The victory of General Wayne dates from 1794. This war took place entirely on the territory of the present state of Ohio.

²⁹⁶ Together they counted 700,000 inhabitants.

route for bulky objects. The travelers of the West descended it with grains and vegetables in flatboats, resembling those that bring coal to Paris from the Loire. The merchandise of Europe and the products of the Antilles worked slowly upriver by sail and pole in barks that remain en route at least a hundred days, sometimes two hundred.

A hundred days is almost the time for a voyage from New York to Canton via Cape Horn: it is the amount of time that sufficed for the conquest of France, twice — once by Napoléon and once by the allies! So the commerce of the West was very limited. The inhabitants of the West, separated from the rest of the world, had the rudeness of their forest. It was the times that gave rise to the saying that the Kentuckian was *half horse, half alligator*. The number of barks that made the voyage once a year, mounting and descending the rivers, was not more than ten, hauling a hundred tons on average, making a retail trade on the waters of the West. Besides, there were *flat boats*, which never returned north. The price of transport from New Orleans to Louisville or Cincinnati was six, seven, even nine *cents* per English pound²⁹⁷ (700 to 1,100 francs per ton). Today the transit from Louisville to New Orleans is made by descent in eight or nine days, ten or twelve days on return. Transportation is below a *half-cent* per pound from New Orleans to Louisville or Cincinnati (60 francs a ton).

In 1811 the first boat of the West, built by Fulton, departed Pittsburgh for New Orleans, bearing the name of the latter city. But the difficulties of navigating the Mississippi and the Ohio, such being the imperfections of the first boats, that it was nearly six years before a *steamboat* remounted it again, not to Pittsburgh but 250 leagues lower, to Louisville. This first voyage took 25 days, and it made a great noise all over the West. They gave a solemn banquet for Captain Shreve, who had solved the problem. It was only then that the revolution was consummated in the West and the barks taking two hundred days were dethroned. From 1818 the number of steamboats was eight with a tonnage of 3,642 tons. In 1819 forty had been built since the beginning, of which only 33 were in service. In 1821, 72 were in service. In the same year, the *Car of Commerce*, Captain Pierce, rose from New Orleans to Shawnee Town, a little below Louisville, in ten days. In 1825, after fourteen years of tinkering and experiments, they finally fixed on the proportion of the boats and engines.²⁹⁸ In 1827 the *Tecumseh* rose from New Orleans to Louisville in eight days and two hours. In 1829 the number of boats was 220, hauling 40,000 tons. Today they are 240 in number, hauling altogether 64,000 tons.²⁹⁹ According to information I have received from persons versed in this material, the commerce of which they serve as intermediary rises to not less than 140,000 tons, not counting what operates between New Orleans and the higher country. The intermediate commerce between the basins of the Ohio, the Tennessee and the Upper Mississippi forms another considerable mass. To have an idea of the business dealt with on the waters of the West, it would be necessary to add to the account the 160,000 to 180,000 tons of provisions and diverse objects descending to New Orleans on flatboats. This is certainly enormous, and yet it is only a portion of that which, according to every

²⁹⁷ At the price of 700 francs, transportation by water from New Orleans to Louisville was more expensive than that by ordinary carriage of France. The distance covered, with the many detours of the river, of around 550 leagues, would cost from 550 to 600 francs. Taking account of the distance on the ground, which is 283 leagues, it would be about 300 francs.

²⁹⁸ See Note 52.

²⁹⁹ See Note 53.

possibility, passes the rivers of the West over twenty years. This is because on the Erie Canal, which, when compared to the Mississippi and the Ohio, is only a secondary line, in 1833, in a season of seven and a half months, 420,000 tons passed a single point at Utica.

Such is the influence of commerce when cheapness combines with speed.³⁰⁰ In Mexico, where nature does so much, and people in reaction do so little, in these countries whose natural resources are perhaps ten times what they are in the United States, but where man is a hundred times less active and less industrious, all transport is done on the back of a mule, often on the back of a man, even in the plains. Hence the annual mass of transport uphill from Vera Cruz, the principal port of the country, to Mexico City the capital, is below 6,000 tons; going downhill, it is even less.

The steamboats of the West resemble the Vigier Baths on the Seine. It is a vast house with a "street level" and a top story.³⁰¹ Two large chimneys in column form emit black smoke and thousands of cinders. From a third chimney comes a white cloud, the expelled steam. In the interior, there is every appearance of coquetry that characterizes American buildings in general. Within they are furnished with pomp. They are truly beautiful to see. Their small green shutters and their well-framed windows, opening from the white walls on the carpentry, would drive Jean-Jacques wild with envy.

Their capacity is sometimes from 500 to 600 tons, more ordinarily from 200 to 300. Their length normally varies from 35 meters to 50. Despite their dimensions and the luxury of their decorations, they are built at low cost. Today, with their engine and furnishings, the strongest boats cost at the most \$40,000 (213,000 francs).³⁰² A pretty boat of 35 meters in length, legally hauling a hundred tons and able to carry 150, only costs \$7,000 to \$8,000. They estimate that the large boats cost by ton of legal capacity 500 francs, the small ones 400. But if these elegant constructions cost little, one must also say that they do not last long. Whatever care taken to the choice of materials and construction, it is rare for a boat of the West to last beyond four or five years. Recently an old captain, speaking to me of a boat on whose construction he lavished all imaginable care, spoke to me in extreme sorrow, "*She died at three years.*" This magnificent vegetation of the West, these vigorous trees, so straight, alongside of which our European oaks resemble dwarfs, rapidly growing on dirt deposited in ancient times by the rivers of the great valley, giving a tree whose life is totally in rapport with the time they are given to grow. Here as well the principle is verified as exactly as in regard to the glory of men and the splendor of empires, time does not respect what it has created.

The number of persons these boats transport is considerable. They are almost always filled, even if it has, like the *Henry Clay*, the *Homer* and the *Mediterranean*, two hundred beds. I found myself, passenger number 62, on a steamboat that was designed

³⁰⁰ Transportation on our canals is very cheap. The freight charge, distinct from the toll (which is rather high for us in comparison with what they are in England, for example) is a centime and a half per ton and kilometer. It is double that in the canals of the United States, but this advantage of French canals is balanced by their desperate slowness.

³⁰¹ The *Homer*, a famous boat built by Mr. Beckwith of Louisville, one of the most able builders of the West, has an additional story.

³⁰² A boat of the same power here would cost 500,000 francs. This low price is explained by the low price of wood, by the imperfection of steam engines that one has no interest in having better, because there is little concern to economize on fuel, and also by the ability of the workers: Americans are excellent at working wood.

for thirty *cabin passengers*. A voyage on the rivers was once an Argonauts' expedition, but today it is the easiest affair in the world. Prices are quite reduced: one goes from Pittsburgh to New Orleans for \$50 (266 francs), all included; from Louisville to New Orleans for \$25, this is 25 to 30 centimes per league. It is a different matter for the numerous class conducting the flatboats to the lower country, and who have to go back up from New Orleans alone. They sometimes have five or six hundred aboard on a separate deck of the boat, usually the lowest one. There they have shelter, a cot where they sleep, and a fire, for four or six dollars to Louisville. They are required to lend a hand whenever it is time to take on wood. The rapidity with which they travel now has contributed much to extending the commerce of the West. Today they can make three or four expeditions per season instead of a single one, an important circumstance in a country short of labor. On the descent, the place filled on the upward journey is occupied by horses and cattle being sent south, as well as by slaves, human cattle going to fatten the lands of the South with their sweat, to replace the *wastage* of the sugar plantations of Louisiana, and make the fortune of cotton planters. Virginia is the principal source of this trade. The native land of Washington, Jefferson and Madison has become, another of its children told me with sadness, the Guinea of the United States.³⁰³

As beautiful as these boats are, as great as the services they have rendered to America, once the first curiosity is satisfied, the experience is less attractive for anyone of culture in spirit and manners. There are few Europeans of polished manners or even Americans of the bourgeoisie of the metropolises of the East who, on departing these floating barracks who would not be inclined, in paroxysms of their bad humor, to certify it to conform, save errors and omissions, with the account that Madame Trollope has made of the sociability of the people of the West. It is in the West that equality that is not a laughing matter, a mere equality on paper. Every man who has on his shoulders a habit moderately proper is a gentleman there. Every gentleman is worth every other, and does not suppose that he should not be treated as an equal. He is occupied with himself and no one else; he has no regard for his neighbor, and he does not suspect that anyone else should desire the least attention from him. In this rudeness, note well, he does not have the lighter touch of malice — on the contrary, he is a natural being who is disarming. This man of the West is rude, but he is not surly. He is sensitive, proud of himself, proud of his country. He is that to excess, but it is without fatuity and without affectation. Open his envelope of vanity and egotism, and you will find in him a good fund of courtesy and even generosity. He is a grand calculator, and yet he is not cold; he is capable of enthusiasm. He loves money with a passion, and yet he is not avaricious and is sometimes even prodigal. He is brusque and tough because he has not had time to lower his voice and moderate his gestures. If he is gross, it is not because he is pleased by his grossness. He aspires to be a man of good company, and he would like to pass for such, but he has much more to do cultivating his land than to cultivate himself. It is natural that the first generation of the West bears the imprint of hard work that he has so intently pursued. Yet if his reflections give us hope for the future, they are unable to do anything except hope that life on the steamboat on the Ohio and Mississippi will some day have charms for whoever values lovable and engaging mores.

³⁰³ There is a great commerce of slaves in the capital of the United States, at Washington; it is the chief market for Negroes of Virginia and Maryland destined to be sent south.

Further, travel on the Mississippi is more dangerous than a transit of the Ocean, and I am not speaking from Europe to the United States, but from Europe to China. You have the danger of explosions of steam engines, fire, and, on the return, that of striking the snagged trees whose trunk is impaled on the bottom of the riverbed and presents its leafy point toward the boats as they go upward. Then you just have to anticipate the shock of your boat striking another merchant boat going the other way during the darkness of a stormy night, not to mention the inconvenience of impacting sandbanks. Join to that the monotony of the course of the river, the solitude of its flat and dirty banks, the filthy appearance of its yellow waters, the strange habits of half the travelers trapped with you in the same cage, and you can conceive what is at length a miserable task. Thus the planters of Louisiana who, during the heat of summer, go north to find fresher air than that of New Orleans, have the habit of making their periodic migrations by sea aboard the fine packet boats that cruise ceaselessly between their capital and New York.

Engine explosions are frequent, whether as a result of the mechanics' ineptness or due to the bad construction of the boilers. They are continually accompanied by grave accidents, because the boats are always stressed to the hilt. A few days ago, on a single boat, the *Majestic*, sixty persons were killed or injured. To be sure these dreadful disasters are unknown on board well-run boats, where the owners do not try to make economies at the cost of mechanisms and the salaries of engineers.³⁰⁴ An analog law to ordinances in vigor here is indispensable in the West. On the one hand, the law, to be enforceable, has to be in force at all the points of the same navigation, which would only be the case if it were issued by Congress. The dominant idea, however, is that this impinges on the rights of the individual states, stripping them of sovereignty. Only one state, Louisiana, has passed a law on this subject, but this law is vicious, and I further suppose that it is as if it did not exist. It would have to be preventative and impose preventative measures, tests for the personnel and material. It is nothing but repressive, and it restricts itself to menacing with a severe penalty, fine and prison, every captain on board of which an accident happens, stipulating a special penalty for the case when, at the fatal moment, he was gambling.

There are a good number of examples of fires on board steamboats. Many have lost life and goods, despite the fact that the river is not wide.³⁰⁵ They cite, among others, the catastrophe of the *Brandywine*, which burned near Memphis with everyone on it, about 110 persons, in April 1832. So far as fires go, Americans have a unique lack of concern,³⁰⁶ both for their homes in New York and on their *steamboats* in the Mississippi. They smoke casually around half-opened bales of cotton, of which the boat is full. They move gunpowder without any more precautions than for maize or salt beef,³⁰⁷ and they

³⁰⁴ On the large boats of the West, a good engineer earns 100 dollars (533 francs) per month. There are two on each boat. In France, a worker with the same expertise earns 3 to 4 francs per day.

³⁰⁵ Its ordinary width is between 800 and 1200 meters, or four times the width of the Seine. But it is incomparably deeper than the Seine. After it receives the Ohio, it is often 30 to 40 meters deep.

³⁰⁶ They have no idea in Europe of the frequency and extent of fires in this country. The latest news from Charleston tells us that 300 houses have been destroyed by flames. In New York and Philadelphia, there is rarely a day without the fire bell ringing.

³⁰⁷ Two or three years ago, one of the two senators of Louisiana in Congress, Mr. [Josiah] Johnston [1784-1833], died with many other passengers on the Red River aboard the steamboat *The Lioness*, when they loaded gunpowder that exploded.

leave packed items on deck under the range of torrents of sparks that the mouths of the chimneys belch.

Accidents by derelict logs known by the names of *logs*, *snags*, or *sawyers*, according to the diverse positions they affect on the bed of the river, have been extremely frequent. They seek to remedy this by reinforcing the bow of the boat by placing there a *bulkhead* that doubles the tip at a little distance from the prow. The federal government has two boats intended to clear the course of the Mississippi and the Ohio of wood that obstructs it, by an ingenious mechanism. The riverain states, which are incidentally those with very low taxes, have not provided a centime for this essential object. The equipment of Captain Shreve, placed on the two federal government boats the *Heliopolis* and the *Archimedes*, has extensively cleared the channel, but much still remains to be done.

In many ways one could, by means of expenditures well directed, diminish the chances of accident. They have experience on the river today; there are many engineers in the United States who know the ways of the *Father of Waters*. To master the tributaries as well does not demand enormous sums of money. Unfortunately the federal government, which knows how to use its money (since the customs provide more than its needs, and it now runs a surplus of more than \$11 million),³⁰⁸ is stopped here by a doctrine of which the Democratic Party is seized, no one knows why. They forbid the federal government to involve itself in public works that are executed on the territory of particular states. Hence, while the whole federation is interested in the improvement of navigation on the rivers of the West, the federal government can only proceed there with timidity and slowness. General Jackson's predecessor, Mr. Adams, was a warm partisan of the intervention of federal authority in public works (*internal improvement*). He thought, like Mr. Clay and other men of a superior sense, that the progress of the young states of the West would be actively accelerated to the profit of the entire Union if the central government charged itself to execute or better at its expense, in whole or in part, certain communications (*internal improvement*) of the first order. One of the mottos of the adversaries of Mr. Adams was *No internal improvement!* and the same states for which it wished the best rallied to this cry. How much can the spirit of party render even the most clear sighted blind to their own interests!

If accidents as grave as these took place with the same rapidity during a single period of time in Europe, there would be universal alarm. The police and the legislative powers would intervene to the good. The steamboats would become a threat to the traveler: the public would excommunicate them and let the length of the river become empty. The effect would be the same as here to a certain extent, outside the metropolises of the East, because the country is in the process of being regularly set up there, and the lives of people count for something there. In the West, the flood of immigrants descending the Alleghenies roll across the plains jostling one another with turbulence, chasing before itself the Indian, the buffalo and the bear. At its approach the gigantic forests flatten themselves, and as rapidly the dry grass of the prairie vanishes before the torch of the savage. It is the same for civilization as was the armies of Genghis Khan and Attila for Barbary. It is an army of invasion, and the law is the law of armies. The mass is everything there, the individual nothing. Woe to him who takes the wrong step! He is extirpated and burned away. Woe to those who encounter a precipice! The mob,

³⁰⁸ See Note 54.

impatient to advance, will elbow him away and he is forgotten. There is not even any stifled sorrow for a funeral. Each for himself! *Help yourself, sir!* The life of a true American is that of a soldier: like a soldier, he is encamped or on the move, here today, fifteen hundred miles away in a month. It is a life of alerts and violent sensations. As in a camp, quarrels in the West are settled summarily and on the spot by a duel with knife or carbine, or by a pistol at close range. It is life of alternative bursts of success and of reverses. Miserable today, rich tomorrow, poor again the day after tomorrow, as the winds of speculations blow from one side to the other, but the collective wealth of the country follows a march ever ascending. Like a soldier, the American of the West has for his device: *Conquer or die!* But conquering, for him, is gaining dollars, to make a fortune out of nothing, to buy city lots³⁰⁹ in Chicago, Cleveland and St. Louis and to turn them in a year at a thousand percent profit; it is to deal in cotton at New Orleans when it is worth twenty cents a pound. Too bad for the vanquished, too bad for those who perish on the steamboats! The essential is not to save some individuals, even hundreds of them, the essential truly is *steamboats* — that is what is needed. Solid or not, well or badly captained, matters little so long as they are fast and cheap. This circulation of *steamboats* is as necessary to the West as the circulation of blood to the human organism. One must guard well against any restraint by regulations or restrictions of any sort. The time has not yet come. We will see later.

In the human heart, there is a certain number of sentiments that must, by necessity, be exposed outside. Compromise on one point will make an explosion in another. The sentiment of respect for the depositories of power that, until our times of revolution, has so strongly cemented our European society, is gradually being weakened on the other side of the Atlantic. Particularly in the West, it is perfectly nil. There, the authorities, properly or improperly called, have attributes as modest as their appointments are meager. They are *governors* who govern nothing, and judges strongly exposed to be placed under judgment. The supreme magistrate is pompously qualified in the charters of these young states as commanding forces on land and sea: a pure joke! For it is stipulated that this is in times of war, and in times of peace it is as if he has barely the right to command a corporal. But the sentiment of discipline and obedience loses nothing there: It reports itself instinctively to the men who are in effect the generals of the expedition, the providence of volunteers. Even if one is a bit hostile about the governor of a state, one is docile or submissive to the landlord, to the coach driver, or the captain of the *steamboat*. One does not pull *self-government* with them. You get up, have breakfast, have dinner, have supper, when it pleases the landlord, or his cook or chief of staff, the *barkeeper*, who sounds the bell or bangs the tam-tam. It's like being in the army. You eat what you find in front of you without being permitted to comment. You stop where the *driver* or *captain* wants, without showing any impatience. You let one of them turn and break your bottom, the other burn or drown you, without complaint or recrimination. It is like being in the army. It has been remarked that the life of founders of empires, from the companions of Romulus to the filibusters, is composed of a mixture of absolute independence and passive obedience. The society that is creating itself in the West has not escaped this common law.

³⁰⁹ Places for houses.

This portion of the United States, which was a solitude when independence was declared, and of which no one dreamed when they established the capital at Washington, is on the way to becoming the most powerful of the three territorial sections of the United States at the next census. By itself it will pass the two others a little: it will have the majority in Congress, it will govern the New World. Now the old division of North and South appears likely to become nothing but secondary. It is said that the principal division should be East and West. The present president is a man of the West (Tennessee). A few days ago, the Democratic Party met in convention at Baltimore to decide the choice of candidates for the approaching presidential election. Mr. Van Buren, who is of the East (New York), has been chosen for the presidency. But whatever the unanimity of votes in the convention, it appears he will have a strong opponent within his own party in the person of a man of the West, Mr. White of Tennessee.³¹⁰ So far as the vice presidency, there was animated debate in the convention itself. Some presented a man of the South, Mr. [William Cabell] Rives [1793-1868] of Virginia, others a man of the West, Mr. Johnson of Kentucky. Mr. Rives was regarded as having a capacity of another scale from that of his antagonist. His diplomatic services are highly praised by Americans. Mr. Johnson is an honest and loyal man to be sure, but there are doubts about his talents, or rather there are no doubts. The sole title his friends can assert is that he was more or less *vehemently suspected* of having given the mortal blow to the famous Indian chief Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames. But Mr. Johnson is of the West and, at risk of displeasing Virginia, whose influence in the South is known, they preferred him to his competitor. Mr. Van Buren is in agreement with the combination, directed there perhaps because he prefers risking the South to losing the West.

So this is now the West. When one thinks that the visible instrument of this progress is none other than the steamboat, one understands that there are people for whom all politics is comprised in material improvements and the interests they produce.

Note 51 [Not in the 1836 edition]

On the first French travelers in America

Here is how an American writer who has lived a long time in the state of Illinois, who has collected memories left by the French throughout the West, described their expeditions:

..... The Frenchmen who, first of all, explored the fine banks of the Mississippi and the rivers that feed the Father of Waters, thought they had found Paradise on earth. Enchanted by this land, so vast and so fertile, they penetrated in every sense of the word the immense prairies and let their light crafts float on all the currents that watered the great valley. Everywhere their amiable manner won them a good reception. Their jovial and well-meaning humor reconciled them even with the Indian warrior, whose hostile humor was disarmed by the free gayety of the these strangers. Divided into small bands, each with its distinct object, they pursued their various goals without any need to join together and

³¹⁰ See Note 55.

almost without any need to fight. This one sought riches, the other sought glory. One wanted to discover new regions, the other only wanted to discover the novelties of natural history. Here a philosopher observed man in a state of nature, there a missionary burned to announce the divine Word to a pagan population. The greatest number wandered without a care across this new world and this new race, abandoning themselves to their curiosity, sating and reviving by turns their thirst for adventures, demanding nothing for the price of their labors beyond fresh and piquant sensations.

..... No adventurers of any people ever advanced so far and with such bravery into the interior of unknown lands. The first patriarchs of New England were unable to breach the straight limits of the sterile coast of the Atlantic. The founders of Virginia were only a little more fortunate. The brave admiral Raleigh could barely dump his colony on the coast of North Carolina. Even the indefatigable Penn, several years after the establishment of the Pennsylvanian colony, spoke of the Delaware as a *glorious river*, but had no idea of its course or its sources. The efforts of the English to penetrate into the interior of Africa failed, despite the bait offered to their ambition and to their thirst for gold. Force alone, musketry and cannons, opened South America to the Spaniards. Also, on reading the adventures of the French on this new continent, we cannot cease a surprise that goes all the way to incredulity. Little troupes and even isolated individuals explored the banks of the Saint Lawrence and the imposing chain of lakes that is its tributary, in the midst of the most ferocious indigenous tribes. The continent of North America was still savage, and one was still disputing who was to have the honor of conquering it when French missionaries, ascending the Mississippi from its mouth to the falls of Saint Anthony, a distance of twelve hundred leagues, exploring its powerful tributaries, the Arkansas, the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois. Not only did they accomplish these voyages that they published and that thus acquired a certain date, but they were received with hospitality and treated with respect. For them they cooked a bison's hump, and troupes of young girls circled around them as they slept, sweeping the air above their heads with the gilded plumes of the parrot, to prevent the sleep of the white man to be troubled by the bite of the irreverent mosquito.

..... French expeditions were generally accompanied by missionaries, educated men and often of great knowledge. As much as it is possible to judge them today, they were profoundly dedicated to their evangelical task. Very different from the Spanish priests, whose thirst for blood can only be compared to their thirst for gold, and who were the most ardent to subjugate or exterminate the Indians, we see the French invariably apply themselves to win by gentleness the confidence of the savage and to make him love the arts of peace. They only vary from this policy by authorizing the arming of the savages and their participation in

the wars between France and England, a participation that was no less cultivated by the other side.

(James Hall [1793-1868], *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the West* [Philadelphia: Harrison Hall, 1835].)

Note 52 [Vol. 2, Note 1, in the 1836 edition]

Construction and Cost of Steamboats in the West [and East]

Steamboats of the West use high pressure, from 6 to 8 atmospheres. The boilers are on the bridge, in front. The cylinder pumps behind it, placed horizontally on the bridge. There are two wheels, on the sides. Earlier they often used a single wheel at the rear (*sternwheel*). The stem of the piston acts by means of the rod on the crank that moves the axle of the wheels. There is one fly-wheel. There is only one engine to a boat. The pistons are not of metal, which necessarily leads to reduced power, but which makes repairs easy, an important circumstance with the few mechanics.

These engines are of an extremely simple construction and cost very little. For the stronger boats, their price is from 60,000 to 70,000 francs. The engines of the postal steamboats of the French government in the Mediterranean cost almost 300,000 francs. The most powerful engines of the boats of the West have cylinders of 30 English inches (0.76 meters) in diameter, and 7 English feet (2.13 meters) course of the piston. They are capable of operating by expansion.

These boats consume a great deal of wood: the large boats with a hull of 50 to 52 meters length on the bridge, 8 to 9 meters wide and 2.50 to 3 meters depth, carrying eight boilers 7 meters long, with 75 to 90 meters diameter, burning $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ cords ($5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{3}$ cubic meters) an hour, for $\$2\frac{1}{4}$ a cord (3.40 francs a cubic meter). It is rare that they make more than four leagues an hour even when descending.

[The following is Volume 2, Note 3 on p. 426, 1836 edition, as “Cost of Eastern Steamboats” but was subsequently inserted here]

In the East, a good steamboat of 55 to 58 meters in length, with copper boilers, necessary to resist the salt water, costs 375 to 400,000 francs, including furnishings. The hull is made by carpenters for 160 francs per ton of capacity, ironwork not included. The engine, when it has only one, costs 65 to 80,000 francs, not including the boilers. The *North America* cost \$100,000 (533,000 francs). A good boat, well maintained, lasts 12 to 15 years in the East.

The Eastern boats are very fast and very safe. For several years, they have received many improvements, due principally to Mr. R. L. Stevens of New York. They make up to 6 leagues an hour in virtually still water. They only transport passengers. Their most ordinary length is from 55 to 56 meters, their most ordinary width is from 7 to 8 meters, not counting the lateral platforms. They draw water from 1.20 to 1.50 meters on rivers, from 2 to 2.70 meters in bays or arms of the sea. The *North America* has 75.80 meters length, 9.15 meters width, and with its platforms 19.20 meters. Its hull has a depth of 2.70 meters, and its draft in the water is 1.50 meters.

The Eastern boats have a low or medium pressure (one atmosphere): their cylinder is vertical and there are often two engines. The steam operates there by expansion. The stroke of the piston is up to 3 or 3.35 meters (10 and 11 English feet). The diameter of their cylinders is considerable; there are those that are as large as 1.65

meters (the *Ohio*, the *De Witt Clinton*). At high speed they consume 7, 8, even 9 cubic meters of wood an hour.

Today, the steamboats of Europe are almost all with low pressure and without expansion. To employ the balance of the steam, it is necessary to have the cylinders very high. European builders fear that the ship is strongly liable to capsize. They do not give the piston more than 1.20 to 1.50 meter stroke.

Note 53 [Vol. 2, Note 2, 1836 edition]

Number of steamboats in the United States

I owe an obligation to Thomas Smith, *Register* of the treasury in Washington, for the following table showing the number and tonnage of the steamboats of each state and territory of the Union on 31 December 1834.

Table of steamboats of the United States

States	Number of boats	Tonnage
Maine	1	68 ton
Massachusetts	5	904
Rhode Island	3	847
Connecticut	6	1,291
New York	54	13,233
New Jersey	4	775
Pennsylvania	36	5,097
Delaware	2	324
Maryland	18	5,832
District of Columbia	3	510
Virginia	6	986
Ohio	62	8,047
North Carolina	1	49
South Carolina	6	1,057
Georgia	10	1,361
Tennessee	17	4,083
Alabama	22	3,291
Louisiana	115	46,292
Missouri	7	636
Michigan	8	962
Total	386	95,648

The boats belonging to the West may be evaluated as follows:

States	Number of boats	Tonnage
Ohio	62	8,047
Tennessee	17	4,082
Alabama	22	3,291
Louisiana	115	46,292
Missouri	7	635
Part of Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh)	14	2,000
Total	237	64,347

According to these statistics, published by the administration of mines, in 1834 France has 82 steamboats. Their total tonnage, which is not indicated,

cannot surpass 15,000 tons. Further, the state counts 37 for the navy and posts. England, counting all, has more than 480.

Note 54 [Vol. 2, Note 4, 1836 edition]

[Treatment of the federal surplus of 1836]

At the close of the 1836 session, the surplus passed 200,000,000 francs, from which it was true that a rather considerable amount had to be deducted for public obligations. The Congress did not wish to leave this reserve in the hands of the local banks to which the Treasury had committed it. It decided that, saving \$5,000,000, it should be deposited in the treasuries of the particular states, without interest, for the time when there would be need of it. This measure amounted to a distribution of the reserve among the states. Most of the sums will be applied to their portion of public works [see Note 15 above and Note 55 below].

Note 55 [Vol. 2, note 5, 1836 edition]

[General Harrison Western candidate for President]

The candidate who has definitively gathered the majority of votes of the opposition is another man of the West, General Harrison. [He would be defeated by Martin Van Buren in 1836, but elected President in 1840, dying soon after inauguration and succeeded by John Tyler.]

[This "Letter" was published separately from the first Gosselin book edition as *Les voies de communication aux États-Unis*, printed in Paris by Imprimerie de Borgogne et Martinet, 1836, 48 pp. with a map, *Carte des États-Unis d'Amérique 1836*. Gravée sur pierre par L. Bouffard, rue de l'Abbaye, no. 4. (Copy at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.) Another identical pamphlet was separately published along with the 1836 map, with the same title and author, as an extract from the *Journal de l'Industrial et du Capitalisme* (no date given) in 1837 by the Paris/Strasbourg publishers F. C. Levrault, Libraire-Éditeur, printed at the Imprimerie d'Hippolyte Tilliard, rue Saint-Hyacinthe, no. 50. (Copy at the Newberry Library in Chicago)]

[Michel Chevalier traveled to the United States in the 1830s with the primary mission of analyzing American public works for the French government. What follows is his "letter" on American routes of communication included in his *Letters on North America*; it really constitutes a first draft of his massive study of American transportation published in 1840 and 1841, with a separate volume of maps and plates in 1843 and an analytical and alphabetical index in 1851. The notes and tables of this "letter" also foreshadow those published in the early 1840s.]

References in bold to Chevalier, *Histoire et description des voies de communications aux États-Unis et des travaux qui en dependent*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1840-41).

XXII

ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION

Buffalo, NY, 9 July 1835

The territory of the United States is composed of 1) two great interior basins of the Mississippi and the Saint Lawrence, of which one runs from north to south toward the Gulf of Mexico, and the other from south to north toward the bay that bears its name; 2) on the exterior, along the eastern coast, a system of smaller basins that discharge into the Atlantic, and of which the principal are those of the Connecticut, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the James River, the Roanoke, the Santee, the Savannah, and the Alatomaha. The Allegheny Mountains, regarded as the backbone of the United States, since its regularly elongated form runs parallel to that of the continent, constitutes a natural separation between the two great interior basins and the system of small basins on the eastern coast.

On the West, the valleys of the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi are bordered by the Mexican Cordillera, which bears the name of the *Rocky Mountains*. At the foot of this chain are found vast solitudes, deprived of vegetation, and that are thought to remain forever hostile to mankind, with the exception of a few oases.

At this moment, the Anglo-American population is almost entirely to the left of the Mississippi. There is only one state on the right bank, one of the least important in the confederation, Missouri, and one territory, that of Arkansas, which is expected to be admitted soon to the number of members of the Union.³¹¹

³¹¹ See Note 56.

The chain of the Alleghenies, which does not reach much height, rests on a very large base, about 50 leagues as the bird flies. Considered as a whole, it is composed of a series of furrows separated in turn by crests, extending uniformly almost from one end of the chain to the other, from the coasts of New England, where the mountains are bathed by the sea, to the Gulf of Mexico, at whose approach they gradually lower. These sequences of furrows and crests form parallel ripples, one after another, and one may follow them along the terrain, with a few interruptions, for a distance of four to five hundred leagues. Geological formations are disposed rather precisely to follow these ripples for long intervals. Still, this rule is not absolute, since one often sees the same bed pass from one ripple to another, cutting the first at what is always a very oblique angle.

Despite their general character of regularity, the furrows between these ripples are not hydrographic basins or valleys, although they are often given that name. The rivers, instead of having their beds between two successive crests and passing in this way to the sea, more often pass from one furrow to another, profiting from weak spots in the crests to make their way. These gaps are a precious advantage for communications. They permit routes, both canals and railroads, to turn away from the heights it would be impossible to cross, following the banks of the rivers. Of all the passages of this sort, the most interesting is that opened by the Potomac at Harper's Ferry over the Blue Ridge, which Jefferson, in his Virginian enthusiasm, said was worth a trip across the Atlantic to see.

American territory can be divided, from the hydrographic point of view, into two distinct regions, one to the east, the other to the west, of the Alleghenies. Or perhaps into three: 1) the valley of the Mississippi, 2) the valley of the Saint Lawrence with the Great Lakes, and 3) the coast of the Atlantic.

This immense land can also be divided into North and South. It has two commercial capitals, New York and New Orleans, which are like the two lungs of this vast body, like the two galvanic poles of the system. Between these two divisions, North and South, there exist radical differences in political as well as industrial relations.³¹² The social constitution of the South is founded on slavery; that of the North on universal suffrage. The South is an immense cotton farm with some accessories, such as tobacco, sugar and rice. The North plays courtier to the South to sell its products and to procure for them the products of Europe, as a sailor to take its cotton across the sea, as a manufacturer of all the tools of household and agriculture, for the *cotton gins*³¹³ and for the steam engines for its sugar industries, for furniture and cloth, and for all the goods of current consumption. It provides wheat and salt pork.

It follows from this that the great public works in the United States have as their object:

1. To connect the Atlantic coast with the land west of the Alleghenies, that is to say, to attach the rivers, such as the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the James River, or the bays, such as that of the Delaware or the Chesapeake, with the Mississippi or its tributary the Ohio, or with the Saint Lawrence or

³¹² See letter XIV.

³¹³ This is the name of the machine that separates the seeds from the cotton with which it is mixed, and that would otherwise removed by the human hand only with difficulty.

the Great Lakes of Erie and Ontario, from which the St. Lawrence carries the waters to the sea;

2. To establish communications between the valley of the Mississippi and that of the Saint Lawrence, which is to say, between one of the great tributaries of the Mississippi, such as the Ohio, the Illinois or the Wabash, with Lake Erie or Lake Michigan, which, of all the Great Lakes dependent on the Saint Lawrence, are the furthest south.
3. To make a link between the northern and southern poles of the Union, New York and New Orleans.

Independent of these three new systems of works that, in effect, are under construction and even in part completed, there is a secondary group of lines of transport with the object, either to facilitate the access of centers of consumption, or to open access to certain centers of production. From that arise two other categories: the first embraces various works, canals or railroads, that radiate from large towns as centers, spreading around them in all directions. The second category includes works created to access certain coal fields. **(Vol. 1, pp. 1-35)**

§ I

Lines passing from the East to the West of the Alleghenies
(Vol. 1, p. 147 to Vol. 2, p. 181)

The works that have almost exclusively preoccupied the large part of the attention of statesmen, economists and businessmen in the metropolises of the United States are those intended to establish communications between the East and the West.

There are four metropolises along the coast of the Atlantic that have long disputed for supremacy: these are Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. All four seek the privilege of commerce with the young states that rise in the fertile domains of the West. They have fought with varying success, and always with a rare intelligence.

But they do not share equally in natural advantages. Boston is too far north; it has no river that permits it to extend its arms far toward the West. It is beset on all sides by a mountainous soil, beyond which all rapid communication is difficult, every undertaking costly. Philadelphia and Baltimore are blocked by ice almost every winter, and this inconvenience suffices to compensate, to the detriment of Baltimore,³¹⁴ the greater proximity of the Ohio, its more central latitude, the beauty of its bay, almost a hundred leagues long, and bordered by innumerable tributaries, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the Patuxent, the Rappahanock, etc. Philadelphia is a badly located town; Penn was misled by the beauty of the Schuylkill and the Delaware. It seemed to him that a town built on the plain of a large space extending between their waters, admirably developing the regularity of streets there, would be provided with warehouses with easy accesses, where thousands of ships could be loaded and unloaded. He forgot to make certain that his town had a large drainage basin, capable of consuming products brought from elsewhere, and to send back the products of its own growing. He did not recognize that the Delaware, which he took for a great river, is sadly enough not great. If he had founded the City of Brotherly Love on the banks of the Susquehanna, it could long have sustained competition with New York.

New York, behold the queen of the coast! This city occupies an elongated island surrounded by two rivers (the North River and the East River³¹⁵), where ships of every tonnage and infinite number may dock. Its port is free of ice, other than exceptional winters. It is accessible to small vessels with all winds, save for those from the northeast. It is always open to the largest ships. New York has above all else the considerable good fortune of being sited on a river for which some miraculous cataclysm cut a bed of uniform depth through the primitive mountains, without shoals or rapids, virtually without decline, cutting a straight line through the most solid mass of the Alleghenies. The tide, as feeble as it is on the coast,³¹⁶ mounts the Hudson to Troy, 63 leagues from its mouth. Such is the beauty of the course of this river that they equip whalers³¹⁷ at

³¹⁴ This inconvenience would be lessened, at least in ordinary winters, by ice breaker steamboats.

³¹⁵ The East River is actually an arm of the sea between terra firma and Long Island.

³¹⁶ At New York, and in general all along the Atlantic coast to Florida, the tide is between 1.50 meters to 2 meters. It is considerably higher to the north: at Boston, it is 3 meters 50 centimeters; on the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, on the Bay of Fundy, it is 10, 15, even 20 meters. At Brest it is 7 meters; at Saint-Malô 13 meters, 14 meters at Granville.

³¹⁷ One knows that Anglo-Americans are always dedicated to fishing for whales. The tonnage of their ships amounts to 130,000 tons.

Poughkeepsie and Hudson, the one 30, the other 45 leagues above New York, and that, save for brief episodes of low water, schooners drawing 3 meters of water can ascend to Albany and Troy during high tide (55 and 57 leagues).

New York is further endowed with special advantages due to the relations of the population that inhabits it. Originating as a Dutch colony, then conquered by the English, and neighboring New England, it offers a mixture of the solid qualities of the Saxon type with Dutch calm, and the entrepreneurial intelligence of the Puritans. This mixed race works admirably to use for their town everything nature has made.

The War of Independence was barely finished when the leading citizens, who had assured its success through their patriotism and courage, beguiled by the riches buried in this already-settled West, were already plotting the means to access it with canals. If it is true that Prussia in the days of Voltaire resembled two garters placed on the soil of Germany, in the days of Washington and Franklin, no more than fifty years ago, the United States could be compared to a straight ribbon thrown along the sandy littoral of the Atlantic. Washington already planned a canal, which has since been begun according to the plans of one of our French compatriots, General Bernard, to reach the West by mounting the Potomac, but due to the lack of capital and specialists, what today is a fine, long canal was limited to a few locks around the *little falls* and *great falls* of the river. At the same time, Pennsylvanians made vain efforts and spent very considerable sums to no purpose to canalize the Schuylkill and join it to the Susquehanna. In the State of New York, they provided a prelude to much larger conceptions by small excavations, some dams and some locks.³¹⁸ The works taken up then and through the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century could not be brought to completion, or they were without result. A single work of some extent was comfortably achieved in this period: the Middlesex Canal, which departs Boston to join the Merrimack River above Lowell over the course of twelve leagues.³¹⁹

The War of 1812 found the United States without canals, and almost without decent roads. It knew nothing in terms of communications other than the sea, their bays and the rivers adjoining. Once blockaded by the English fleets, they could not only not communicate with Europe and India, but even among themselves, from North to South, from state to state, from town to town, from New York to Philadelphia for example. Their commerce was annihilated, and the source of their capital ceased. Bankruptcy hit them like a throttling angel, sparing no family.

³¹⁸ In 1792, the State of New York chartered two companies of which one proposed to join the Hudson and the Mohawk at Lake Seneca and at Lake Ontario, while the other proposed to make a similar juncture between the Hudson and Lake Champlain (one was the *Western* and the other the *Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company*). These companies did works of little importance.

³¹⁹ This was by Mr. Baldwin, father of Mr. L. Baldwin, today one of the ablest engineers in the United States, who constructed the closed harbor of Charleston, near Boston, and that of Norfolk.

FIRST LINE

The Erie Canal

(Vol. 1, 153-289)

The lesson was hard, but it was not lost. The Americans, to do them justice, know how to profit from the education Providence has given them, particularly when it has cost them dear. The project of a canal between New York and Lake Erie, which had already been discussed before the war, was actively revived after peace. One statesman whose memory North America should eternally bless, De Witt Clinton, knew how to impart his noble confidence in the future of his country to his compatriots, and on 4 July 1817 the first shovel-full was dug. Despite the sinister predictions of men famous for their wisdom and services, despite the counsel of the venerated patriarch of democracy, Jefferson himself, who said that a century would have awaited daring such an effort, despite the warnings of the illustrious Madison, who wrote that it would be folly for the State of New York to undertake with its own resources an enterprise for which all the treasuries of the Union would not suffice, this state, which at the time did not count a population of 1,300,000, began a canal of 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues (at 4,000 meters per league). Eight years later, in 1825, it had achieved it at the expense of 45,000,000 francs or 307,000 francs per league. Since then, it has not ceased to add up to a network [*réseau*] that is nearly complete today. In the course of 1836 this state will own 247 leagues of canals and 18 leagues of navigable trenches or locks, all of it done at state expense, at the cost of 65,000,000 francs, or 263,000 francs per league of canal.

The results of this labor have surpassed all hopes. The canalization of the State of New York opened a breach to the fertile regions of the west of the state, as well as with the sea and the world. The coast of Lakes Erie and Ontario were immediately covered with rich farms and lovely towns. All the way to the end of Lake Michigan, the silence of primitive forests was disturbed by the hatchet-blows of settlers coming from New York and New England. The State of Ohio, which bathes in Lake Erie, and which had no link with the sea except at great distance, from the south coast, via the Mississippi, now has another access, short and rapid, with the Atlantic via New York. The Territory of Michigan is becoming populous. Today it has 100,000 inhabitants, and soon it will pass to being a state. The circulation of the Erie Canal alone has exceeded 400,000 tons in 1834 and is expected to approach 500,000 tons in 1835. With a moderate tariff, the tollhouses of the canals of the State of New York produce almost eight million. The population of the city of New York has grown by 80,000 souls in ten years, from 1820 to 1830.³²⁰ New York has become the third, if not the second port in the world, and the most populated city in the New World. So far as the illustrious Clinton went, he did not live long enough to see the triumph of his plans, but still long enough to receive the great reward the recognition of his compatriots reserved for him. He died on 11 February 1828, at the age of 59. Save for this premature death, he would probably have been elected president.

The Erie Canal no longer is adequate for the commerce that tries to use it. The lock-managers await day and night the horns of the boatmen, opening the portals with a

³²⁰ The growth of New York is increasingly rapid. From 1830 to 1835, the total population has grown from 203,000 to 270,000.

speed that shows up the slowness of ours, but in vain. There is no more room on the canal, which remains quite limited in size.³²¹ The impatience of commerce, for which time is money, is no longer content with going at least four times faster than our own navigable lines. The merchandise of all values and all weights, as well as travelers, have reached such a point that, just to transport passengers alone, railroads have been established along the banks of the canal, competing with the *packet boats*. There is one from Albany to Schenectady, six and a half leagues long, although of low quality, costing the sum of 4 millions. A second that will be finished in 1836, continues from Schenectady to Utica; it will have 31 1/2 leagues.³²² A third is being constructed from Rochester to Buffalo, via Batavia and Attica; it will have thirty leagues. It is probable that the line will soon be completed from one end of the canal to the other.

A vaster enterprise is in preparation: a company was authorized three years ago to launch the creation of a railroad from New York to Lake Erie via the southern counties of the State of New York. Due to the many detours to which the company is obligated, to avoid costly embanking, this undertaking will have about 190 leagues.³²³

During this time, the canal committee of the State of New York is not sleeping. It has decided that as of 3 July all the locks of the canal shall be doubled, so that boats will wait for the shortest time possible, and that the width and depth of the canal shall be increased by at least 50 percent, which will give it a more considerable cross-section of 1 to 2 1/4; one could then use larger boats, move them faster, and, perhaps, use steam power. It is estimated that the cost will be between 55 and 65 million francs.

Finally, to master more and more of the commerce of the West, and to better penetrate its own territory, the State of New York is to undertake a new branch of the Erie Canal (if one may describe as a branch a work of which the total development will be 49 leagues), which will put it in contact with the Ohio. It will depart from the important town of Rochester, the mining city, following the line of the Genesee River, thus rising 298 meters and descending 24 meters to reach the Allegheny River at Olean, 130 leagues above its confluence with the Monongahela at Pittsburgh. From Olean to Rochester, the canal properly so-called will have 42 leagues. The Allegheny is only naturally navigable a few months each year. The total distance from New York to Pittsburgh by this line will be 318 leagues.

As soon as there were no more doubts about the rapid completion of the Erie Canal, Philadelphia and Baltimore sensed that New York was becoming the capital of the Union. The spirit of rivalry excited among them the spirit of enterprise. Both of them also wanted a route of its own to the West, but both had great obstacles to overcome. Thanks to the Hudson, which cuts a passage to the heart of the mountainous region, the

³²¹ The course of the water is 12 meters wide and 1.20 meters deep. The locks there are 27.45 meters long and 3.66 meters wide. The Languedoc Canal has a width of 20 meters and 2 meters depth, with locks 35 meters long and 11 meters wide on average, and 5.20 meters minimum. The Burgundy Canal is 13 meters wide and 1.60 deep; the locks are 30 meters long and 5.20 wide. The Berry Canal, one of our narrow canals, is 10 meters wide and 1.50 deep, with locks 30.46 meters long and 2.70 meters wide. Most English canals barely achieve the dimensions of the Berry Canal.

³²² The Legislature of the State of New York has authorized it under the express condition that it will transport only passengers and their personal baggage. Despite this restrictive clause, when the subscription was open to fund it, seven times the capital was subscribed. The requested capital was for \$2,000,000, and subscriptions rose to \$14,000,000.

³²³ See Note 57.

greatest difficulty of communication between the West and the littoral of the Atlantic, that of crossing the crest of the Alleghenies, had been conquered for New York. Between Albany, where the Erie Canal begins, and Buffalo, where it ends at the Lake, there are no more high mountains. The service the Hudson has rendered to New York cannot be expected by Baltimore from the Patapsco, nor by Philadelphia from the Delaware. Neither the one nor the other of these cities could reach the West via the basin of the Great Lakes by any means other than by a great circular route; it would be too long.

It was necessary for their works to clamber up to the level of the highest crests and then to descend very far to join with the Ohio.

SECOND LINE
The Pennsylvania Canal
(vol. 1, p. 329-542)

What is called the Pennsylvania Canal is a long line of 158 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues departing Philadelphia and ending at Pittsburgh on the Ohio. It was begun, together with other public works, in 1826 at the expense of the State of Pennsylvania. It is not a canal, strictly speaking. From Philadelphia, a railroad of 33 leagues (*Columbia Railroad*) goes to join the Susquehanna at Columbia. A canal of 68 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues succeeds the railroad that rises alongside the Susquehanna and then the Juniata, to the foot of the mountains at Hollidaysburg. To pass from Hollidaysburg to the other slope of the mountains, they have established a railroad of 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues (*Portage Railroad*), with large inclined planes, of which the grade occasionally exceeds a tenth,³²⁴ which does not prevent travelers from taking it. From Johnstown, the western extremity of this railroad, a second canal of 42 leagues, reaches all the way to Pittsburgh.

This line has the inconvenience of requiring three transfers, one at Columbia, at the far end of the railroad that starts at Philadelphia, the second and third at the extremities of the *Portage* railroad. One may avoid one of these transfers by means of two canals built by the companies, of which the first, the Schuylkill Canal, is parallel to the river of the same name,³²⁵ and of which the other, the Union Canal, operates between the upper Schuylkill and the Susquehanna. By this line, the distance from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh is 162 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues, that is to say, 14 leagues longer than via the *Columbia Railroad*.

The Pennsylvania Canal was begun in 1826 and completed in 1834. The State of Pennsylvania joined to it a system of canalization that includes all the important rivers of the state, particularly the Susquehanna, with its two branches, the *North Branch* and the *West Branch*, as well as preparatory work on a canal to join Pittsburgh to Erie, on the lake of the same name, a town founded by Canadian French and called by them Presqu'île ["Peninsula"]. In review, Pennsylvania has completed 289 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues of

³²⁴ The maximum grade currently authorized by the *Administration des ponts et chaussées* (Administration of Bridges and Roads) is 1/200. In the study of mainlines carried out in France at state expense, they have generally held to 1/333. This is also the maximum adopted on the fine railroad from London to Birmingham. The grade of the railroad from Paris to Saint-Germain does not exceed 1/1000.

³²⁵ It is rather a canalization of the river. One moves along the riverbed, scooped out on the sides, rather than along a canal properly so-called. This system is often used in the United States.

railroads and canals, of which 247 ¹/₄ leagues are canals, at a cost of 123 millions,³²⁶ distributed thusly:

General average per league	424,000 francs
Cost of a league of railroad	587,000
Cost of a league of canal	392,000

This is a great deal more expensive than the public works of the State of New York, although the scale is the same, and the natural problems were not much greater on one side than the other. This is because these constructions were made in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvanians lacked a Clinton to direct them. Poorly conceived administrative rules were imposed on the canal commission by the Legislature that did not permit it to win the services of capable engineers. In summary, by trying to save some thousands of dollars for salaries every year, they spent millions to redo what was badly done, or did badly what more capable men would have made well for a lower price.

THIRD LINE

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad

(Vol. 2, pp. 1-42)

Baltimore could think even less than Philadelphia of a continuous canal to the Ohio. Wishing to avoid the transfers of the Pennsylvania Canal, Baltimoreans decided on a railroad that would extend from their city to Pittsburgh or to Wheeling, whose length would have to be a hundred leagues. It is currently completed with 34 leagues, ending at Harper's Ferry on the Potomac. It was completed by a company that appears to have decided not to continue the line further. It is supposed eventually to join the canal from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, which I will describe later. This will be in the same manner as the Columbia Railroad in Pennsylvania, which joins to the canal paralleling the Susquehanna that extends from Columbia to Hollidaysburg. It is likely that when it approaches the crest of the Alleghenies, the canal that would have to go that far at all costs would give way to a railroad, despite the original plans, all the way to the western base of the mountains, so that things will be done in Maryland in almost the same way as in Pennsylvania.³²⁷

FOURTH LINE

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal

(Vol. 2, pp. 43-91)

The idea Washington supported of building a canal parallel to the Potomac that would be extended some day across the mountains to the Ohio was revived when New York showed America that it was ready for the most gigantic efforts in public works. Mr. John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, favored this project with all his powers. At this point, it was not yet conceded in principal that the federal government did not have the right to involve itself in public works. Washington's old idea of making the political capital of the Union a great city was also being dreamed by Mr. Adams and

³²⁶ Not including the interest of the loans contracted for the public works.

³²⁷ See Note 58.

his friends. The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal was thus resolved, and a company was authorized for that purpose. Congress voted a subscription of a million dollars (5,333,000 francs). The city of Washington, without commerce, without industry, with a population of 16,000 inhabitants, subscribed the same sum. The little towns of the federal district, Alexandria and Georgetown, which have together another 16,000 inhabitants, furnished a half-million dollars together. The States of Virginia and Maryland contributed, the first \$250,000, the second \$500,000. There were subscriptions by individuals of \$600,000. The work commenced on 4 July 1828. The next year, as a result of a sum of about 12 million francs that the State of Maryland lent to the company, a fine canal was extended to the foot of the mountains, to the coalfields of Cumberland. It will have a length of 74 ³/₄ leagues, and will cost 33,000,000 francs, at 442,000 francs per league. The construction is daring and superior to that of previous canals. Its dimensions are more considerable than the usual proportion of 150 percent, which gives it a proportion of 250 percent.

FIFTH LINE

The Canal from the James River to the Kanawha

(Vol. 2, pp. 93-135)

Finally, the State of Virginia, once the first of the confederation, now fallen to fourth place and overshadowed by Ohio, which did not even exist before the War of Independence, felt its honor slighted, and was determined to profit from information arriving by degrees from the northern states. A company whose resources amounted almost entirely to subscriptions of the State and of Richmond, its capital, is opening a canal there from the East to the West. The James River, one of the tributaries of Chesapeake Bay, is accessible for ships of 200 tons to the foot of the plateau on which Richmond is delightfully situated. To the east of the mountains, the canal, on departing Richmond, extends the course of the James River. It descends to the west, along the Kanawha, one of the tributaries of the Ohio, and empties at Charlestown, where steam navigation commences. One crosses the crest of the Alleghenies by means of a railroad of about 60 leagues. There are about 100 leagues of canal properly so-called.

The State of South Carolina, stung by the example of the Virginians, is involved with a long railroad that will go from Charleston to Cincinnati on the Ohio, but this is as yet nothing but studies. The citizens of Cincinnati are enthusiastic about this idea.³²⁸

Georgia dreams of a long railroad that will join the Savannah River with the Mississippi at Memphis (Tennessee), but this is only a very misty project.³²⁹ **(Vol. 2, pp. 137-171)**

North Carolina does nothing and projects nothing. If it ever gets rich, it will not be because it has seized its fortune but because good fortune has sought it out where it sleeps. **(Vol. 2, pp. 173-181)**

SIXTH LINE

The Richelieu Canal

(Vol. 2, pp. 291-305)

³²⁸ See Note 59.

³²⁹ See Note 60.

The Canadians have established a canal on their territory that will complete another link between East and West, specifically between the Hudson and the Saint Lawrence, between New York and Québec. The great straight-line fissure, forming such a fine bed for the Hudson between New York and Troy, continues a good deal higher. It continues, ever heading north, to the Saint Lawrence via Lake Champlain, which occupies a long, straight depression through the midst of the mountains, and by the Richelieu River. Between Lake Champlain and the Hudson one crosses a crest of only 39.75 meters above the Hudson, and of 16.45 above the lake. The Richelieu River, interrupted by rapids, starts on the opposite end of the lake and empties itself into the Saint Lawrence. There they have built a parallel canal running $4\frac{3}{4}$ leagues, in fine dimensions,³³⁰ which will be ready for commerce before a year has passed. It will cost 1,870,000 francs, or 394,000 francs a league. The distance from New York to Québec by canals and rivers will be 190 leagues.

A railroad currently in construction is to depart from Saint-Jean, where the rapids of the Richelieu River commence at the end of the lake, and is to end at the village of La Prairie on the Saint Lawrence opposite Montréal, after a journey of $6\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. This will do for Montréal what the canal does for Québec. It will cost very little, about 123,000 francs a league, or 800,000 francs in all. The distance from New York to Montréal will thus be 145 leagues.

§ II

Links between the Valley of the Mississippi and that of the Saint Lawrence (Vol. 2, pp. 183-92)

There is no chain of mountains between the two valleys. The basin of the Great Lakes, of which the waters form the Saint Lawrence, is only separated from the basin of the Mississippi by a buttress of the Alleghenies, descending from east to west, of which the greatest height above the Lakes is barely 150 meters, and which quickly declines to the west, to the point that it is no more elevated on the shores of Lake Michigan than a few meters. During the rainy season that swells the streams and fills the swamps at the point of separation, our French in Canada pass from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River by canoe.³³¹ This bastion makes up for its lack of height with mass. There is no crest, it is a plateau that gradually joins by gradual declines into the plains that surround it. Its flattened top is replete with bogs, and it thus offers large sources of water for canals that have to cross it. To the west, where it is almost on the level of the soil, it offers the general character of dryness that is proper to the *prairies* with which it is confounded.

FIRST LINE

The Ohio Canal (Vol. 2, pp. 193-220)

Only one great link has been established here between the two valleys. It is the canal of the State of Ohio that traverses this state from north to south, and it extends from Portsmouth on the Ohio River to Cleveland, an entirely new little town, born on the

³³⁰ It is 19.50 meters wide at the water line, 1.80 meters deep. The locks are 36.50 meters long and 20 meters wide. It is supposed to be usable by lake sloops.

³³¹ They follow the Pleine River.

banks of Lake Erie since the establishment of the canal. It is 22 leagues long and cost 22,720,000 francs, at 186,000 francs per league. This price is very low, while all the locks are of cut stone. It is true that the terrain is eminently favorable.

This undertaking was done at the expense of the State of Ohio, which started it at the same time that Pennsylvania and Baltimore threw themselves into public works imitating New York. This young state, with its population of cultivators not numbering a single trained person and of whom the most enlightened citizens had never seen another canal other than that of New York on Lake Erie, was able to create a canal longer than the longest one in France, borrowing a few second-rate engineers from the State of New York. They did this with more intelligence and ability that was to be found in Pennsylvania, despite the fact that Philadelphia abounded in first-rate minds. There is, in this agricultural population of Ohio, almost all originating from New England, a practical wisdom and an ability to practice all the skills that one seeks in vain among the Anglo-Germanic population of Pennsylvania. The legislators, among whom are some who have executed public works in one or another state, were, as one ordinarily finds in the United States, the perfect image of the mass that named them, with its qualities and faults. The canal commissioners of the State of Ohio combined admirable good sense with a fine disinterest. It is they who deserve the glory of having conceived of the Ohio Canal, of having laid it out and having had it built. They were lawyers and farmers who decided to make canals quite naturally, without effort, and without suspecting that in Europe one would never dare to take up such perils without being prepared by long scientific study. Today, in this state, making canals is not an art but a skill. The science of canalization there has been vulgarized. The new visitor to bar rooms is told, on taking a glass of whiskey, how to provide water at a turning point and how to provide the base for a lock. All the mysteries of [the Corps of] Bridges and Roads fall into the public domain here, roughly as the methods of descriptive geometry that we find in the shops, where they are perpetuated by tradition, many centuries before [Gaspard] Monge gave them the sanction of theory.

I have already said that the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois form a great triangle entirely contained within the valley of the Mississippi, with the exception of a straight tongue of land that borders the Lakes and consequently belongs to the basin of the Saint Lawrence. The general tip of the land there is from north to south, so that the course of water there is generally in that direction. This is particularly the case for the great tributaries of the Ohio and the Mississippi. This disposition of secondary valleys is not less favorable than the configuration and humidity of the plateau that separates the two basins to the creation of many paths of communication, particularly of canals, between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and the Lakes on the other side.

SECOND LINE
The Miami Canal
(Vol. 2, pp. 221-31)

The State of Ohio has built a canal that, departing from Cincinnati on the Ohio, goes north to Dayton under the name of the Miami Canal. It is 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues long and costs 5,227,000 francs, or 197,000 francs per league. In addition to the donation of land on the part of Congress, to which the state added its own resources, they have extended it to the Mad River, and from there, to Defiance on the Maumee, a former fort built by

General Wayne, after his famous victory over the Indians. The Maumee, which the French called the *Miami des Lacs*, is one of the principal tributaries of Lake Erie; the State of Ohio proposes to canalize it. From Dayton to Defiance, the canal will have 50 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues. The cost is estimated at 11 millions or 219,000 francs per league.

THIRD LINE
The Wabash Canal
(Vol. 2, pp. 232-36)

The States of Ohio and Indiana have undertaken with one another, by means of a donation of lands on the part of Congress,³³² a canal that will join the Wabash, one of the tributaries of the Ohio, with the Maumee. The greater part of the canal runs parallel to the two rivers, or in their beds. The work will cover on the whole 84 leagues, 54 in the State of Indiana and 30 in that of Ohio. Thirty leagues of the portion for Indiana has already been completed parallel to the Wabash. The Ohio is not yet able to open the works on its territory. As a result of a poor system of establishing borders,³³³ the Maumee, whose entire course is within the State of Ohio, would have its mouth on the soil of the future State of Michigan. The State of Ohio is protesting against this location. Michigan has made its case. The two sides have voted funds for a war, and they have armed themselves. There has even been a commencement of hostilities between the two powers. The intervention of the federal government was able to bring the parties to an armistice. In this quarrel, Ohio was right, but Michigan invoked on its behalf the formal text of the laws. It is likely that the Congress, in elevating Michigan to the rank of a state, will transfer the scrap of territory Ohio desires, and which it is so important to it to possess.³³⁴ In the incertitude, Ohio has suspended the execution of these works of canalization, which would give the mouth of the Maumee an importance it has not yet had.

FOURTH LINE
The Michigan Canal
(Vol. 2, pp. 255-59)

There has long been a proposal for a canal that would run from Chicago, at the southern end of Lake Michigan, to the Illinois River, and would terminate at the point where steam navigation commences on the full course of the water, that is, at the foot of its cataracts. They say that the canal would be easy to create through a ditch with a maximum width of 8.50 meters, and the level could be reduced to the height of Lake

³³² The system of these donations in favor of public works consists generally of dividing the land on the right and left of the line of the canal into sections of a mile (1609 meters) length and five miles (2 leagues) deep. Of two sections on the same side the recipient takes one; the other remains the property of the United States. They do the same operation on each bank. Further, it sometimes happens that Congress gives the choice of a certain number of acres in the federal domain situation in their territory to states doing public works.

³³³ There is no one who, on glancing at a map of the United States, is not struck by the frontiers made with straight lines, perpendicular to one another, terminating one or several sides of most states. This system of limiting a territory by meridians and parallels is absurd. It demands an infinite quantity of geodesic labors that have not been done and will not be done for a long time. The meridians and parallels might serve to divide the heavens, but for land there are no frontiers as reasonable as the course of rivers or the watershed of mountain chains.

³³⁴ See Note 61.

Michigan, which will serve as the reservoir of the canal. It would be $37\frac{1}{2}$ leagues long; it would traverse this flat or undulating treeless terrain that bears the name of *prairie* it was given by the French colonists from Canada. There is a proposal to cut it to dimensions more considerable than those of ordinary canals in the United States, so that it could be used by the sailboats that travel the Lakes, or even for steamboats.

It is one of the most useful works to be undertaken throughout the entire world.³³⁵

FIFTH LINE

The canal that the State of Pennsylvania has begun between the Ohio and the town of Erie, with a length of $41\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, whose water supply has already led to the completion of considerable preparatory works around little Lake Conneaut, will create a very short water link between the basin of the Mississippi and that of the Saint Lawrence.

VARIOUS LINES

Finally, two canals whose construction is being begun are supposed to join the Ohio Canal to the public works of the state of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh, and, as a result, will open new relations between the Mississippi and the Saint Lawrence. One of these is the canal of the *Beaver* and the *Sandy*; it begins at the confluence of the *Big Beaver* with the Ohio, follows the Ohio to the mouth of the *Little Beaver*, rises up its valley, passes into the valley of the *Sandy*, and follows it until it reaches the Ohio Canal at Bolivar. It will have $36\frac{1}{4}$ leagues. From Bolivar to New York, it is estimated that there is, with the Ohio Canal, Lake Erie, the Erie and Hudson Canal, three hundred leagues. By means of the new canal, it will not be more than 205 leagues from Bolivar to Philadelphia, which is to say, to the ocean.

The other is the Mahoning Canal. It departs Akron on the Ohio Canal, follows the valley of the Little Cuyahoga, then the Mahoning, one of the tributaries of the Big Beaver, and finally the Big Beaver itself to the Ohio. This canal will have about 36 leagues in length. From Akron to the Ohio River, the distance will be about $46\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

The somewhat broken terrain of the interior of the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois lend themselves no better to the building of railroads than to canals. Capital is rare on this barely-cleared soil, and if it is available, there are few serious companies when it comes to public works. In any case, the financial companies that have usually preceded companies for canals and railroads are beginning to prosper and diversify there. Their success presages the development of others. Failing private companies, the states are there to promote larger enterprises. The Western American is no less entrepreneurial than the American of the East. At this moment, I do not know of a single railroad in construction above the Ohio, and it does not appear that works will be promoted there with any energy. This one project is that which is to go from Dayton on the Miami Canal to Sandusky, on the bay of that name on Lake Erie. It will have $61\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. Many others have been proposed. The Legislature of Indiana has made a study of one that crosses this state from south to north, from New Albany on the Ohio, opposite Louisville, to Lake Michigan, passing through Indianapolis.³³⁶

³³⁵ See Note 62.

³³⁶ See Note 63.

The canal from Rochester to Olean will also establish a junction between the valley of the Mississippi and that of the Saint Lawrence.

Improvements to the Course of the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Saint Lawrence
(Vol. 2, pp. 271-325)

Included in the works covered in this division are naturally those carried out on the beds of the rivers themselves.

So far as navigability goes, the Mississippi is an ideal river. From Saint Louis to New Orleans, for a distance of 450 leagues, there is water all year for steamboats of 300 tons. Its dirty, muddy water runs in a bed that is always deep, despite its numerous turns, commonly 800 to 1000 meters wide, sometimes increased by flat, wooded islands. The channel is free of sandbanks. It still offers considerable dangers to the inexperienced sailor: drifting trees of which mention was already made,³³⁷ and to raise them the federal government has two steamboats, the *Heliopolis* and the *Archimedes*, of special construction, by which they are raised and cut into harmless pieces.

Captain Shreve, who commands these steamboats, and who invented their mechanism, was also charged to install some submersible dams of natural stones in the Ohio that have the effect of raising the water level, which is very low every year during a long period. He is currently occupied with a flotilla of steamboats in reopening the bed of the Red River, one of the largest tributaries of the Mississippi (right bank), which a raft of driftwood has blocked for a distance of close to sixty leagues.

At Louisville, the Ohio, whose drop is ordinarily quite gentle, descends at the rate of 7.46 meters in a distance of 3200 meters, proves unusable for steamboats, except at times of extremely high water. The canal from Louisville to Portland was begun by a company to circumnavigate this cataract. It admits the very largest steamboats,³³⁸ with a toll that is 906.33 francs for the *Henry Clay*, and 1000.32 francs for the *Uncle Sam*. There is a bill in Congress to buy the canal and make passage free. The importance of the navigation of the Ohio would justify this expenditure.

The Saint Lawrence differs essentially from the Mississippi. In the place of muddy water, it pours out floods of an invariably limpid blue. The Mississippi crosses a land uniformly flat, inhabitable or uninhabitable, of which the soil is nothing but sand, or rather of mud intermingled with the debris of the river. One searches in vain for a rock the size of a fist, where barely every league there appears a hillock among the leavings of the river on which the wan populace struggles hopelessly against the pestilential emanations of the surrounding swamps. The Saint Lawrence, in contrast, is funneled through a broken countryside, mountainous, even cliff-hung, basically fertile, thoroughly healthy, sprinkled with flourishing villages drawing the attention of the traveler from afar, with their annually-whitewashed houses and their French-style churches with bell-towers of whitened iron. Like the Nile, the Mississippi has its annual flood. There are actually two of them, but that in the spring is much the larger. The Saint Lawrence, thanks to the vastness of the lakes providing it with a reservoir and regulator, always

³³⁷ Letter XXI.

³³⁸ It is 15.22 meters wide at the bottom, with the width at the waterline varying with the height of the Ohio. At the ground level, the canal, which is very deep (12.75 meters) is 61 meters wide. The locks, of which there are three, are 55.40 meters by 15.22 meters, The *Mediterranean* is the only one of all the steamboats of the West that cannot pass it.

holds the same level. The extreme variation there is about 50 centimeters. The Saint Lawrence, for the beauty of its waters, its prodigious volume, for the country where it arises, for the group of islands with which it is sprinkled, is in the eye of the artist the most admirable river in the universe, yet in the eye of the businessman its merit is less than ordinary. Beneath its transparent waters many problems are poorly hidden. Navigation there is already interrupted by the Niagara Falls, and then, from its exiting Lake Ontario to Montréal, by a large number of rapids, quick or rocky declines. Only an Indian or a Frenchman would dare descend it continually in a canoe after Lake Ontario. The most powerful steamboat in the world would fail to go upstream in it.

The spirit of emulation that seizes all the states of the Union extends in the British possessions to the English population, which having abandoned the bottom of the river to the French, have established themselves in Upper Canada. The residents of this province see that if the chain interrupted by falls and rapids could be improved, a mass of agricultural products that floods toward the Mississippi and the canals of Pennsylvania and New York would have a better outlet through the Saint Lawrence, and that English cloths and iron-wares, landing at Montréal and Québec, would prefer the same route to find the Western States. The first canal (Welland Canal) has been built around Niagara Falls, effectively reestablishing communication between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. It is 11 ¹/₄ leagues long, not counting 8 leagues of navigable ditches. It is usable by schooners of 100 to 120 tons, who carry the commerce of the Lakes, and it cost 11 million francs, almost all supplied by the Province of Upper Canada. Lower Canada and the central cities there contributed only a small portion.

Further, a study of the course of the river has been made, and it has recognized that the narrows impassable for steamboats going upstream drawing 2.70 or 3 meters do not amount on the whole to more than 13 leagues, divided almost precisely between the two provinces. Upper Canada, which has barely 250,000 residents, without significant towns, without capital, has laid out plans on a grand scale³³⁹ for a canal paralleling the river along each of the rapids, and at this moment it has begun the portion belonging to it. This public work will be navigable for steamboats drawing 2.70 meters of water with 500 tons.

The French population of Lower Canada, absorbed in political quarrels of which no one can foresee the result, neglects its material interests to pursue chimerical interests of nationality. It has decided nothing concerning continuing on its own territory the magnificent public works undertaking by the poorer province of Upper Canada.

³³⁹ The locks will be 61 meters long and 16.70 meters wide. The canal will have a width of 42.50 meters and a depth of 3 meters. The locks of the Caledonian Canal are 52.40 meters long and 12.20 meters wide. The canal itself is 37 meters wide and 6.80 meters deep. The Amsterdam Canal at Helder is 38 meters wide and 6.20 deep.

§ III
Communication along the Atlantic

FIRST LINE

Interior Coasting Trade via the Bays and Lagoons that adjoin the Ocean
(Vol. 2, pp. 351-371)

If one examines the coast of the United States from Boston to Florida, it may be seen that there is almost continual navigation running along the coast, from north-northeast to south-southwest. In the North, this is via bays or the beds of rivers. In the South, it is by a series of elongated lagoons or by passages between the landed coast and a chain of low islands lying in front of the continent. The isthmuses that exist between the bays, rivers and lagoons are always straight, always depressed.

From Providence (17 leagues south of Boston) to New York, there is Narragansett Bay and the straits of Long Island, consisting on the whole of 72 leagues. From there, to reach the Delaware, one continues to the end of Raritan Bay to New Brunswick, where one finds ahead the isthmus that makes up the State of New Jersey. This is a flat country, about 12 meters in elevation and 40 to 60 leagues wide. This isthmus is currently crossed by a fine canal from the Raritan to the Delaware,³⁴⁰ usable for sloops, with a length of 17 leagues with a navigable ditch of ten leagues, all recently begun, to be completed in at least three years by a company using an expenditure of 12 million francs or 706,000 francs per league.

This work terminates at Bordentown on the Delaware. From there one descends to Delaware City, 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues below Bordentown and 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues above Philadelphia. There the isthmus that separates the Delaware from the Chesapeake is cut by a canal, of which the point of separation is not more than 3.60 meters above sea level. This is the Delaware-Chesapeake Canal, begun like the previous one for the use of schooners, and with the same dimensions. It is extremely costly, close to 14 million. Its length is 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, so that a league costs 2,545,000 francs.

Once in the Chesapeake, one may descend as far as Norfolk, about 80 leagues. From there, to reach the lagoons and passes that border North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, they have begun various works, of which the principal one is the Dismal Swamp Canal, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues. It is a canal at the point of separation, with the highest point only five meters above sea-level. Like the previous ones, it is created for cargo sloops. There are 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues of navigable ditches and levies.

The works created to continue this connection above the lagoons that join the Dismal Swamp Canal could not be brought to a good conclusion. South of the Chesapeake, the line is still quite incomplete. As a result one goes from Charleston to Savanna by steamboat via the lagoons and straits between the continent and the low islands where they raise a famous long-staple cotton.

³⁴⁰ It is 18 to 22 meters wide and 2 meters deep. It has two towpaths. The locks there are well-constructed and rapid to use.

SECOND LINE
Links between North and South via the Metropolises of the Coast
(Vol. 2, pp. 371-436)

Parallel to the links previously mentioned, which are intended for bulk merchandise, there also exists another located a little into the interior for the use of travelers and valuable merchandise, along which steam tends to be the sole motor, both by land and by water. On land, this is by means of the railroad; by water, by means of *steamboats*.

One goes from Boston to Providence on a railroad of 17 leagues in length that cost 8 million francs, or, per league, 471,000 francs. From Providence to New York, steamboats transport passengers in between 15 and 18 hours. There even exists a ship that makes the distance in 12 hours (the *Lexington*). To pass from Narragansett Bay into the narrows of Long Island, it is necessary to round a cape called Point Judith, where the sea is normally rough. Finally, to avoid this they are currently starting a railroad of 21 leagues in length that runs along the bay and the strait from Providence to Stonington.

A third railroad, which is planned for construction, and whose utility has barely been demonstrated (since steamboats on Long Island straits have a speed of 6 leagues an hour), might be built from a point on Long Island opposite Stonington and continue to Brooklyn, opposite New York. It will be $34 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length.

One goes from New York to Philadelphia by going to South Amboy, on Raritan Bay, by water (11 leagues). There a railroad begins that crosses the isthmus to Bordentown and then runs along the Delaware to Camden, opposite Philadelphia. During summer, travelers stop at Bordentown and finish their journey with a steamboat. During the winter, the Delaware freezes over. This is when the railroad carries the whole mass of those traveling between the commercial metropolis and the financial metropolis of the United States, between the center of trade and the stock exchange of the Union, between the North and the South. Then an ice-breaking boat brings travelers who get off at Camden to the dock of Philadelphia.

This railroad costs 12,250,000 francs. Its length is $24 \frac{1}{4}$ leagues, which is 505,000 francs per league. Over most of its length, there is only one track.

In Philadelphia I found many people who could recall taking two long days, sometimes three, to go to New York. Today it is a matter of seven hours, which will soon be reduced to less than six.

Two railroads join to a different group, one dedicated and already operating, the second half-built, and together they will complete another line, all by land, from New York to Philadelphia, a few leagues apart. The first one goes from Philadelphia to Trenton along the Delaware ($10 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues); the second will eventually extend from Jersey City on the Hudson, opposite New York, to New Brunswick ($11 \frac{1}{4}$ leagues). If one could place rails between New Brunswick and Trenton (11 leagues) on the perfectly level plain that joins the two towns, the connection between Philadelphia and New York would be complete. But up to now, the State of New Jersey is opposed to this, since by law it has sold the monopoly of transportation between Philadelphia and New York to the Amboy Company at Camden, and it receives great profits from it, at least 160,000 francs per year.

From Philadelphia to Baltimore, one descends the Bay by steamboat to Newcastle. One passes the isthmus on a railroad of $6\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, terminating at Frenchtown, on Chesapeake Bay, where one takes a second steamboat that disembarks its passengers at Baltimore, between eight and nine hours after they departed Philadelphia. The railroad from Newcastle to Frenchtown cost 2.130,000 francs, that is, 328,000 francs per league.

Since ice suspends navigation on the Chesapeake and the Delaware during a portion of the winter, it is thought that it would be useful to have a continuous railroad from Philadelphia to Baltimore. It would be a saving of time, since the present route is rather sinuous. Different companies have committed themselves to complete various parts of a railroad from Philadelphia to Baltimore, via Wilmington on the Delaware and Havre de Grace (a town founded by the French on the Susquehanna, near its mouth on the Chesapeake). The total distance will only be $37\frac{1}{4}$ leagues, instead of the 46 leagues taken today. One will go from Baltimore to Philadelphia in between five and six hours, compared with eight to nine hours required currently.

Other companies have undertaken a rival line that branches off the railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, near Parksburg, 18 leagues from Philadelphia, crossing the Susquehanna on the Port Deposit Bridge, two leagues above Havre de Grace. From Havre de Grace to Parksburg, the distance will be $13\frac{1}{4}$ leagues. This line would be $7\frac{1}{4}$ leagues longer than the previous one. It would also have the inconvenience of requiring passengers to go via the precipitous incline by which the railroad descends from Columbia to the level of Philadelphia, and for which Philadelphians show a repugnance bordering on horror, since they are more careful of their lives than other Americans.³⁴¹

To continue south from Baltimore, many routes present themselves. One might take the steamboat for Norfolk, and another steamboat already passes more rapidly up the James River as far as Richmond. The voyage of about 55 leagues is completed in ten hours. One may go more directly from Norfolk to the South by a railroad going to Weldon, on the bank of the Roanoke, which will have 31 leagues, and of which two-thirds is already open for business.

One could also go from Baltimore to Washington via a branch of the railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio. From Washington, via the Potomac in a steamboat, one reaches a little village six leagues from Fredericksburg. From there, a railroad, currently in construction, will be incessantly extended to Richmond. It will have $23\frac{3}{4}$ leagues in length, and will not even cost 140,000 francs per league, with its materials and warehouses. From Petersburg, $8\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Richmond, a railroad of 24 leagues branches off that reaches the Roanoke at Blakely near Weldon, and which even extends a few leagues beyond via a branch from Belfield. The gap between Richmond and Petersburg will soon be filled.

The railroad from Petersburg, shorter than the postal road, follows very closely one of the old Indian trails, a strange circumstance told me by the able engineer who constructed it, Mr. [Moncure] Robinson [1802-1891]. It proceeds almost entirely on the level of the soil, without embankment, across the sandy plains, uncultivated and

³⁴¹ This aversion of the Philadelphians has given rise to a railroad project, the *West-Philadelphia Railroad*, which will shun the steep incline and rejoin the Columbia Railroad at a distance of four leagues near Philadelphia. The incline will be distributed over the entire distance, which will produce an average incline of about one percent, of which experience shows gives no grounds for worry.

interrupted by pools of stagnant water that uniformly border the sea from the Chesapeake to the end of Florida, desolated every summer by fever.³⁴² It is most common country in the world for rail pathways, I do not call them railroads, since there, particularly, they are constructed entirely of wood. Its surface is naturally level, its sandy foundation offers an excellent basis for the timbers on which the rails rest. The still virgin forests of pines and oaks that cover the country present to whomever wishes it, and in an inexhaustible quantity, the essential materials for constructing a railroad. But if the soil is perfectly suitable, man is not as good. In these poor regions, the population is scattered. There are only tiny villages here and there along the banks of creeks. Large centers that alone could supply capital do not exist there. The intervention of the capitalists of the North is indispensable. The money of Philadelphia played a large part in the building of the railroads from Petersburg to Roanoke and from Richmond to Fredericksburg. Without it, no line could have crossed the State of North Carolina, the poor man of the confederation, from the North to the South, to connect the works already built or projected in South Carolina and Georgia.

There is therefore an enormous gap of 130 leagues from the Roanoke to Charleston, the metropolis of South Carolina, or, at least, of 110 leagues to Columbia,³⁴³ the capital of the same state. From Charleston a railroad of 54 $\frac{3}{4}$ leagues runs that crosses the uncultivated, feverish zone of sands and pine forests to attain cotton country. It terminates at Hamburg on the Savannah River, opposite Augusta, Georgia, which is the largest interior market for cotton. Including a great deal of material, it cost less than 120,000 francs per league. It has the peculiarity that, whenever it has to be raised above the soil, instead of embanking with rubble, they make use of timbers. This road, perched on trestles, at a height of five and seven meters, leave something to desire so far as public safety goes, but it was necessary to do it so with the limited capital, and it was successful there. The receipts have been considerable enough to permit them to substitute more solid foundations of hauled dirt in the place of these frail supports.

Another circumstance, even more remarkable, is that it was constructed in all details by blacks, almost all slaves.

This railroad was proposed to help deliver to the Charleston market a part of the cotton crop that descends the Savannah, and which supplies the market of the city of that name. It has completely fulfilled its founders' intentions.

From Augusta departs another railroad, the Georgia Railroad, begun very recently, which will traverse some of the most fertile districts planted in cotton on its way to Athens. It should be 46 leagues long. To continue the line from the North to the South, or from Boston to New Orleans, this railroad would have to continued in the direction of Montgomery, Alabama. At Montgomery, one takes steamboats on the Alabama River, which transport travelers and cotton to Mobile. A regular service of steamboats exists between Mobile and New Orleans via Mobile Bay, Pascagoula Bay,

³⁴² It is rather curious that this fever is everywhere dominant outside the centers of population and after the setting of the sun. Around Charleston, every white passing the night in the countryside is almost certain to catch the fever. One is little exposed to it if he remains in town. This malady differs completely in this regard from the Yellow Fever, which is ordinarily found where the population is concentrated. When New Orleans is infested, there is no peril a quarter-league away from there.

³⁴³ It will be easy to create a branch from Columbia to the railroad from Charleston to Augusta; it is being planned.

Lake Borgne and Lake Pontchartrain. The last two leagues, from Lake Pontchartrain to New Orleans, can be made in a quarter hour on a railroad that the Louisiana Legislature, in its bad French, calls *chemin à coulisses*.

With its gaps, this is the most advanced state of the line from the North to the South today. It will not remain the only one, to the degree that civilization spreads from the coast to the West, and capital multiplies there, new lines shall be created, moving progressively further from the coast.

The railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio, which, in truth, is only a railroad from the Potomac to the junction of the Potomac and the Shenandoah, lies, at its western extremity, at Harper's Ferry, with a railroad nearly completed today that goes 13 leagues further, to Winchester, following the bottom of one of those western furrows that separate the successive crests of the Alleghenies, from one end of the chain to the other. The furrow in which Winchester is situated is one of the most fertile. It is celebrated under the name of the *Valley of Virginia*. Hence, although the Winchester Railroad was only created to bring the agricultural products of Winchester and environs to the Baltimore market, it could easily become some day the head of a great link between North and South via the *Valley*. A railroad has already been authorized in that direction, from Winchester to Staunton, with a length of about 37 leagues.

Another line from South to North, perhaps destined to join by branches that which departs the North by following the Valley of Virginia, was projected at New Orleans, authorized by the Louisiana Legislature, and cannot fail to be treated that way by the legislatures of the other states it crosses. This will be a railroad of more than 200 leagues that will depart to the north from New Orleans, going to Nashville, capital of the State of Tennessee. They assure us that measures have been taken to open these works in a few months. This railroad pretends to do nothing less than compete with the magnificent water system of the Mississippi and the Ohio for transporting travelers and bales of cotton.

§IV

*Lines that Radiate From Metropolises*³⁴⁴

(Vol. 2, pp. 439-43)

FIRST CENTER

Boston

Three railroads depart Boston today, of which the first, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues in length, goes to the manufacturing town of Lowell, which thus becomes a suburb of Boston; and the second, 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ leagues in length, goes to Worcester, center of an agricultural area. The first cost 780,000 francs, and the second 450,000 francs per league. The third is the railroad from Boston to Providence, already mentioned as one of the links in the great chain between North and South.

The railroad from Boston to Lowell competes with the Middlesex Canal. That from Boston to Worcester is to be extended to the Hudson River. It will end opposite Albany; it will also connect with a railroad of 13 leagues that will be constructed between

³⁴⁴ [Chevalier, *Histoire et Description*, vol. 2, 439: " We have very few works to describe under this title. At the time when the author of this book planned the outline (that was shortly after his return from America) many railroads could be considered as destined to serve exclusively peripheral areas, so to speak, around metropolises. Since then they have been extended, and it was convenient to group them among the elements of the great arterials that we have examined in succession."]

West Stockbridge and the town of Hudson. For Boston, it will become a *Western Railroad*, which is the name they are giving to the extension. A company has been authorized to build the portion between Worcester and Springfield, which will have 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.³⁴⁵ The whole distance from Boston to Albany will be about 65 leagues.

Another railroad (*Eastern Railroad*) of 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, is being begun from Lynn, famous for its shoe factories, Salem, a small town with a great commerce, Beverley, Ipswich and Newburyport, toward Portland, capital of Maine, and the extreme north of the Union.

SECOND CENTER

New York

Around New York, one may count, 1) the railroad of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues that goes to Paterson, a great manufacturing town, built on the falls of the Passaic; 2) that of New Brunswick, which will be further discussed, which serves various interesting points, including Newark, and supplies the markets of New York with provisions of a part of New Jersey; 3) the little Harlem Railroad, almost exclusively for recreation; 4) that from Brooklyn to Jamaica (5 leagues) along Long Island, destined both for excursions and for provisioning New York.

THIRD CENTER

Philadelphia

Other than the two great railroads of Columbia and from Amboy to Camden, mentioned above, there are around Philadelphia the following: 1) that from Trenton; 2) that from Norristown and Germantown, oriented to recreation and to service some manufacturers, including those of Manayunk; it is 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues long; 3) that from Westchester, which is a branch of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the Columbia Railroad, and which provisions the markets of the city.

There are also some railroads along the streets both within the city itself and between various quarters, notably along Broad Street and Willow Street, on which no motive force other than horses is used.

FOURTH CENTER

Baltimore

Other than the railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio and the branch to Washington, Baltimore will get a railroad directed to the Susquehanna, opposite Columbia, via York, of which the length will be 24 leagues.

The object of this railroad is to compete with Philadelphia for the commerce of the valley of the Susquehanna. The Pennsylvania Canal, with its numerous branches, is a complete canalization up the Columbia, with this river and its tributaries. Above Columbia, the Susquehanna presents rapids and obstacles that make navigation impossible except for descent during high water. The businessmen of Philadelphia, fearing that the works created at great cost by Pennsylvania will only be less to their profit than to that of the Baltimoreans, have long been opposed both to the canalization of the Susquehanna from Columbia to the mouth, but also against authorizing passage of a railroad through Pennsylvania from Philadelphia to Columbia. Their opposition has just

³⁴⁵ See Note 64.

been overcome. The canal and the railroad have been conceded on Pennsylvanian soil as much as needed. The railroad company, to which the State of Maryland will contribute a sum of about 6 million francs, is actively under construction.

FIFTH CENTER
Charleston

Some small canals were built once to facilitate first contacts between Charleston and the interior of the country. These works are in bad condition and without importance.

SIXTH CENTER
New Orleans

Around New Orleans, other than the little railroad of two leagues that goes from the Mississippi to Lake Pontchartrain, one includes that from Carrollton, which, once completed, will be a bit longer, and two little canals that go from the city to the Lake. Some cuts were also made between the lagoons and in the marshes of the lower Mississippi. These canals, scooped out of the mud, have presented great problems of execution. They offer interest neither for their extent nor for their results.

SEVENTH CENTER
Saratoga

The waters of Saratoga, in the State of New York, receive an enormous number of visitors during two or three months of summer, arriving in swarms. There is not a single bourgeois of some ease in Philadelphia, in New York and Baltimore who does not feel himself compelled to pass twenty-four or forty-eight hours in the holiday crush that encumbers the hotels, and to visit the field of battle where the English army under General Burgoyne surrendered. At this moment there are two railroads leading to Saratoga; one, of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, branching off near Schenectady on the railroad from Schenectady to Albany; the other, of 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ leagues, departs from Troy on the Hudson. When the season has passed, they serve to transport wood for construction and heating to the Hudson.

§V
Works established around Coal Mines
(Vol. 2, pp. 447-525)

The bituminous coal mines of Chesterfield County, near Richmond, in Virginia, are joined to the James River by a small railroad hauled only by horses, 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ leagues long, costing 200,000 francs per league, including materials. Once arrived at the river, these coals are distributed throughout the coast, competing with the bituminous coals of England and Nova Scotia.

Digs of anthracite coal in Pennsylvania have produced a much more considerable mass of public works.

Today, all along the coast, they hardly use any other combustible for domestic uses or for manufacturing, than the anthracite that exists exclusively in a rather limited district of Pennsylvania, among the mountains located between the Susquehanna and the Delaware. It generates a more lively and sustained heat than wood, which has also become expensive, and is better for the rigorous winters one encounters in America in the latitude of Naples. America imports a great deal of bituminous coal, which is almost the

only type known in France. Anthracite burns without smoke, it is much cleaner than bituminous, it does not leave grease on the draperies and does not blacken the rugs. Nothing is easier than getting a fire from anthracite; a furnace refilled two or three times in twenty-four hours will never go out, even during the night. Servants, who are spared work by it, prefer it, and in this matter as in so many others in the United States, it is their desire that is more powerful than that of their masters. Its sole drawback is sometimes spreading a slight sulfur odor. It has been introduced successfully for boilers, and they are even beginning to substitute it for wood on steamboats.

The mining of anthracite is hence considerable. Various canals and railroads have been completed or are being built to connect mines with centers of consumption.

The principal lines established or being established to service the mines are:

- 1) The Schuylkill Canal, which provides Philadelphia with the products of neighboring mines at the sources of the Schuylkill. Its length, from Philadelphia to Port Carbon, where it starts, is $43 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues. On the whole it cost, including the best double locks, 16,000,000 francs, or 372,000 francs per league. It produces 20 to 25 percent net revenue per year, and it transports 400,000 tons per year.
- 2) The Lehigh Canal, moving to the Delaware the products of the mines situated at the sources of the Lehigh. It is $16 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues long and cost 8,300,000 francs, or 474,000 francs per league.
- 3) The canal parallel to the Delaware. It departs from Easton, at the confluence of the Lehigh, and terminates at Bristol, at the head of maritime navigation. It brings coal that has descended the Lehigh Canal. It is 24 leagues in length and cost 7,600,000 francs, or 316,000 francs per league.

This was carried out by the State of Pennsylvania. It was considered the highest accomplishment among the public works of that state.

- 4) The Morris Canal, which departs from the same point of Easton and is to terminate at Jersey City, opposite New York. It is to supply the New York market with the coal of the Lehigh. It distinguishes itself in that the major part of the elevation is compensated, not by locks as ordinary, but by inclined planes, of which the most considerable has an elevation of 30.50 meters, and of which the procedure is very simple. The work has a length of $48 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues, not including 2 leagues yet to complete at Jersey City. It costs 226,000 francs per league, about 11 million francs in all.
- 5) The canal from the Hudson to the Delaware that brings the anthracite of mines around the upper Delaware to Rondout Bay on the Hudson near to Kingston, 36 leagues above New York. This coal, having arrived from the mountains at Honesdale via a railroad of $6 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues length, enter the canal there, which is 43 leagues long. The railroad cost 1,699,000 francs, or 250,000 a league, with its material. The canal cost 12,600,000 francs, or 293,000 francs a league.
- 6) The railroad from Pottsville to Sunbury, which is to deliver the products of the mines situated in the heart of the mountains, between the Susquehanna and the sources of the Schuylkill, to the canalized Schuylkill. It is remarkable for extremely severe grades; one grade is between 25 and 30 percent. They are provided by means both ingenious and economical. The length of this

railroad is $17 \frac{3}{4}$ leagues. It cost about 6 million francs, which is 338,000 francs per league.³⁴⁶

- 7) The railroad from Philadelphia to Reading, currently under construction, which will compete with the canalization of the Schuylkill. It will have $24 \frac{3}{4}$ leagues and will cost, with the material, about 350,000 francs per league. It has been proposed to extend it to Pottsville; the distance from Pottsville to Reading is about 14 leagues. One would have a continuous railroad of 55 leagues between Philadelphia and the center of the Susquehanna Valley.

Besides these seven large lines, various mining companies have established a multitude of other railroads of lesser importance that continually interlock. At the end of 1834, 66 leagues had been created at a price of 6 million francs, which, when joined to the 223 leagues and 71,300,000 francs of the seven links described, makes a total of 289 leagues and 77,300,000 francs. And, if the canal lateral to the Delaware is deducted, which I had already added, this makes 265 leagues, and 69,700,000 francs.

The mass of all the works that I have enumerated, counting only those that are already finished or in active course of construction, form a total of 1,210 leagues of canals and 732 leagues of railroads, costing a total of 600 million francs. If one adds to this various isolated works, such as the railroad from Ithaca to Owego, New York, which has been completed, or those from Lexington to Louisville and from Tusculumbia to Decatur, Alabama, and various works of canalization in New England, Georgia, Pennsylvania, etc., one arrives at a definitive total of 1,321 leagues of canals and 802 leagues of railroads, and an expense of 467 million francs.³⁴⁷

Hence the impulse has been given; the movement will continually accelerate; the territory is pierced in all its parts. If I were to name all the railroads being studied right now, which are authorized or will be by the legislatures, for which subscriptions have been filled or are about to open, I would have to name all the towns in the Union. A town of six thousand souls without its railroad regards itself with that sentiment of mockery that fell on our first parents when, having tasted the fruit of the tree of knowledge, they perceived that they were naked.

I have spoken here only of completed lines of communication, canals and railroads, and not of ordinary roads. If I were to show what was done in another report, I would have cited above all the great enterprise of the *National Road*, also called the *Cumberland Road*, which, parting from Washington or rather from Cumberland on the Potomac, goes to join the Ohio at Wheeling, and from there it extends to the West, across the heart of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, to the Mississippi. It was built entirely at the expense of the federation. To date a total of 28 million francs has been allotted for it. Begun in 1806, it is currently almost finished as far as Vandalia in Illinois. A dispute between the two states of Illinois and Missouri caused work to cease above this town. The distance from Washington to Vandalia is 325 leagues, and 270 from Cumberland to

³⁴⁶ This railroad does not end directly at Pottsville; it branches off at a place near that town, on the *Mount Carbon Railway*.

³⁴⁷ See Note 65.

Vandalia. The doctrine of the intervention of the federal government in public works³⁴⁸ having fallen since the advent of General Jackson to the presidency, the Congress has offered the property of the National Road to the particular states whose territory it crosses. They have accepted it on condition that the property first be placed in a perfect state of repair.

Various states have also spent considerable sums to improve their roads. South Carolina, for example, has consecrated a sum of six to eight million francs to this purpose.

The public works of the United States are generally built with economy; the prices I have cited testify to that, since they are lower than those of Europe, despite the fact that labor costs two or three times more here than on the old continent. The canals built by the states are passably constructed. Their dimensions, smaller than ours, are larger than those of English canals; the locks there are always of cut stone.³⁴⁹ Bridges, culverts and aqueducts are normally of wood, on piers and abutted with common stone. The dams on rivers are constantly of wood.

The railroads of the states, particularly those of Pennsylvania, were built at great expense. They have two directions, with the bridges in masonry and some tunnels. Their rails are entirely of iron, resting on ties of stone. The company of the Lowell Railroad wanted, itself, that its work should be constructed in the most permanent manner. It used luxurious granite, which I thought was superfluous, if not detrimental. The railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio is also two-way. Save for a short distance, it is on wood. In the Northern states, as well as near large cities, most *railroads* have one rail entirely in iron and the foundation prepared for two ways, with only one way imposed. This is the way with the railroads from Boston to Worcester and to Providence, from Amboy to Camden. This will also be the way with that from Philadelphia to Reading; but they repose on ties of wood, which, besides being cheap, present many advantages for the preservation of the material and the softening of movements, and also for the rapidity of repairs. In the North, the railroads intended for low usage or far from large cities, and in general all of those in the South, have a single way without any preparation for a second, and for rails they have longitudinal pieces of wood sheathed with a band of iron five centimeters thick and fifteen centimeters across.

On almost all American railroads, there are much greater inclines than those regarded as the *maximum* in Europe. An incline of 35 feet per English mile (almost seven millimeters per meter) would appear moderate to American engineers. An incline of fifty feet (nearly ten millimeters per meter) would startle no one.³⁵⁰ Experience has demonstrated that these inclines, of which the latter, double the *maximum* for [the Corps

³⁴⁸ The right of the federal government to intervene in public works is contested, not because it is a government, but because it is held that the Constitution does not formally recognize this right. In particular states, the doctrine of intervention of the local government in public works is not at issue.

³⁴⁹ On many canals constructed by companies, and some of those by the states, locks are half in stone, half in wood. These composite locks are economical, easy to repair, and can usefully be used anywhere. There are many locks entirely of wood.

³⁵⁰ I am not speaking here about the inclines used in mountain railroads, which are stronger than the most intense *Russian mountains*. When one wishes to put a railroad in mountainous regions, it is very hard to avoid severe inclines. There is much more advantage, considering traction, to construct a series of inclines to be made by a portion of the track near the lower level than to distribute the incline uniformly throughout the line.

of] Bridges and Roads (five millimeters per meter, offers no peril to the public safety. It is true that reduces speed, at least when one does not use a stronger locomotive, and that it increases the cost of traction, but the Americans estimate that these inconveniences are more than compensated by a reduction of costs in first construction. The curves there are also tighter: on the railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio, where the service is provided by locomotives, there are several curves where the radius is 120 to 150 meters. In consequence, one cannot operate on this line with a speed more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 leagues an hour, which is half the speed at Liverpool, but it is still two and a half times faster than a carriage on an ordinary road. In general, still, American engineers make every effort to avoid curves with less than 300 meters radius. In France, the [Corps of] Bridges and Roads in its studies of the main lines has imposed a minimum of 800 meters.

There are some American railroads where they have exceeded the prescriptions of European science. On the railroad from Boston to Lowell, the *minimum* radius is 914 meters and the *maximum* incline is less than 2 millimeters. On that from Boston to Providence, there is no radius less than 1800 meters.

The speed used on American railroads is as variable as their mode of construction and their conditions of inclines and turns. On the railroad from Boston to Lowell, one travels a little above the rate of 10 leagues an hour; it is at the rate of 8 leagues per hour on those from Boston to Providence and to Worcester. On the line from Amboy to Camden, the average speed has been reduced to 6 leagues; it is only 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ on that from Charleston to Augusta; I have mentioned that it was still slower on that from Baltimore to the Ohio.

One of the largest economies obtained here in the construction of railroads results from the use of wood in building bridges and culverts. Americans are past masters at building bridges of wood. The much-vaunted bridges of Switzerland are, in comparison with theirs, heavy, gross trestles. American bridges have arches or trusses from 35 to 70 meters;³⁵¹ they are no less astonishing for their low price than for their strength. The bridge at Columbia on the Susquehanna, is 2000 meters long and costs 700,000 francs, all included. It has a double road for carriages and carts, a double walkway for pedestrians, and it is covered. In general, a two-way covered bridge costs for its *superstructure*, that is, not including the masonry of the piers, between 200 and 350 francs per running meter, depending on the locality and the composition of labor, which is 40,000 to 70,000 francs for a bridge of 200 meters, which with us would be built of cut stone and would cost at least 1,200,000 or 1,500,000 francs. The masonry is ordinarily made of rubble or rough cut stone, and hence very cheap. Three systems of carpentry dominate bridges: one is derived from the carpenter Burr; the second from Colonel Long; the third, which is the newest, the most interesting and most adaptable for railroads, due to its solidity, is due to Mr. Ithiel Town. They are all remarkable in that they use almost no iron. In the United States one encounters some bridges in cut stone. One is Thomas Viaduct, over the Petasco, on the line from Baltimore to Washington, all in fine granite, 214 meters long, and which cost only 650,000 francs, although it has two paths and is elevated to 20 meters.

The largest difficulty the Americans have encountered in building routes of communication is probably not getting the necessary capital, but rather finding the men

³⁵¹ The Schuylkill Bridge at Philadelphia has 92.75 meters on a single arch.

capable of directing the works. In this context once more, the State of New York has rendered the Union a signal service. The engineers trained in the construction of the Erie Canal have spread abroad the fruits of the experience they have acquired. Mr. B. Wright, the most distinguished among them, is today the most active of American engineers,³⁵² and despite his great age has participated in an incredible number of enterprises. His name is associated with the building of the canals from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, from the Delaware to the Chesapeake, from the Hudson to the Delaware, of Virginia, of the Saint Lawrence, and even the Welland Canal, to which one may add the railroads of Harlem, and from New York to Lake Erie. For the last decade, capable engineers have begun to multiply in the United States, and the proof of their knowledge is written on the soil of the country. General Bernard contributed not a little by bringing along the most advanced methods of European art to the New World and propagating it by his example. Mr. M[oncure] Robinson, also a student of French science, and who excelled in the art of building solid works with a good appearance at a low price, furnished the plans of the Portage Railroad, and constructed the railroads of Chesterfield, from Petersburg to Roanoke, of the Little Schuylkill, from Winchester to Harper's Ferry. He then completed those from Pottsville to Sunbury, from Philadelphia to Reading, from Fredericksburg to Richmond. Major Mac Neill went on to finish the railroad from Philadelphia to Providence, and he is working on those of Stonington and Baltimore to the Susquehanna. Mr. D. Douglass, after having made the Morris Canal and the railroad from Brooklyn to Jamaica, is preparing, for his next campaign, the construction of the waterworks of New York. Mr. Fessenden, who was the last hand on the *Worcester Railroad*, is to be charged with the *Western* and the *Eastern Railroad*, to the right and the left of Boston. Mr. J. Knight, who is the principal engineer of the railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio, is seeking the means to have it cross the Alleghenies. Mr. Canvass White, who is dying, contributed to the creation of the canal from Louisville to Portland, and he most recently completed the fine canal from the Raritan to the Delaware. Mr. H. Allen built the railroad from Charleston to Augusta. Mr. Jervis constructed that from Carbondale to Honesdale, and today he directs a part of the great works of canalization of the State of New York.

To help the penury of men of art, which the spirit of enterprise creates in an ever increasing number, the federal government authorizes outstanding officers and *topographical engineers* to enter the service of companies. It employs them directly to draft studies and research proposals, or to construct works for its own account. This has been the fate of General Gratiot, a commandant in chief of engineers, who was given the office of Director General of Bridges and Roads. The colonels of the topographers, Abert and Kearney, took an active part in the works of the great canal from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, of which the federal government is the chief shareholder. Captain Turnbull directs the canal from Georgetown to Alexandria; Captain Delafield the works of the

³⁵² At this moment, Mr. Wright, despite his 65 years, directs all at once, personally, the railroad from Harlem to New York; the great railroad from New York to Lake Erie; the great link by canal and railroad, from the James River to Kanawha, Virginia; the works on the Saint Lawrence in Upper Canada, three hundred leagues to the north, and finally the railroad from Havana to Guines, on the island of Cuba. All these works together make a total development of 380 leagues. The most distinguished American engineers always have several works under their direction at one time, but a lesser number. One sees that they gather around themselves, as much as possible, instructed and intelligent collaborators who take over a large part of the trouble.

National Road, and Captain Talcott the improvement of the Hudson. Colonel Long passes from proposal to proposal, and he studies both the line from Savannah to Memphis as well as that from Portland, Maine, to Québec and Montréal. On their own side, architects have remade themselves engineers, so that Mr. W. Strickland of Philadelphia and Mr. [Benjamin Henry] Latrobe [1807-1878] of Baltimore direct the works of new lines that are to be established between the two cities. Even simple businessmen take over responsibility for great works such as Jackson of Boston, who is in fact engineer in chief for the Lowell Railroad.

It is a splendid spectacle of a young people accomplishing a mass of communications of which the mightiest empires of Europe, with triple or quadruple the population, would be proud, within the short space of fifteen years.

What public prosperity will gain there and will continue to gain is incalculable. Politics has no less to gain. These multiplied and rapid lines of communication will contribute to the maintenance of the Union, even more than the balance of national representation. When New York is no more than six or eight hours from New Orleans, not only for a wealthy class, traveling in a privileged manner,³⁵³ but for all bourgeois, for every worker, there would be no further possibility of separation. The great distances shall have vanished, and this colossus, ten times larger than France, will maintain its unity without effort.³⁵⁴

It is impossible for me not to point out my thoughts on Europe, and to make a rather unfavorable comparison to the great monarchies that cover it. The partisans of the monarchical principle maintain that they have more power for the happiness and greatness of peoples, and for the progress of the human race than the principle of *self government* that dominates the other side of the Atlantic. For my account I am utterly committed to believe that. But it is vital that material proofs be given if one does not wish that the opposed conviction should gain more converts. The tree must be judged by the fruits of today. The European governments dispose of the treasure and hands of more than 250 thousand persons, which is to say, of a population twenty times larger than that of the United States when it commenced building its system of communications. The land that claims its concern is only four times more extensive³⁵⁵ than that which is currently covered by the states and organized territories. The billions so easily raised for war, that is to destroy and kill, should not be lacking for creative enterprises. They only need to desire it, and all the European nations will so combine their interests, will so compromise and intermingle their ideas and sentiments, that all of Europe will be like a single nation, and a European war will be regarded as a sacrilege equal to a civil war. By postponing these useful works even longer, does not this vindicate those who feel that the cause of kings is irreconcilable with that of nations?

³⁵³ See Note 66.

³⁵⁴ See Note 67.

³⁵⁵ Including all of northern Europe and all the lands west of the Urals.

Note 56 [Vol. 2, Note 6, 1836 edition]

[Arkansas a State]

In 1836, Arkansas was effectively admitted to the rank of State.

Note 57 [Vol. 2, Note 7, 1836 edition]

***Voting of Funds to aid the Company for the Railroad from
New York to Lake Erie***

In the session of 1836, the New York Legislature voted an advance of 3 million dollars (16,000,000 francs) to the company for the railroad from New York to Lake Erie. The company hopes to complete its railroad with 6 million dollars, or about 168,000 francs per league.

Note 58 [Vol. 2, Note 8, 1836 edition]

Advances of Maryland for Public Works

In the session of 1836, the Maryland Legislature voted the sum of \$8 million (41,333,000 francs), of which \$6 million applied to half of the continuation of the railroad and the canal; the rest is divided among three works, of which one is to join Annapolis, the state capital, with the Potomac.

The city of Baltimore, on its behalf, subscribed 3 million dollars for the railroad.

The State of Maryland, desiring to favor public works, did not lose sight of the interests of the treasury. It was guaranteed by the companies an interest of 6 percent for its actions, and it renounced all dividends exceeding this figure. It is more a loan with a mortgage than a subscription.

Note 59 [Vol. 2, Note 9, 1836 edition]

Railroad from Charleston to Cincinnati

In 1836, this railroad was authorized by the legislatures of the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina. The preparatory studies have taken place; the line was determined, and a committee was organized to pursue the affair with vigor. This committee is presided over by Mr. [Robert Y.] Hayne [1791-1839], a former senator of Congress, former governor of South Carolina, one of the most distinguished men in the country. Including two branches to Louisville and Maysville, this railroad will be 250 leagues long.

The approximate expense that was set was raised to \$11,870,000.

Note 60 [Vol. 2, Note 10, 1836 edition]

Public Works in Georgia

Georgia is involved in other more easily realizable projects. There is the matter of improving navigation on the Savanna River or to establish a parallel canal where the navigation would otherwise be poor. By this means, cotton that currently prefers to take the railroad from Augusta to Charleston would descend the river, stimulating the commerce of the city of Savannah.

There is a great deal of discussion in Georgia about a railroad from Savannah to Macon, which would be 80 leagues long. The company has been authorized, and as an encouragement one has given it the privilege of functioning as a bank.

They are actively working on the Georgia Railroad, which is prolonging the railroad from Charleston to Augusta to the southwest, from the banks of the Chattahoochee River. It is to be joined to another important railroad whose construction appears decided that will be placed between the Chattahoochee and the Alabama River, and which will join the latter river at Montgomery, at the head of steam navigation. The city of Mobile, situated close to the mouth of the Alabama, which receives the cotton from the higher country, has subscribed \$100,000 for the railroad from the Chattahoochee to the Alabama.

In order for the connection by railroad and steamboat to be complete between Boston and New Orleans, all that is lacking is a railroad between the Roanoke River and Charleston. A first part of that line, from the Roanoke to the town of Raleigh, North Carolina, having a length of 28 leagues, was to be authorized by North Carolina. The remnant, from Raleigh to Charleston, will form about a hundred leagues.

In observing the map of the United States, one sees that, to pass from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico, one could profit from two watercourses, the Saint Mary River and the Suwanee, which discharge one on one coast, the other on the other coast, and which, at a certain moment, approach one another very closely via the Santa Fe, one of the tributaries of the Suwanee. Florida is a land that is generally flat; it would be easy to join these two rivers, rendered navigable, with a railroad. There is also consideration of a canal that would be directed, once departing the Saint Mary, along the Suwanee, then toward the town of Tallahassee. They have been discussing these works for a long time. After the Seminole Indians evacuate Florida, it is likely that it will be seriously taken up.

Note 61 [Vol. 2, Note 11, 1836 edition]

[Alteration of the border between Michigan and Ohio]

During the session of 1836, the Congress, in the course of elevating Michigan to the rank of a state, effectually transferred to Ohio the corner of territory where the mouth of the Maumee is to be found.

Note 62 [Vol. 2, Note 12, of the 1836 edition]

The Michigan Canal Begun

The State of Illinois has decisively begun at its own cost the construction of the Michigan Canal. The dimensions appear to be necessarily very large. It will be 37 ¹/₂ leagues long. It is estimated to cost an average of a million a league. The work was commenced on 4 July 1836. The Lake will serve as the reservoir. The *maximum* entrenchment in the rock will be 8.50 meters. The two extremities will be Chicago and near the confluence of the Little Vermillion River.

The first appropriation of funds is \$500,000 (2,667,000 francs).

Note 63 [Vol. 2, Note 13, 1836 edition]

Public Works in the State of Indiana

During its 1836 session, the Legislature of Indiana voted the sum of \$10 million (53,300,000 francs) for public works. The sum of \$1,300,000 (6,930,000 francs) will

serve to complete the canalization of the Wabash River or the canal from the Wabash to Lake Erie via the Maumee; the sum of \$1,400,000 are allocated for the canalization of the White River, one of the tributaries of the Wabash; \$3,500,000 (18,667,000 francs) is for the creation of a canal, the *Central Canal*, that will cross the state from south to north, by Evansville, on the Ohio, to the end of the canalization of the Wabash. The sum of \$1,600,000 (8,533,000 francs) is consecrated to a railroad departing New Albany, on the Ohio, opposite Louisville, which will pass through Indianapolis and move toward Lake Michigan. The sum of \$1,600,000 (8,533,000 francs) goes to various railroads or macadamized roads; \$500,000 (2,667,000 francs) are destined, in the form of subscription, to the railroad from Lawrenceburg, on the Ohio, to Indianapolis, which has been undertaken by a company.

The Central Canal will form a development of 180 leagues, including the canal from the Wabash to Lake Erie, with 30 leagues being in the State of Ohio.

Note 64 [Vol. 2, Note 14, 1836 edition]

Massachusetts subscribes to the Western Railroad

The capital of the company that has taken up this work is \$2 million; the estimated cost only reaches \$1,600,000, including a branch of 9 leagues between Springfield and Hartford, Connecticut.

During its 1836 session, the Massachusetts Legislature subscribed for a million dollars. The act for which this subscription was made gave the capital of the company as \$3 million.

It is the first time the State of Massachusetts has intervened in public works. This decision is on its part quite a revolution in its politics. The newspapers, in announcing it, remarked that some years before a similar proposition would have been regarded as folly and rejected with disdain or wrath.

Note 65 [Vol. 2, Note 15, 1836 edition]

Summary of Public Works in the United States

The six following tables offer a summary of the various public works of the United States, classified as in Letter XXII, with expenses in francs and lengths in leagues of 4000 meters.

Table I: Lines Running from East to West

Canals and railroads	length (leagues)		total cost	
	canals	rail	canals	Railroads per league
1 st line: Erie Canal	146 1/2		65,000,000	262,600
various branches	101			
lateral rail lines				
Albany – Schenectady		6 1/2	4,000,000	615,400
Schenectady – Utica		31 1/2	8,000,000	254,000
Rochester – Buffalo		29	3,000,000	103,000
2 nd Line: Pennsylvania Canal	111		95,000,000	392,300
Canal Branches	131 1/4			
Columbia Railroad		33	19,200,000	581,800
Portage Railroad		14 1/4	8,550,000	600,000
Bald Eagle Canal	10		1,000,000	100,000
Union Canal	33		13,870,000	420,300
3 rd Line: Baltimore & Ohio RR. (1 st part)		34	16,000,000	470,600

4 th Line: Chesapeake & Ohio Canal (1 st part)	74 ³ / ₄		33,000,000	442,800
Georgetown-Alexandria Canal	3		2,600,000	866,700
5 th Line: Virginia Canal	100		25,000,000	250,000
Virginia Railroad	60		15,000,000	250,000
Old James River Canal	12		5,300,000	441,600
6 th Line: Richelieu Canal	4 ³ / ₄		1,870,000	393,700
Prairie Railroad		6 ¹ / ₂	800,000	123,100
Totals	727 ¹ / ₄	214 ³ / ₄	242,640,000	74,550,000

(Vol. 2, pp. 531-36)

Table II: Communications between the Valley of the Mississippi and the Saint Lawrence.

Canals and Railroads	Length		Total Cost		by league
	canals	rail	canals	rail	
Ohio Canal	122		22,720,000		186,200
Miami Canal (1 st part)	26 ¹ / ₂		5,227,000		197,200
Ditto (2 nd part)	50 ¹ / ₄		11,000,000		219,000
Wabash and Lake Erie Canal	84		16,800,000		200,000
Michigan Canal	37 ¹ / ₂		37,500,000		1,000,000
Pittsburgh and Erie Canal	41 ¹ / ₂		5,000,000		120,500
Beaver and Sandy Canal	36 ¹ / ₄		7,250,000		200,000
Mahoning Canal	36		7,200,000		200,000
Dayton and Sandusky RR	61 ¹ / ₂		10,500,000		170,700
Welland Canal	11 ¹ / ₄		11,040,000		982,300
Saint Lawrence Works	13		20,000,000		1,538,000
Louisville and Portland Canal		³ / ₄	4,053,000		5,400,000
TOTALS	459	61 ¹ / ₂	147,790,000		10,500,000

(Vol. 2, pp. 537-40)

Table III: Communications along the Length of the Atlantic

Canals and Railroads	Length		Total Cost		by league
	canals	rail	canals	rail	
1 st Line: <i>Coastal:</i>					
Raritan & Delaware Canal	17		12,000,000		705,000
Delaware & Chesapeake C.	5 ¹ / ₂		14,000,000		2,545,000
Dismal Swamp Canal & Branches	9		3,733,000		323,600
	2 ¹ / ₂				
2 nd Line: <i>By Metropolis</i>					
Boston & Providence RR		17	8,000,000		470,600
Providence & Stonington RR		21	8,000,000		381,000
Amboy & Camden RR		24 ¹ / ₄	12,250,000		505,200
Newcastle & Frenchtown RR		6 ¹ / ₂	2,130,000		327,700
Baltimore & Washington RR		12	8,000,000		750,000
Harper's Ferry & Winchester RR		13	2,600,000		200,000
Fredericksburg & Richmond RR		23 ³ / ₄	3,900,000		164,200
Petersburg & Roanoke RR		24	3,470,000		144,600
Belfield Branch RR		6	840,000		140,000
Norfolk & Weldon RR		31	4,000,000		129,000
Charleston & Augusta RR		54 ³ / ₄	6,400,000		116,900
Augusta & Athens RR		46	8,250,000		179,300
34		279 ¹ / ₄	29,753,000		67,840,000

(Vol. 2, pp. 541-2)

Table IV: Communications Emanating out of Metropolises

Canals and Railroads	Length		Total Cost		by league
	canals	rail	canals	rail	
Boston & Lowell RR		10 1/4		8,000,000	780,500
Boston & Worcester RR		17 3/4		6,670,000	375,800
Middlesex Canal	12		2,800,000		233,000
New York & Patterson RR		6 1/4		1,100,000	176,000
New York & Harlem RR		2		2,000,000	1,000,000
Jersey City & New Brunswick RR		11 1/4		1,800,000	160,000
Brooklyn & Jamaica RR		5		1,600,000	320,000
Philadelphia & Norristown RR		6 1/4		2,500,000	400,000
Westchester RR		3 1/2		540,000	154,300
Philadelphia & Trenton RR		10 1/2		2,133,000	203,100
Baltimore & Susquehanna		24		7,100,000	295,800
Santee Canal	9		3,470,000		385,600
New Orleans Canal	4		12,000,000		3,000,000
New Orleans & Carrolton RR		3 1/2		2,000,000	571,400
New Orleans & Lake Ponchartrain RR		2		2,300,000	1,150,000
Schenectady & Saratoga RR		8 1/2		1,600,000	188,200
Troy & Saratoga RR		9 3/4		1,800,000	184,000
Totals	25	120 1/2		18,270,000	41,143,000

(Vol. 2, p. 543)

Table V: Works Built around Coal Mines

Canals and Railroads	Length		Total Cost		by league
	canals	rail	canals	rail	
Chesterfield RR		5 1/4		1,050,000	200,000
Schuylkill Canal	43		16,000,000		372,100
Lehigh Canal (Lateral to the Delaware)	17 1/2		8,300,000		474,300
Morris Canal	48 1/2		11,000,000		226,800
Carbondale & Honesdale RR		6 1/2		1,600,000	246,200
Hudson & Delaware Canal	43		12,600,000		293,300
Postville & Sunbury RR		17 3/4		6,000,000	338,000
Philadelphia & Reading RR		22 3/4		8,000,000	351,600
Various works near mines		66		6,000,000	90,900
Totals	152	118 1/4	47,900,000	22,650,000	

(Vol. 2, pp. 543-45)

Table VI: Diverse Lines

Canals and Railroads	Length		Total Cost		by league
	canals	rail	canals	rail	
Canals of New England, i.e. Cumberland & Portland (Maine), Canals of Farmington, Blackstone, Hampshire and Hampden, and of Hadley	67		10,400,000		155,000
Canalization of the Conestogo, PA Of the Codorus	7 1/4		1,000,000		95,700
Muscle Shoals Canal (Alabama)	14		7,000,000		500,000
Savannah & Ogechee Canal	6 1/2		850,000		130,800
Improvement of the Hudson	11 3/4		5,000,000		425,500
Quincy (Mass.) RR		1 1/4	180,000		144,000
Lexington & Louisville RR		36	6,000,000		166,700
Tuscumbia & Decatur RR		18	3,000,000		200,000
Rochester RR		1 1/4	160,000		128,000

Buffalo & Blackrock RR	$1\frac{1}{4}$	50,000		40,000
Totals	$110\frac{3}{4}$	$69\frac{1}{2}$	24,250,000	12,690,000

(Vol. 2, p. 545)

To arrive at the results indicated on the following pages, I have not included the Virginia Canal, nor the Michigan Canal, and I have included only $6\frac{1}{2}$ leagues of the Saint Lawrence Canal, 15 of the railroad from Rochester to Buffalo, and 30 of that from Dayton to Sandusky.

Table VII: Summary of the Six Previous Tables.

Tables	Length		Total Cost	
	canals	rail	canals	rail
I	$727\frac{1}{4}$	$214\frac{3}{4}$	242,640,000	74,550,000
II	459	$61\frac{1}{2}$	147,790,000	10,500,000
III	34	$279\frac{1}{4}$	29,733,000	67,840,000
IV	25	$120\frac{1}{2}$	18,270,000	41,143,000
V	152	$118\frac{1}{4}$	47,900,000	22,650,000
<hr/>				
Total	$1,397\frac{1}{4}$	$794\frac{1}{4}$	486,333,000	216,683,000
Subtract	144	105	72,500,000	21,750,000
Balance	$1,253\frac{1}{4}$	$689\frac{1}{4}$	413,833,000	194,933,000
VI	$110\frac{3}{4}$	$69\frac{3}{4}$	24,250,000	12,690,000
<hr/>				
Total	1364	$758\frac{3}{4}$	438,083,000	207,623,000
Combined	$2,122\frac{3}{4}$		645,706,000	

(Vol. 2, p. 548)

For reason of a certain number of unimportant works, of which I was not able to get exact information, I think one could place the total above 2,150 leagues and 660 million francs.

If one wished to take account of the chief works whose construction was foreseen for the last months of 1835 or in the first of 1836, including the continuation of the railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio and the Canal from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, the Virginia Canal, the railroad from New York to Lake Erie, the Michigan Canal, the public works of the State of Indiana, the railroad from Elmyra to Williamsport and the Genesee Canal, joining the public works of New York to those of Pennsylvania, the *Eastern* and the *Western Railroads* near Boston, the remnant of the railroad from Buffalo to Rochester, the railroad from Philadelphia to Baltimore via Wilmington, those from New Haven to Hartford, from West Stockbridge to Hudson, from Lancaster to Harrisburg, from Richmond to Petersburg, and that from Alabama to the Chattahoochie, it is necessary to add about 900 leagues and 300 millions. That would give 3,050 leagues and 960 million francs. I am not mentioning the two large railroads from New Orleans to Nashville and from Charleston to Cincinnati, which appear to me to be begun soon, and which, with some branches, will have a total of more than five hundred leagues.

So the Americans have already surpassed, through the extent of their enterprises of communications and the rapidity with which they have brought them to completion, all that has been accomplished by the peoples of Old Europe. Almost all the works enumerated above have been accomplished in fifteen years. England took sixty years, from 1760 to 1820, to create 1,100 leagues of canals in the three parts of the United Kingdom, of which four-fifths are in England properly so-called. The English works are in general rather short, in small dimensions, and construction of them was easy. Some of

them still are excellent. One such is that from the Forth to the Clyde, which has a depth of water of 3 meters, and of which the length is $13 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues. This is certainly the case with the Caledonian Canal, which crosses Great Britain from east to west. Its entire length is no more than $23 \frac{3}{4}$ leagues, and the canal properly so-called is only $8 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues; the rest consists of a sequence of elongated lakes. It is usable by frigates with 32 cannon. The cost was 25 million francs, or about 3 million francs per league.

Having canalized their territory, the English have dedicated themselves to cover it with railroads built at great cost. At this moment they have completed about 142 leagues of railroads, costing 105 to 110 million, at 750,000 to 800,000 per league, and there are 172 leagues of railroads in construction, which will not cost less than 220 million, at 1,300,000 per league.

Holland has many canals whose construction was very simple, because of the hydrographic conditions of the country. The most remarkable is the one that goes from Amsterdam to Helder. It is $20 \frac{1}{4}$ leagues in length. Two frigates can pass one another in it.

There are also many fine works in northern Europe to improve navigation, whether via the interior of the Jutland peninsula, or across Sweden. Russia also possesses some grand works of interior navigation that complete the communication almost accomplished by the rivers of the Baltic on the one hand, and those of the Caspian and Black Sea on the other.

It has been a long time since France began doing public works. The Briare Canal dates from Henry IV. The Southern Canal was begun in 1666, and given to navigation in 1684. Before the Revolution, many other canals were completed, including the Central Canal that joins the Saône to the Loire. Many others were begun, principally by the provincial estates, but they remained abandoned so long as the revolutionary torment persisted; this was the case with the Rhône Canal, or even more with that from the Saône or Rhine via the Doubs and the Ill; the Burgundy Canal, which joins the Saône to the Seine via the Yonne; the canal of Nivernais, which joins the Loire at the Yonne, the Somme Canal, which follows the river of that name and connects it to the Oise. The Empire continued those works that had been begun, and it began some new ones, including the Saint-Quentin Canal properly so-called, that from Nantes to Brest, destined to supply our primary military arsenal; the Canal of the Ourcq, those of Cher (now of Berry), of Blavet (from Pontivy to Lorient), of the Ille and Rance (from the Ocean to the Channel) and some other smaller works, such as the canals from Mons to Condé, Saint-Denis, Saint Martin. In 1814, the failure of our arms led again to the cessation of the works. The Restoration feebly resumed them through 1821. In 1821 and 1822, markets were established with the companies to complete lines already begun and a few others (the canal parallel with the Loire, the navigation of the Isle, of the Oise, etc.), 15 lines in all. These markets, unfavorable to the treasury, loaded with considerable interest, unfavorable to commerce, on which they had to pay elevated tolls, procured the sum of 128,600,000 francs.

Unfortunately the estimates presented to the Chambers were prepared in extreme haste. New projects had not been studied. The works were pursued weakly. All the schedules for time and money were exceeded. At the end of 1833, only two lines had been completed, specifically, the canal from Aire to the Bassée ($10 \frac{1}{4}$ leagues) that a company had undertaken on its own responsibility, and works of little importance to

improve the Tarn³⁵⁶ between Gaillac and Alby (8 leagues). At the same time, there were three years when the loans of 1821 and 1822 had been exhausted and the works were continued at the expense of the treasury, by means of annual appropriations.

The Law of 27 June 1833 distributed the sum of 93 million francs among interior navigation, roads, lighthouses and monuments. Rivers and canals had 41 million for their part.

Currently the works are reaching completion; most of the lines have been given over to navigation. All of them will be completed in 1837.

Here is the detail on their extent and cost as of 31 December 1835:

Title of the Works	Length in leagues of 4000 meters	Total cost as of 31 December 1835
Rhône-Rhine Canal	87 ¹ / ₄	27,334,068
Somme Canal	39 ¹ / ₄	11,145,545
Ardennes Canal	26 ¹ / ₄	14,030,142
Bourgogne Canal	60 ¹ / ₂	51,211,158
Berry Canal	80	17,321,360
Loire Canal	49 ¹ / ₂	23,542,016
Nantes-Brest Canal	93 ¹ / ₂	42,547,234
Ille/Rance Canal	21 ¹ / ₄	13,823,364
Blavet Canal	15	4,929,106
Nivernais Canal	44	25,145,949
Arles/Bouc Canal	11 ³ / ₄	11,102,391
Opening of the Isle	36 ¹ / ₄	4,622,685
Opening of the Oise	34 ¹ / ₂	5,074,717
Total	598 ¹ / ₂	251,829,735

A little more than 17 million of the funds of the Law of 1833 remain to be distributed. Conceding that they will suffice to complete the works begun, the total expenditure will be about 269 million, which is 430,000 francs per league.

These canals have already produced notable results. Hence, on the canal from the Rhône to the Rhine above Besançon, where the commercial movement is less active than in the lower part, passage has been given in 1833 to 1600 boats or rafts, and 2180 in 1834. In the Burgundy Canal, the following traffic:

	1834	1835
At Dijon	825	2,324
At the point of division	227	1,388

The receipts of the mentioned canal follow a progression no less rapidly rising. They were:

³⁵⁶ Eight hundred thousand francs were allotted for these works that were not included in the 128,600,000 francs mentioned above.

In 1833, about 171,661 francs
 In 1834, about 211,530
 In 1835, about 571,840

To complete the roster of the artificial navigation of France, it is necessary to add the following to the works cited above:

Canal of Saint-Quentin	23 ¹ / ₄ leagues
of Briare, Loing and Orléans	45 ¹ / ₄
of the Center	29 ¹ / ₄
of the South	61
of the Ourcq	23 ¹ / ₂
Small canals of the littoral of the Mediterranean	52 ³ / ₄
Various small, isolated canals, such as those of the Ruche, Givors, Vauban, Brouage, Saint-Denis, and works on the Tarn	<u>33</u>
Total	342

By adding the 15 leagues of the canal from Roanne to Degoin, and the 16 ¹/₂ leagues of the canal from the Sambre to the Oise, momentarily forgetting the portions completed in various canals, such as that of the Salines, this figure rises to
 400 leagues

The general total of artificial river navigation	998
In addition we have river navigation of which the total can be estimated at	<u>1,800</u>
This gives a definitive total of navigation a length of	2,798 leagues

So far as communication on land goes, as of 1 January 1836, of royal roads we possess:

Routes in a state of use	6,129 leagues
Routes to be repaired	1,559
Routes lacking	<u>947</u>
Total of royal roads	8,635 leagues

Analogous classification of départemental routes produces:

Routes in a state of use	5,500 leagues
Routes to repair	1,200
Gaps	<u>2,800</u>
	9,500 leagues

Total of royal and départemental Roads	18,135 leagues
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Concerning railroads, currently in France we only have what extends from Lyons to Roanne, a total of 38 leagues; the Épinac Railroad, which has 6 1/2 leagues, and a few other small ones, which raise the sum total of railroads in France to barely 50 leagues.

In summary, there are few countries in the world that would be capable of showing the same extent of communications as France. Still, much remains to be done, even to enjoy what we have already done.

Our canals have been well conceived and well constructed. Most of them offer a cross-section more generous than that of ordinary canals in England and America, at least double. They have water all year due to reservoirs that were built at great cost. Once our canals are completed, we have only accomplished half of our task, since they feed into rivers that are not navigable in the summer. Hence the Southern Canal ends at the Garonne at Toulouse, and the navigation of this river is only regular 50 leagues lower, at Castets near Langon. The Berry Canal, those of Nivernais, the Center, of Briare, of Orléans, about the Loire at various points, all a distance from the tributary of the Maine. And it is only there that the river offers a depth of water that is always adequate. The idea of Henry IV and Louis XIV to join together two by two the three seas that bathe France to the north, the west and the south has finally been realized, but the juncture, rather than being permanent, which demands the development of commercial relations, is uncertain and interrupted. Until the time that our canals are well-furnished with water and our rivers improved, the continuity of the great lines will not exist anywhere except on paper, and all transportation that require regularity will be affected by goods wagons. No one will rely on navigation for objects that can take six months in transit, and our roads continue to be blocked by enormous wagons. We have done well with our laws regulating cartage, but they are incapable of being applied and are not applied at all. The best law, the sole good one in this matter, would be that which provides to navigation of the territory. The administration has not made known proposals for works to apply to our rivers, although excellent studies have been made on a parallel canal to the Rhône, for example, and interesting works have already been begun on the Rhine. It appears that they will cost at least 200 million.

That is not all. Our 18,135 leagues of routes are not all usable. There are gaps to fill in our royal roads, great stretches to repair; the sum necessary to bring them all into a state of use is evaluated as follows:

Gaps	75,038,687 francs
Routes to repair	<u>56,915,881</u>
Total	131,954, 568

The départements will have to pay out at least an equal sum for departmental roads, not mentioning the sums demanded by the local roads, which will have to be dedicated to them by virtue of the Law of 1836.

So that the viability of the territory should be complete, it is necessary to join railroads to the canals and roads. The studies taken up in virtue of the Law of 27 June 1833 have been finished, and there is no longer reason to fear that we will discover the

misconceptions for the railroads that plagued our projects for canals. Levels have been established for a length of 2,318 leagues. The total length of the projects studied is 1,250 leagues, estimated at 908 millions, which is 730,000 francs per league. If there is a problem with their execution at state expense, one could reduce the number of lines studied, or at least abandon most branches to companies that, with the exception of some particular cases, certainly prefer them to main lines. The sole railroads that the state could ever have to undertake, supposing that no grand line would be surrendered to companies, would be the following:

From Paris to Le Havre, via Rouen	55 leagues
From Paris to Lille	58 ³ / ₄
Branch from Valenciennes (Belgian route)	19
Branch from Calais (English route)	33
From Paris to Lyon and Marseilles	219
to Strasbourg	116 ¹ / ₂
to Bordeaux	154
Branch from Bayonne (Spanish route)	56
Branch from Nantes	<u>35</u>
Total	746 ¹ / ₄ leagues

At the rate of 800,000 francs per league, the cost of the system would be about 597 millions.

In summary, to complete the viability of the territory, the required sum requested would be:

Lines of navigation	200 millions
Roads	132
Railroads	<u>597</u>
Total	929 millions

At the rate of 50 millions per year, the completion of these works would require between 18 and 20 years.

Fifty millions a year is a great deal. But if disarmament could finally be effective, it would be an easy matter to accomplish it without increasing public expenses. Wouldn't there be a case for borrowing, if all other resources are lacking? If one raises hopes too much that the sources for public revenues, made larger by the completion of these works, will produce on their own a surplus of forty million, this would be the continuing interest on a loan of a billion. If one seriously tried to find this fifty million every year, this would be the place to ask once more whether the 50 millions of amortization set at five percent and which remain without use because five percent is above par, wouldn't find better use in this vast enterprise?

Another means presents itself. Through the savings funds we have organized a new sort of compulsion, which is the compulsion to save. When these excellent institutions have spread, one foresees with praiseworthy solicitude that they will deliver to the treasury a regular sum of 50 millions, and perhaps more. The state cannot refuse the funds. The obligation and interest of the government commands it to become the

depositor and guarantor of the savings of the greatest number. And once in the coffers, what could it do if not use this as a loan at 4 percent and apply it as much as possible to productive expenses.

The financial difficulties opposing the completion of a thorough system of communications in France will be easy to eliminate. It is also certain that men, both leaders and workers, will not lose as a result of investing these millions in the project. While the state regards itself as capable to do for the whole what the departments and communes do for parts,³⁵⁷ it will find among the engineers an admirable lever, and in the ranks of its army an inexhaustible force. There is no enterprise, no matter how great, that France cannot overcome by the number, capacity and devotion of its engineers, as well as by its material resources. France has the engineers in a large enough number to cover the whole world with roads, canals and railroads. Thanks to its system of centralization, of which the *École Polytechnique* is one of its products, it has five hundred bridge and road engineers. It also has a hundred engineers of mines, four hundred outstanding officers, and six hundred officers of artillery and general staff, all in a situation to take an active part in the most difficult works. It is certain that if France decides to apply to its own territory the energy, the activity and the high intelligence of which it demonstrated when it sought to conquer Europe, if it is ready to consecrate half the treasure it wasted in that attempt in its own soil, it is permitted to believe that the palm for material improvements will not remain long with our happy overseas neighbors and our spores in America.

It is necessary to say that if, in France, we desire to have our grand communications completed promptly and cheaply, two measures must be adopted in advance:

1. It is indispensable to alter the regulations of administration that fix the procedure for paying engineers for completing works.³⁵⁸
2. It is no less necessary to modify the education of engineers. It is good to be full of probity and zeal, and to possess advanced mathematical and mechanical knowledge, but one will never advance to the best possible use of a specific fund or of a line of communication already established, nor to make the best use of time, if one is a stranger to practice of commercial affairs. Yet this is a point that is completely neglected in the education of our engineers. It is necessary that the teaching in practical schools and at the *École polytechnique* really need to be revised. It is inconceivable, for example, that at the latter school, which furnishes the government with the men by whose hands it accomplishes the most important material enterprises, that political economy, that is, the science of material interests, is not being taught.³⁵⁹

It is also time to modify the administrative control of our canals so that they become as useful as they can be.

³⁵⁷ One may estimate between 70 or 80 millions as the annual sum that will be consecrated by the départements and communes to départemental and local communication under the command of the new law on local connections.

³⁵⁸ See Note 83.

³⁵⁹ See Note 89.

In Europe, the small states continue to teach lessons to the great powers. On 1 May 1834, a law was promulgated as follows by the Belgian government:

Article I: A system of railroads shall be established throughout the Kingdom, having Malines as its central point, and moving to the east, in the direction of the Prussian border, via Louvain, Liège and Verviers; to the north toward Antwerp; to the west toward Ostend, via Termonde, Ghent and Bruges, and toward the border of France via Hainaut.

Article II: The completion will be done at the expense of the public treasury, and by the resources of the government.

Overlooking the line from Brussels to the border of France, which is delayed until it can be agreed upon with the French government, the entire system will be completed in 1838. The works were conceived in a very simple style, and it is estimated that 45 millions will suffice to achieve the three lines to the east, the west and the south, covering 74 leagues; that would be 600,000 francs per league. The 11 leagues from Antwerp to Brussels cost, including materials, 3,373,000 francs, or 306,000 francs per league. In the first four months, the line from Antwerp to Brussels has carried 430,000 passengers. Previously public carriages had only carried 75,000 per year.

The Belgian government proposes a branch from Ghent to Lille, which, with the line from Brussels to Valenciennes, will bring the total development of its railroads to about 115 leagues. It is as if France had begun a thousand leagues.

No one needs to be surprised by this fact, when at this moment public works completed or in construction in America have almost the same length as what has been done over the last two centuries by all the powers of Europe together.

One may evaluate thus the public works completed or in construction in the various European states:

States	Canals In leagues of 4,000 m.	Railroads In leagues of 4,000 m.
England	1,100	313
France	998	50
Belgium	115	74
Other states	<u>400</u>	<u>50</u>
Total	2,613	487
General total for Europe		3,100
For the United States		3,050

Note 66 [Vol. 2, Note 16, 1836 edition]

On the modes of Travel in the United States

In the United States, one may not travel with the mails. It is necessary to go in a carriage with everyone else, or like everyone else. The system of equality is absolute in this regard. There are not, as in France, several compartments in the same vehicle, or, as with the English, places inside and places outside. American carriages are normally for nine places, limited in size and badly cushioned.

Those who do not wish to travel by carriage are obliged to limited journeys in their own carriages and with their own horses. Wealthy planters of the South frequently use this way.

Today, in some parts of the North, during the good season, it is rather common to rent a carriage called an *extra* for oneself and family. Then for two or three persons one has a carriage with nine places. It is still a mode of transportation that is uncomfortable and slow.

Note 67 [Vol. 2, Note 17, 1836 edition]

On the Political Influence of Railroads

Before the railroads and steamboats, the sole means of communication in use in the United States were *stages*, which moved with a speed of two leagues (8000 meters) an hour. Today, in France, the average speed of public carriages surpasses this figure by very little. The mail-post, which only carries a very small number of passengers, attains the speed of 3 ¹/₂ to 4 leagues an hour, and it is a mode of transportation that is only available for a very small number of persons. A railroad needs to be little improved to travel with an average speed of 6 leagues an hour, in other words three times faster than that of French and American carriages. On this account, by means of railroads, a country nine times larger than France finds itself, so far as communication goes, in the same situation as current-day France deprived of railroads. Supposing a speed of 10 leagues an hour, which is quintuple that of ordinary carriages, the relation of one to nine changes to one to twenty-five: the relationships of people and things accelerate in the same proportion, which is to say that a territory four and a half times larger than Western Europe and five times as large as the portion of the United States occupied by the 27 states or territories organized on 1 July 1836 could be administered as rapidly and easily as France is today.

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XXIII
WORK

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 20 July 1835

There is no success, there is no happiness without specialization. For an individual person or a people, if you wish to succeed, you must keep yourself from pretending to know everything and to undertake everything. Human nature is finite; limit yourself as it does in your desires and your efforts. Learn to be content and limit yourself: that is the law of wisdom.

If these precepts are just, the Americans are a people at least half-wise, because they practice at least halfway. In general, the American knows little about being content. His notion of equality is not to be inferior to anyone, but he does not aspire to rise except by following one line. His sole means, like his sole thought, is dominating the material world, it is industry in its various branches, that is his business, speculation, work, and action.

For him, to his unique goal everything is subordinated, whether it is education, politics, the law of the family and the law of the state. Everything from religion and morality to domestic habits and details of life, everything in American society is combined or deployed in a direction that better converges on the common goal of each and all.

If the general rule suffers any exceptions, they are few and derive from two causes: first of all, American society, as absorbed as it is in its specialty, cannot remain forever trapped in its circle, and already contains within it the germ of destinies of what it can be, what is reserved for him in future centuries. Secondly, human nature, however finite, is not exclusive, and no force on earth can silence his protests against the exclusivity of tastes, institutions and mores.

Speculation and business, work and action, these are, under various forms the specialization that Americans have chosen and to which they have sworn themselves with tenacity. It was this that they must adopt, what the finger of Providence has assigned them, finally that civilization shall be put in possession of a continent with the briefest delay possible.

I cannot think without sadness that there was a moment when France appeared called to share the glory of this great mission with two peoples, between which God has placed, both under the relationship of character and the institutions as under that of geographic position, with the English and the Spanish. When Spain, then queen of the world, invaded South America and the vast empire of Mexico, civilizing the Indian population with saber in hand, building its monumental cities that witness to its genius and its power centuries after the declamations of its detractors have fallen into oblivion; when England placed its pitiful colonies on the arid shore of North America, France was exploring the gigantic valley of the Father of Waters and taking possession of the Saint Lawrence, next to which our Rhine, *tranquil and fierce*, is nothing but a modest stream. We crowned the high stone fortifications of Québec, we built Montréal, we founded New Orleans and Saint Louis, and, here and there, we cleared the rich plains of Illinois. We

possessed the most fertile portion of North America, the most beautiful, the best watered, the best trimmed to receive a superb empire in harmony with our sentiments of unity. Our engineers, with a sagacity that the Americans admire today, marked each with a little fort the most proper places to receive great cities. It was thus that our flag floated at Pittsburgh (then Fort Duquesne), at Detroit, at Chicago, at Erie (then Presqu'île), at Kingston (then Fort Frontenac), at Michillimackinac, at Ticonderoga, at *fort de Chartres*, at Peoria, at Saint-Jean, as in the capitals of Canada and Louisiana. Then our language could have pretended to be the universal language. The French name then had the chance to become the first, not just as the Greeks, in the world of ideas, literature and the arts, but also like the Roman name, in the material and political world, by the number of men who were proud to carry it, by the immensity of territory it covered. Louis XIV, in the days of his apotheosis, in the Olympus he had built, dreamed this noble future for himself and his race. In the exaltation of a sublime pride, he believed he could read the triumphs on the pages of destiny. He is no longer with us, and for those who are separated from him by one century, nothing remains with us — alas! — but bitter and impotent regrets. The English have chased us away forever, not just from America, but also from the East Indies, where the great king also installed us. Our descendents in Canada and Louisiana vainly fight the Britannic deluge that engulfs them. Our language fades in the same bombardment, even the names of our towns and regions are disfigured in the harsh gullets of our fortunate rivals, and they are Germanized so as to be unrecognizable. We ourselves have forgotten that there was a time when we could pretend to become the kings of the New World. We no longer recall the generous men who destroyed themselves in assuring that domination. In order that the name of La Salle shall not perish, it was necessary for the American Congress to erect a little monument in the rotunda of the Capitol, between Penn and John Smith. We do not have a stone for him among our innumerable sculptures. Our painters have covered with paint canvas that a squared league could barely contain, and he does not have the honor of a brushfull of paint.

During this time of giants, recently passed in Europe, we dared, we jostled and we pressed. In vain the efforts of the second Charlemagne made for us the capital of the first French Caesar and the most beautiful provinces of Clovis. We have ravished the capital and provinces almost completely. One step backward and we are placed forever back among the secondary peoples, the aged peoples, the lost peoples, without successors to receive and bear the glory of our fathers with dignity. What happened to cause such a great nation to go backwards, to rob it of its future? Under our absolute monarchy, all it took was to find a prince such as Louis XV who, from that great king his grandfather accepted nothing but the vices. He sufficed so that in fifty years, France served as the footstool and toy for the infamous selfishness of this prince, to the mocking ignorance of his familiars. Governments without control can, in a short space of time, humiliate its heroes, and it is subject to cruel reversals.

What would have taken place, if, instead of being conquered by the English, we had been their conquerors? To judge by the *Canadiens* and Creoles of Louisiana, those who would have been the people of New France, the rapidity and audacity of the civilizing movement would have been considerably lost. When it is a matter of defeating the nations on the field of battle, the French can enter the lists with their head high, but in dominating nature, the English are better than are we. The Englishman has a more rigid

fiber, his muscles are better nourished; physically, he is better constituted for work; he pushes with more method and perseverance. If he decides to do it, he does it. If, in his work, he encounters an obstacle, he attacks it with a concentrated passion of which we French are not capable except against an adversary in human form.

With such zeal and concentration, the Anglo-American fulfills its duty of a pioneer people! Look how it makes its way through rocks and precipices. How it struggles body to body with swamps, against the primitive forest, how it destroys the wolf and the bear, how it exterminates the Indian who is, for him, nothing but another wild beast! In this battle against the external world, against land and water, against the mountains and against a pestilent air, he seems full of that impetuosity with which Greece threw itself on Asia at the call of Alexander, of the frenetic audacity that Mohammed could inspire in the Arabs for the conquest of the empire of the Orient, of that delirious courage that animated our fathers forty years ago, when they advanced on Europe. Hence, on the same rivers where our colonists abandoned themselves, singing, in their canoes of savage bark, they count fleets of superb steamboats. There where we fraternized with the redskins, lying with them in the woods, living like them from our own hunting, traveling in their manner on foot, along bordered footpaths, the opinionated American has cut down the ancient trees, led his cart, enclosed the land, substituted the best varieties of cattle from England for the deer of the forest, established farms, flourishing villages and opulent cities, cut canals and roads. Those waterfalls that we admired as lovers of the picturesque, and of which our officers measured the height at peril of their lives, have been stripped of water and gathered in the reservoirs of their mills and factories. If these lands had remained French, the population that would have developed there would have been gayer than the American. It would have enjoyed more of what it possessed, but it would have been surrounded with fewer riches and comfort, and centuries would have passed before one could have the right to call himself master, to the same extent of soil that the Americans subjugated in less than fifty years.

If one recapitulates the acts passed at each session of local legislatures, one will see that three quarters at least have as their object the banks that provide credit for work: the creation of new churches, which are the citadels of the spirit of work, the means of communication, roads, canals, railroads, bridges, steam boats, which help the producer have access to the market, primary instruction for the use of the worker, or various commercial regulations, or the incorporation of towns and villages, works of these hardy clearers of land. This is not a question of the army, the fine arts never enter into it, even for memory, the literary establishments and high scientific studies there are rarely honored with any mention.³⁶⁰

The laws tend above all else to favor work, material work, the work of the moment. In states somewhat older, they are habitually imprinted with respect for property because the legislator feels that the greatest encouragement to be given to work consists in respecting what is its fruit. They are particularly conservative of landed property, whether by recalling the feudal laws of the mother country, or because one tends to conserve some stable element in the midst of the instability of every thing. Yet the laws are much less generally disturbed than in Europe on what is an acquired right. Woe to estates in repose or currently non-productive, with little effort they can be

³⁶⁰ See Note 68.

accused to support monopoly and privilege! The right that precedes the others and effaces all is that of work: repose has no “freedom of the city” now. It is thus that except in matters of public credit, where the states and towns seize the greatest scruple to fulfill their agreements, in the entire debate between the capitalist and the producer, it is usually the former who is wrong.³⁶¹

Everything here is disposed in favor of work: the towns are built in the English manner. Businessmen, instead of being scattered throughout the town, occupy a quarter that is exclusively theirs, where not a single house looks like a habitation, where everything is offices and warehouses. The brokers, the agents of change, the solicitors, the lawyers, each of them has his cell, the businessmen their counting houses. The banks and the companies of all description have their offices there. Merchandise fills all the edifices of adjoining streets, from the cellar to the attic. At every hour of the day, a businessman does not have any trouble meeting another to deal with a man of laws or a broker. This is not like Paris, where one loses precious time going from one to another. Paris is the most poorly arranged commercial city in the universe. New York is much better organized than London or Liverpool. There is nothing there like the great docks or the Commercial House.³⁶²

The mores are those of a working and agitating society. At fifteen years, a man enters into business; at twenty-one, he is established, he has his firm, his shop, his counting house or his chamber, in short his industry, whatever it is. It is also the age when he takes a wife: he is the father of a family and, in consequence, he has a powerful prod to intensify his work. He has no concern here but for one who has a profession, and, what is almost the same thing, who is married, for the man finally who is an active member, directly useful, of the social organism, who contributes his part to increase public riches by creating things and people. The American is raised in this idea, that he will have an estate, that he will be an agriculturist, artisan, manufacturer, merchant, speculator, physician, man of laws or of the church, perhaps all of them in succession, and that, if he is active and intelligent, he will arrive at opulence. He cannot conceive of himself without a profession, even when he is a member of a rich family, since he sees no men of leisure around him. The man of leisure is a variety of the human species that the man of the North, the Yankee, does not suspect exists. Further, he knows that, though rich today, his father could be ruined tomorrow. The father also is in business, according to the practice, and does not part with his fortune: if the son wants to have an early distribution, let him grab it!

The habits are those of a people exclusively at work. From the moment he rises, the American is at work. He is absorbed in it until the hour for sleep. He does not permit any time for pleasures to distract him: only public activities have the right to seize a few minutes from his private affairs. The moment of eating is not for him a release where he revives his fatigued brain with some sweet intimacy. It is nothing more than a disagreeable interruption of his duty; it is an interruption that he accepts, because it is inevitable, but which he cuts as short as possible. If politics does not claim his attention in the evening, if he is not convoked to some deliberation without escape, he remains at

³⁶¹ In some new states, such as Kentucky and Illinois, during periods of commercial crisis it passed laws that intervened between the debtor and the creditor, treating the latter in a very cavalier manner. They had the object of delaying the payment of debts.

³⁶² See Letter I.

home, pensive and with a fixed stare, recapitulating the actions of the day or preparing those for tomorrow. He ceases work on Sunday, because religion commands it of him, but it is prescribed to him specifically that on that day he should abstain from every distraction — music, cards, dice or billiards, on pain of a major sacrilege. On Sunday, an American may not receive his friends. His domestics will refuse to serve him; it is only with difficulty that he may receive from them that they will serve him at table at a time that is convenient to them. Several days ago, the mayor of New York was *accused* by a journal of having met on Sunday certain English nobles come from Europe in their yachts, to give American democracy a strange idea of Britannic tastes. He was forced to have it published that he knew all too well his duties as a Christian to receive his friends on the *Sabbath* day. Nothing is more mournful than the seventh day in this country. Following such a Sunday, work on Monday is a delicious pastime.

Encounter an English businessman in the morning in his office, you will find him stiff and dry, speaking nothing but monosyllables; accost him at closing hour, he will not try to cover his impatience, he will refuse you politely, without taking the time to do it slickly. The same man in the evening in his salon or at his country house will be full of attentiveness and urbanity. It is that the Englishman divides his time and does not do more than one thing at a time. In the morning, he is entirely at his business, which comes from all his pores. In the evening, he is the man of ease who is at repose and enjoying his life. It is a *gentleman* that we see, fashioning his manners and instructing himself in the art of nobly dispensing his revenue, the perfect model of the English aristocracy.

The modern Frenchman is an indeterminate mixture of the Englishman of the morning and of evening. In the morning, a bit of the Englishman of the evening, and in the evening a passable Englishman of the morning. The old model Frenchman was the present-day Englishman of the evening, or perhaps we should say, to render to each his own, that it is a Frenchman of the type no longer with us, on which, in many ways, the English aristocracy is modeled.

The American of the northern or north-eastern states, whose nature dominates Union today, is a businessman in permanence: he is always the Englishman of the morning. One finds many Englishmen of the evening in the plantations of the South; one begins to see some in the metropolises of the North.

Tall, thin and slender at the waist, the American appears built expressly for material work. He has no equal in going rapidly when required. No one learns a new practice more easily: he is always ready to alter his procedure or his tools, or to change his trade. He is a machinist in his soul. Among us, there is no student who has not written a ballad or his own monarchical or republican constitution. There is no peasant of Connecticut or of Massachusetts who has not invented a machine. There is no at all considerable man who does not have his railroad project, his plan for a village or a town, or who does not nourish *in petto* some grand speculation on the flooded lands of the Red River, or on the cotton lands of the Yazoo or of Texas, or on wheat lands of Illinois. A colonizer *par excellence*, American style, who is not more or less Europeanized, the pure Yankee in a word, he is not only a worker, he is a worker underway. He has no roots in the soil; he is a stranger to the cult of the homeland and the paternal house; he is always ready to emigrate, always ready to depart with the first steamboat that passes from the same places he has just disembarked. He is devoured with the need for locomotion, he needs to go and come, move his legs and hold his muscles ready. When his feet are not

in motion, he must flex his fingers. With his ever-present knife, he carves a piece of wood, cuts the back for a chair or carves a table, or, now, he occupies his teeth in chewing tobacco. Whether the regime of competition has given him the habit, whether he is preoccupied excessively with the value of time, whether the mobility of everything around him and his own person holds his nerves in permanent inflammation, whether he emerged that way from the hands of nature, he is always busy, always pressed, excessively pressed. He is right for every sort of work, except for that which demands careful restraint. Such things make him shudder: it is his vision of hell.

We are born in haste (says an American writer), we get our education on the run, we marry in a rush, we gain a fortune by the beat of a drum, and we lose it again to recover it and lose it ten times over, all in the blink of an eye. Our body is a locomotive going at ten leagues an hour; our soul is a steam engine at high pressure. Our life resembles a cloth unraveling, and death surprises us like a bomb.³⁶³

American society says to a poor man, work; work, and at eighteen years, you will earn more, you, a simple worker, than a captain in Europe.³⁶⁴ You will live in abundance, you will be well clothed, well housed, and you will be frugal. Be assiduous at work, sober and religious, and you will find a devoted and submissive companion; you will have a domestic residence better furnished with comfort than that of many bourgeois in Europe. From a worker, you will become a master, you will have apprentices and servants in time, and you will get credit by the handfuls, and you will be a manufacturer or a large farmer. You will speculate and become rich, you will build a town that you will give your own name. You will be named a member of the legislature of your state or an alderman of your metropolis, then a member of Congress. Your son will have as much chance to be made president as the son of the president himself. Work, and if the luck of affairs turn against you and you fail, you will soon recover, for here bankruptcy is regarded as like being wounded in battle, it will not cause you to lose the esteem nor even the confidence of anyone, provided that you are always steady and temperate, a good Christian and a faithful spouse.

Work, American society tells the rich man, work without ever dreaming of enjoying it. You will accumulate your revenues without increasing your expenditures, you will increase your fortune, but this is only to multiply the means of work in favor of the poor, and to extend your power over the material world. Your comportment shall be simple and austere. I permit you nice carpets for your interior, silver in abundance, the most wonderful Saxon and Scottish linens, but your house on its exterior will be in the style of all the others in the town; you will have neither livery nor fine horses, you will not patronize theaters that relax their morals, you shall eschew gambling, you shall sign the articles

³⁶³ See Note 68.

³⁶⁴ At this moment the salary for a mason is 9.35 francs in Philadelphia and New York; in 300 days of work, that would be 2,800 francs.

of the Temperance Society, you shall even abstain from junketing; you will give a good example by attending church; you shall be ceaselessly declaring your good respect for morality and religion. Since the cultivator and the worker who accompanies you have their eyes on you, serve as a model for them, and they will recognize you as an arbiter of mores and customs when you raise the scepter of politics. If you give in to frivolity, if you betray the fast, give yourself to dissipation and pleasures, they will also relax themselves to their passions, necessarily cruder than yours, to their violent appetites. What the country does, it will be your fault.

It is possible to imagine various systems of social organization equally proper in theory to favor work. One could conceive a society constituted for work under the influence of the principle of authority, that is, of hierarchical association; one could conceive of a different society under the auspices of liberty or independence. To organize *a priori* a specific people with a view to work, it is necessary, on pain of falling into a romance, to consult its territorial circumstances and origin, to know by whence it passed and where it is going. With the people of the United States, derived from the English race and imbued with Protestantism to the marrow, the principle of independence, of individualism, lastly of competition, must succeed. The strongly tempered soul of the Puritans, who are the *ultras* of Protestantism, cannot fail to accommodate itself admirably. This is why the states of the East, founded by the *Pilgrims*,³⁶⁵ have played the premier role in the seizure of possession of the immense valley of the Mississippi.

The civilization of the West³⁶⁶ was born by the coming together of two or three hundred thousand young cultivators departing, each on his own account, from New England, sometimes with a few friends, often alone. This system could never have succeeded with the French. The Yankee, alone with his wife in the midst of the woods, could suffice by himself. The Frenchman is eminently social, he could never tolerate the isolation in the midst of which the Yankee lives at his ease. All alone, he has passion for the work he has conceived and which he has imposed on himself. The Frenchman cannot be passionate for an industrial enterprise except under the condition of being with other people, whose concourse is evident and palpable, or otherwise he is not apt to be passionate for a material work, since he reserves his affections for that which is alive. It is absolutely impossible for him to fall in love with clearing land, to exert himself for the success of a manufacture with the same thrills as for the wellbeing of a friend or the happiness of a mistress. But he is susceptible to applying himself with ardor if his characteristic passions, his thirst for glory and emulation, are excited by human contact. If it is a question of colonizing with the French, it is necessary to depend little on individual efforts. In every thing the Frenchman has to sense subtly the elbow of a neighbor, as in the line of battle. One can throw isolated Americans into a country that is being colonized; they will form little centers there that enlarge on every side, finishing by embracing a great circle. If it is a question of Frenchmen, one must bring with them to

³⁶⁵ One designates by the name *Pilgrim Fathers* the Puritan exiles that established themselves at Boston and in the surrounding country.

³⁶⁶ Here I am speaking particularly of the Northwest, that is, of the portion of the West where slavery does not exist (see Letter X).

the new land an entire social order, with the social lines already established, or, at least, a regular social framework and the points of access for the social ties, which is to say, that it is necessary from the very beginning the great circle is needed with its unique center totally apparent.

Canada is almost the only colony we have founded exclusively with Frenchmen.³⁶⁷ They transported there a social organization, complete. Once the land was recognized, the royal fleet debarked the seigneurs to whom the king had bestowed the fiefs. They were followed by vassals they had collected in Normandy and in Brittany, and to whom they distributed the lands. At the same time they deposited a regular and secular clergy, endowed, as well with ample territorial domains, who also levied the tithe. Further the merchants came and the companies to which privileges had been accorded for the establishment of peltries and for commerce. In a word, the three orders, clergy, nobility and the third estate, were imported all at once from Old France to New France. The only thing the colonists left behind was the misery of the greatest number. The system was good for the era. The principle of order and hierarchy that presided there, under the sole form possible then, was in harmony with the character of the people. What witnesses to that is that, under this regime, which the English did not change, Canada flourished, and the population there multiplied in a setting of sweet ease. I have seen nothing that offers better the image of *aurea mediocritas* [“golden mediocrity”] than the lovely villages on the banks of the Saint Lawrence. This is not the ambitious prosperity of the United States, it is something much more modest, but if it has less drama, it has more contentment and well being. Canada reminds me of Switzerland: it has the same physiognomy of calm satisfaction and pleasant enjoyment. They would speak highly of Canada if it were not next to the Anglo-American colossus; they would cite its developments but for the nearness of the prodigies of the United States.

One is not about to pretend that the progresses of Canada were made despite its mode of colonization. The discussion between “because of” and “whatever” is easy to resolve in this case. Everything about the old system that was burdensome still survives intact, and the population does not complain. The seigneurial payments, the tithe, the right of milling, the bakery monopoly, all are currently in full vigor, and — incredibly! — none of it figures in the interminable list of 93 grievances recently presented by the *Canadiens* to the regime that governs them.

In France — Thank God! — there are no longer any seigneurs, vassals or tithes; the three orders have been abolished: there is not even any more absolute royalty, but we have a government of three heads that disposes resources quite otherwise inexhaustibly, by energetic means quite energetically different. This central power, the sole that survives today, may intervene its direction there where once the royalty and the diverse orders imposed their own. We will not find any colony, either in Algeria or anywhere else, at least if the government does not charge itself to repeat the role the nobility and clergy played in Canada, save modifications demanded by the progress of time and circumstances. The intermediaries that then existed between the royalty and the mass of the nation have disappeared. A part of their prerogatives could and must be returned to the people, as has already been done in regard to the internal administration of the company, for the nation, having become more enlightened and more able to direct itself,

³⁶⁷ In Louisiana, Santa Domingo and the islands, the mass of the population was formed of blacks.

has no need (to the same degree as in the past) of a rule ascending from on high. Still, the largest part of the prerogatives of the old powers must tend to increase that of the central power, and are not to be purely and simply annulled. With us French, as we are today, it is convenient for the general good that the government have the better part of the heritage of the influences of the past, particularly in matters of colonization. Nothing is more difficult than colonizing — it is a total creation. The proper situation of a colony is to be a minor; in the United States, where *self government* has been pushed to the last limit, the continental colonies, called territories, are treated as minors until they have gathered a population of 60,000 souls: so for every minor a tutor is indispensable.

Without doubt, a government that wishes to colonize should seek the help of capitalists, but one is mistaken if one expects great efforts and great results so far as Algeria goes. In the matter of companies, we are not much further advanced than in the time of Louis XIV: perhaps we are less advanced — I search in vain in France for something that could be compared to our old India Company.

I do not want to take the office of a prophet, all the less that of a prophet of disaster; further, at the distance I am from Algeria, I may not say anything without extreme reserve. I am, however, persuaded that with the system of *laissez faire*, or doing nothing, adopted by the government, we are not on the road to implanting a French population. And further, until there are 200,000 or 300,000 French, our domination will be ephemeral, at the mercy of a single vote of the Assembly, or a ministerial caprice, or a rumor of war, and what is worse in this positivist century, Algeria will cost us a great deal with no return.

If I am not completely wrong, what is developing in Algeria, with its system of individual emigration, must be, with a few exceptions, the refuse of our large cities. It needs the flower of our rural regions and our shops, of young cultivators or robust workers such as those who, musket in hand, have made the glory of our armies: they would have the force and the will to dedicate themselves to the soil, as one takes possession of civilization, by culture and work. Our honest rural people and our intelligent workers are deaf to the appeal of the companies. They have good reasons not to believe the promises of the speculators. They will not move to go and seize with them French domination on the soil of Africa except after an enlightened government calls them with a loud and intelligible voice, but they will flood in if they see a core of true colonies organized under the patronage and guarantee of the state.

Every year, about two thousand soldiers leave the regency (for it is still the regency!) to return to their hearths and become once again workers and peasants. What good fortune it would be for Algeria if they could be retained, or they could return once they had gone to France to get a wife! With the ambition of coming to the property of which every man is possessed today, it would not be impossible to get them back by giving them the lands, the tools and the cottages that the army has already built for itself. Distributed among the large farms or in the villages, around each of them a field, and if there is need of protection a defendable blockhouse, they would form the kernel that the French population would soon expand, and whose existence would encourage the companies finally to take the enterprise seriously. If one leaves them their gun and their uniform, they would constitute a warlike militia that would not fear the Bedouin, and that the Bedouin would fear in return. Who could not find it good that Algeria, conquered by

our army, should become our patrimony? Our soldiers have paid Algeria the same price with which the first American *settlers* bought the West, with their blood.

Note 69 [Vol. 2, Note 18, 1836 edition]

Geologic Enterprises

For several years now, the legislatures of the various states have been animated by a praiseworthy concern for geological science. Among its public functionaries of the state, Maryland has a *state geologist* who is completing the geological chart of the land, particularly with the aim of application. This geologist, Mr. Ducatel, has already made precious discoveries for agriculture, particularly concerning marle. The state of Tennessee also has a geologist, Mr. Troost. The state of Massachusetts has had its geological map drafted by Mr. Hitchcock. Congress has voted some funds for the examination of regions situated to the west of the Mississippi. The state of Maine is to consecrate \$5,000 (26,600 francs) to its geological map, and it has commissioned Mr. Ch. T. Jackson.

Pennsylvania has also supported its geological map, but it has consecrated insufficient funds, and no one of talent will want to enter service for the small salary it offers.

The states of Virginia and of New Jersey have also had their soil examined summarily.

The state of New York stands out for the largess with which it has concluded the execution of its geological map. During the session of 1836, the legislature voted the annual sum of \$26,000 (138,000 francs) over four years. The state was divided into four districts, each assigned to two geologists. A botanist, a zoologist and a chemist were also assigned to the working team. The four chief geologists, chosen for the four districts, are messrs. Mather (a former professor at the school at West Point), E. Emmons, T. Conrad and L. Vanuxem. Mr. Torry will do botanics, Mr. de Kay zoology, and Mr. Beck, the chemist, will be in charge of the analysis of the minerals, marles and waters.

It is principally to Mr. Dix, who has fulfilled with distinction for several years the function of secretary of state, that the state of New York owes this fine enterprise.

This is the place to recall that the geological map of France, begun in 1825, approaches its completion. The idea is due to Monsieur Brochant de Villiers, inspector general of mines, who, since 1802, researched the means for accomplishing this great labor. In 1811 he presented to the director general of mines a report that was soon forgotten. In 1822, stimulated by the fine geological map of England, executed by Mr. Greenough, he renewed his efforts, which were supported by the counsel to the school of mines. Monsieur Becquey, then director general, received it with enthusiasm. Monsieur Brochant was commissioned with the work, with two attached engineers, Messieurs Élie de Beaumont and Dufrénoy.

The active work of exploration was accomplished by the last two scientists, who were aided by the talents of the engineers of mines located in the départements. Monsieur Brochant retained direction and took part in some voyages of general observation in England, the Alps and in the Ardèche.

During eleven years, from 1825 to 1835 inclusive, the costs of the geological map of France did not exceed 48,000 francs in all.

At this moment, the general counsels, with the recommendation of the superior administration, are occupied by the editing of detailed geological maps of the départements. Unfortunately, the sums voted for many of them appear insufficient. The sums are no more than some hundreds of francs.

Note 69 [Vol. 2, Note 19, 1836 edition]

American Promptness

In the hotels and on the steamboats, when the hour of dining approaches, the door of the dining hall is opened. When the bell sounds, they arrive, and in less than ten minutes all the places are taken. At the end of fifteen minutes, of three hundred persons, two hundred have left the table; ten minutes later, all are gone. During the winter of 1834, I was going from Baltimore to Norfolk via the Chesapeake on the steamboat *Pocahontas*. The second day, at four in the morning, despite the cold, three quarters of the passengers were outside. Seeing at six o'clock that I was almost the only one in bed, I thought we were approaching the end of the voyage. I mounted to the bridge, and I remained freezing in the fog, persuaded that Norfolk would appear any minute. It was only at eight that Norfolk appeared in the distance. I told my misadventure to an American, a man of spirit, who also was making the trip, and who, better advised, had rested until it was day.

Eh, Monsieur, he told me, if you knew my compatriots better, you would find it entirely natural that, to arrive at nine they get up at four. The calling of an American is to always fear that his neighbor will arrive before him. If a hundred Americans were about to be shot, they would fight over who would be first, such is their habit of competition!

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XXIV MONEY

Sunbury, Pennsylvania, 31 July 1835

In a society devoted to production and to trade, money must be viewed with a different eye from among the peoples in the military spirit or nourished by classical studies and learned speculations. Among the latter, money must be reputed, at least in theory, as a vile metal. The honor and the glory there are more powerful and more habitual motives than the interest: it is money of which many men content themselves, the sole thing that many desire. In a working society, money, the fruit and object of work, does not feel evil. The riches of a man are the measure of his capacity and of the consideration that his fellow citizens accord him.

Whatever the cause, it is certain that here money is not what it is with us, that if weighed here while among us it has no weight, that it moves freely there while among us it hides.

Already, in England, I saw many signs in the docks, for example, threatening delinquents with penalties against various police regulations, promising half the penalty amount to the informer. Blood boils in our veins if a prefect of police offers a reward to an informer that way. Here one does it as in England, and they even use even more of this procedure. When a crime is committed, the authority put up placards offering \$100 or \$200 to anyone who denounces or delivers the authors of the crime. In Philadelphia, I saw the governor and the mayor of the city rivaling one another with promises to outbid the other. An assassination had been committed during a primary election. The mayor and the governor were seeking to prove, by raising their offers, the one that the opposition party (to which he belonged) was innocent of the murder, the other, in contrast, that that was the party provoking it. In certain cases of arson and poisoning, the reward rises to \$1,000. It should be said that in England, with the exception of London and here, there is no police organized as with us, so it is indispensable that the citizens catch them themselves.

Here, the rule is that everyone pays. Free museums and free institutions of higher education are unknown. One knows nothing of free attractions that turn a citizen from his affairs, and place him, should he fulfill them faithfully, incapable of supporting the maintenance of his family. Municipal functions in the countryside are not salaried, because they reclaim little trouble and time, and because the man in the countryside has more time at his disposal than the preoccupied inhabitant of towns. But in towns, public functions are paid as they become more absorbing. In the United States they make great usage of the daily salary, extensively used in England. Members of Congress are rightfully paid eight dollars a day. When a committee of legislative investigation prolongs its operations beyond the session, the salary is continued on the same basis. The legislatures of all the states are paid by the day. The commissioners of canals, who are usually notables, that is to say rich men, are almost all treated the same: they keep count of the number of their days of service. For them, it is a simple reimbursement of their

costs. Those among them who are in permanence receive an annual salary. Other functions are paid by collecting an honorarium for each transaction: this is how the procurators of the states, the justices of the peace, and the aldermen of certain towns are paid in whole or in part. Public officers and office holders regularly involved, such as the governors of states and the mayors of important towns, receive an annual payment. The commissioners of banks of the state of New York are in the same situation. Here it is agreed that all work must be equated with industrial work and paid the same. The assimilation is perfect between intellectual merchandise and material merchandise, between capital and talent, the payments and the science. This habit puts everyone at ease; this facility abridges and simplifies relations. One endures no embarrassment in demanding a service, since one knows that one has to pay. Everything regulates itself completely and without difficulty because, in a society that works well and much, one has the means to be significant.

If you are compensated with money, you are also punished through money. It is known that in England a trial for adultery ruins the guilty to the profit of the offended spouse. Here the same use would be consecrated if adultery were not extremely rare. American law is very restrained with corporal punishments for simple misdemeanors, but they multiply the fines. On most bridges it is written that the ban on crossing at too rapid a pace is forbidden, on pain of a fine of 2, 3 or 5 dollars.³⁶⁸ When a man is charged or even accused of a crime (forgery, arson or murder) they secure not his person but his purse. That is to say, rather than arrest him, they make him pay bail in an amount left to the discretion of the judicial authority. Last year in Nashville, during a convention to revise the constitution of the state of Tennessee, one of the members of that assembly, a general of the militia commanding thousands during campaigns, a man with a great fortune and eminently *respectable*, fell into a quarrel with a local journalist and threatened him with violence. In effect, a few days later, he went, with another madman, to take a shot at the journalist with a pistol in the bar room of a local hotel. Justice, seized of the affair, satisfied itself by demanding bail from the general. By means of the deposit of some thousands of dollars, he remained at full liberty and continued to sit in the convention³⁶⁹ and participate in the drafting of the constitution of the state. Such an arrangement for an assassin, and those I could repeat who were incendiaries and forgers, recall barbarian times when crimes were settled for a price in money. But, on the other side, is it not barbarous to respond to simple misdemeanors or special crimes like those of the press by the brutal method of incarceration? Is not preventative arrest, in many cases, an odious and useless rigor? At an epoch whose gentle mores reject everything that smells of violence, and where work becomes the common law, is it not more humane and more moral to punish those who violate the law with a fine, that is an advance on his past or future work? One conceives, according to what precedes this, that imprisonment for

³⁶⁸ Corporal penalties, other than prison, are strictly employed in the states of the South for slaves alone. They consist of a certain quantity of whiplashes, whose number is written at the entry of bridges, for example, on the placards indicating the fines for which whites are liable.

³⁶⁹ I understand that he went on to be condemned to a modest fine for his punishment. The victim survived the assassination.

debt offends Americans. A general clamor is raised against this penalty. Most of the states have suppressed it; the others will not delay to follow.³⁷⁰

The sanction of the laws, the regulations and the simplest ordinances of the police is here a sanction of money. If a magistrate has sufficient reason to believe that a man has intentions of disorder or ideas of violence against this or that citizen, in place of having him arrested preventatively, he obliges him to furnish a caution in money of his good conduct. It is, at the bottom, the English usage that we have last seen applied by the *Speaker* of the House of Commons, finally to prevent a duel between Lord Althorp and Mr. Shiel, with this difference, however, that, to oblige the Whig minister and the Irish member to *keep the peace*, the *Speaker* had them imprisoned. In an equal case, one imprisons a sum of money. It is by money that one also obliges the companies to observe the clauses of their charters. It is by money that the magistrates themselves are applied to the practice of their duty. To remedy the excessive administrative subdivision of the six New England states, it is money that is made to intervene. In this part of the Union, maintaining the roads is usually in the charge of the communes. One conceives that, in this system, one commune can damage the circulation throughout the entire state. It was therefore stipulated by the law that every commune be responsible in money for the accidents that occur to travelers in their territory. It is not rare to read in the newspapers of some commune being condemned to \$500 or \$1,000 in damages to a traveler who turned over on one of the roads or on bridges. Most recently the town of Lowell, Massachusetts, had to pay \$6,000 (32,000 francs) to two travelers who had broken their legs. The judge wanted the travelers to be compensated not only for their malady, but also for the probable benefits they would otherwise have received from their industry during their treatment.

With us, still today, it is not money but honor that counts in advance. If one admits that the basis of monarchies is honor, and that everything is organized according to this immaterial principle, nothing better! Since reason does not exist in the absolute sense, and everything absolute is eminently imperfect and transitory, the absolute principle of honor is better in all relations, in logic, in mores, in practice, than the absolute principle of money. It harmonizes much better with our generous French nature, but it is necessary that honor be real, that the consideration be uncontested. It is necessary that power, of which it is the distributor, be honored and considered itself.

If the supreme authority is vilified, cursed, public functions have a title to respect at least against insult. If defiance against power is admitted in principle, if it is consecrated by modern habits of legislation and administration, is it not true that your pretended salaries being considered are derisory, and that your system rests on a great nonsense? Ah! If royalty is still enthroned, all powerful, in the magnificence of Versailles, amid its army of guards glittering with gold and steel, in the midst of the most brilliant court of which history preserves the memory, surrounded by the prestige of the arts impressed to adore, or if the prince, savior of the fatherland, put in armor by victory, gives decrees in the world of the palace of kings to his vassals, or from Schönbrunn of the Caesars. If he made and unmade kings as today he does a minister and sub-prefects, if, at

³⁷⁰ It is said that an Indian chief visited the prisons of Baltimore, and he informed himself with curiosity about the causes of the detention of each prisoner. When he arrived at a cell of a prisoner for debts and it was explained to him that this man was there until the settlement of what he owed, the Indian cried out, "But where are the beavers of which he can collect the pelts?"

a word from his mouth, old soldiers march fiercely to their death, if the earth bows before him, if he was the anointed of the Lord, the elect and idol of his people, ah! — if you still have the monarchy of Louis XIV or of Napoléon, you would be welcome to speak of consideration and honor! To be marked out by a royal gesture was then an eminent distinction. The favor of the prince attracted then the confidence or the exterior devotion of the populations. Precedence was worthy of envy in the time of pomp at Versailles, or, when, at the Tuileries, one was liable to lose oneself in an embrace of kings. What does it signify that one cannot be concerned today that the life of the prince is drowned in the universally prosaic way, that today the public ceremonies have been abolished, that there is no more court, no more costumes? Titles have been profaned by the ignorance and folly of those who are obliged to sustain its style, or tarnished by the poison of bourgeois jealousy. Your ribbons you have been obliged to throw under the hooves of horses. The system of honor is ruined. To solidly revive requires a revolution, not under the patron of the July Revolution, but an immense revolution of the scale of that which took three centuries to ripen, from Luther to Mirabeau, and which, once mature has transformed the two worlds for fifty years, a revolution in the name of the principle of authority equal to what our fathers accomplished in the name of liberty.

Among the sayings attributed to Monsieur de Talleyrand is cited this: “I do not know an American who has not sold his dog or his horse.” It is certain that the Americans are an exaggeration of the English, whom Napoléon called a merchant people. The American is always in the market. He always has one that he is going to enter, another he is trying to leave, and two or three he is thinking about. Everything he has, everything he sees, is, in his spirit, merchandise. The poetry of localities and material objects, covering places and things with a religious glaze, protecting them against business, does not exist for him. The bell of his village is nothing but another bell, and in fact so far as bells are concerned, for him the loveliest is the newest, the most freshly painted in white and in green. For him a waterfall is a motive force for his hydraulic wheel, *water power*. An old building is a material thing, stone and bricks, exploited without remorse. The Yankee will sell his father’s house like old clothes, old boxes. It is in his pioneer destiny not to attach himself to any place, any building, any object, any person except his wife, to whom he is indissolubly tied, night and day, from the moment of marriage until death does them part.

At the bottom of all an American’s acts is therefore money. Behind each of his words is money. It would be in error, though, to believe that he does not believe in imposing monetary sacrifices on himself. He has the habit both for subscriptions and voluntary gifts, practices it without regrets more often than do we, and larger, but his munificence and his generousities are thought out and calculated. It is neither enthusiasm nor passion that loosen the strings of his purse: these are political motives or convenience. It is the sense of the useful, the conscience of public interest that implies, he feels, his private interest as a simple citizen. The American therefore gladly admits exceptions to his rule of entirely commercial conduct. He gives of his money, he gives it in the course of things: he assists in some sessions of a committee, he revises at an instant an opinion or a report. He goes himself in person, in great haste, to Washington to present *resolutions* to the president, or to a neighboring city to assist at a banquet or an assembly, from which he intended to return, but in this case he holds that the exceptional character of his efforts and of the cause that provokes him deeply. He wishes that the

public interest should be positively involved. He agrees entirely that the sacrifice for it should be in money alone, once for all, and that his time should be respected. For everything that has to do with private affairs, everything that demands his time, his attention, he applies the principle of negotiation, nothing for nothing. He pays for the work of others with dollars, and he intends that they use the same to deal with him, because the compliments seem to him to be a thing too deep to be balanced with a positive service, and that the distinctions, such are the precedents, are unknown to him, incomprehensible to him. In his eyes it is a fundamental principle that every work should bear its fruit. The idea of salary and function are so intimately tied in his spirit that one sees all American almanacs filled with many appointments opposite the name of the office holder. He thinks that one does not live by dry bread and glory. He dreams of the well being of his wife and his children, of his last days for himself, and, if one says to him that there is a land where it is permitted to wipe things away to please his neighbor or to merit the grace of magistrates, the fact appears grotesque to him.

In France, our mores are those of a society of the nonworking, for whom time has no price and where one could make better use of his time than to oblige his neighbor. Besides the prejudices of straight liberalism, of which we show ourselves too often dominated, but which cannot stop our nature to penetrate, the attentions of a superior transport us; distinctions give us nerve. It was only twenty years ago that Frenchmen risked their lives for a bit of ribbon. What we were we continue to be. We will never do things in the American way: I even suppose that soon there will come a time when the Americans will transform themselves up to a certain point in our sense, but we cannot, we must not, modify our ideas beyond a certain point, according to their experience!

Our system of free services supposes that France possesses a rather considerable number of persons of great fortune and large education to permit a certain latitude to the government or electoral corps of their choice. This is not true. France is a poor country. The growth of riches in some commercial centers, save here and there on the globe and virtually throughout England, and the refinement of civilization that has been the consequence, have singularly extended the circle of objects of primary necessity for all classes. You are limited today to the revenue that made you opulent a century ago, and rich about thirty years ago. Just transport Madame de Sévigné, with her 10,000 livres of rents, to the midst of the Almack Balls, or even to our Parisian salons! The best provided class in three quarters of France is now at the 10,000 livres of Madame de Sévigné. I do not say where the multitude is that is concerned with this aristocracy: the very idea of so much misery makes one shake. Without Paris and the four or five metropolises, the rich are such a small number in France that one cannot count them. They do not form a class. In fact of the classes spread throughout France, we have none that raise themselves above mediocrity, of ease. Among those of ease, it is true that men of leisure abound, and it appears that the government has among them an embarrassment of choice.

Unfortunately, these men of leisure, with the sole proviso that they have always been persons of leisure, that they were raised in the ideas and in an atmosphere of leisure, are in no position to administer and regulate the interests that have become dominant today, those of industry and work. A literary education is common among them, but education broadly extended is extremely rare there. The men of this class have seen very little, they know Rome and Greece, but they do not know today's Europe and, more importantly, the present day world. They are strangers to the present and positive facts of France itself.

One would conceive that the advocates of the system of free services, if they were partisans of the aristocracy, would proceed to remove from administration of the country poor men of talent, and seize all their influence to the profit of the rich: but on the contrary, they are the apostles of liberalism, the defenders of equality. Sincere friends of the poor, I am convinced, they have become convinced that the best procedure of popular improvement consists in reducing of public expenditures; for them, each reduction of appointments is a victory, every suppression a glorious conquest. It is thus that they have always been utterly fierce when discussing the municipal law by inserting an article stating that the mayors cannot receive anything from the communes, on any title whatsoever. The principal towns were used to permitting their mayors indemnities for costs of representation and other objects. This was just, not only because in the large towns the functions of mayor are hard to fill, since they absorb all the activity of a man and leaves him no time to deal with his own business, but also because performing his functions obliges the title holders to a thousand costs, of which our frugal parliamentarians, in their metaphysical heaven, have no doubt. This amendment was deplorable in the aftermath of a revolution that was accomplished despite what remained of large-scale property in France and which, in consequence, necessarily swept from public employment most rich persons. It was, in a time of terrible crises when municipal functions in our large cities, such as Lyon, Marseille, Rouen and Bordeaux demand at any price men with heads and hearts. Our coin-clipping budget makers adopted it anyway, and if one cannot find anyone³⁷¹ in our towns to take charge of municipal functions, if the prefects are obliged to market them by offering them to the first person coming in, it is in them that the chief responsibility lies.

Elevated salaries are offensive to the democracy because it cannot conceive of them. A worker, who makes \$500 thinks himself generous to impose a payment of \$1,500 or \$2,000 on an officer holder, just as a bourgeois with 10,000 in rents cannot comprehend how an office holder in Paris receiving 10,000 or 12,000 francs could not be satisfied. The Americans are persuaded that it is possible to have two currencies, money and public consideration. On the authority of Franklin, they suppose that it would be possible to find capable office holders by offering them honor as their chief salary. They are wrong. With them, public offices are not a title of respect; entirely the contrary is the truth.³⁷² Since they neither receive any consideration nor any coin, this is no more than the worst. With the exception of a very small number of places that the desire for power makes desirable, despite the aftertaste when one must buy the pleasure of commanding and of having inferiors, they are only sought by the floating portion of the population, which was not able to prosper in industry and wanders from career to career. It is not even a profession, properly speaking, it is provisional employment for classless men. The moment they find something better in commerce and business, they say goodbye to the state. The school at West Point provides the army every year forty lieutenants; a third of them resign their commissions before two or three years of service have passed, since the salary of officers, although considerably more than with us, is still quite low compared with the benefits of a businessman or an engineer.

³⁷¹ See Note 70.

³⁷² See Letter XIX.

Public offices, in general, are easier to fill in the United States than in France. Every question to be resolved embraces a larger complication of interests with us than with them, and demands more knowledge. In France the attributions of government are entirely differently extended and varied. The employee with us is constrained to bring to his work more care than is expected here. Also, the average of American salaries is considerably superior to ours. When the Congress and the various states need capable men for offices, they act like American businessmen dealing with their contractors: they pay them. The Congress recently had occasion to find that they were lacking good naval officers, and it came to raise the pay of this group.³⁷³ One could even say that the officials they treat with excessive stinginess are few.³⁷⁴ In the Department of the Treasury in Washington, of 158 employees, only six earn less than a thousand dollars (5,333 francs); it is true that there are only two earning more than 2,000 dollars (10,666 francs). It is the doctrine of equality applied to salaries. As to the objects of common consumption, that is, bread, meat, salt provisions, coffee, tea, sugar and heating, are generally at a lower price in the United States than in France; particularly in Paris, a salary of \$1,500 to \$2,000 suffices, in most cases, to maintain a family in abundance and comfort. The employee who receives 2,500 to 3,000 francs in Paris lives in a stricter economy if single, with privations if he is married. In Washington or Philadelphia, he would have 6,000 francs and live in ease without display, to be sure, without any exterior luxury, but quite amply. It would not be, as with us, with the tortures of Tantalus, since the grandly privileged existence of European capitals is unknown in the United States. In Paris, the employee is outshone by the outfit of a man who spends 100,000 francs; in Philadelphia, he might encounter an opulent capitalist on the sidewalk, who has no carriage because he knows nothing but walking, and who, with a revenue of \$30,000 or \$60,000, cannot pay out more than \$8 to \$10,000 at the most. The relation of existences, which in Paris is one to forty, is here no more than one to eight.

Here, the existence of the richest businessman and that of the employee and the worker or the farmer are perfectly comparable. It is the same framework for each, the same habits for each. All have houses that are similar and on the same plan. There is this difference, which is that one will have five or six feet more façade and a story extra, but the distribution and the system of furnishing are identical. All have carpeting from the bottom to the top; all sleep in a large bed with columns on the same model, in the middle of a room without cabinets, without an alcove, without a double door and walls without molding. Only the carpeting of one is coarse, that of the other is of good weave, and the bed of the rich person is with flounces, while that of the mechanic is blended. Ordinarily the table of both is served the same manner, there is the same number of meals, on almost the same plates. It is at the point where, if my French palate had to choose between dinner at a house in a large city (with the exception of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore), and that of a workers' tavern in the countryside, where I have as neighbor the local farrier, with rolled up sleeves and a black face, I believe, in truth, that he would choose the second, particularly for the North³⁷⁵ and above all New England, the

³⁷³ See Note 71.

³⁷⁴ These are, in most of the states, the governors, and above them the members of the federal cabinet. The latter receive only \$6,000 (32,000 francs), without residence or other accessories, and they are required by custom to a certain amount of entertainment (see Note 72 below).

³⁷⁵ See Note 73.

homeland of the Yankee. In the South, the existence of the planter on his domains expands everything that is reactionary in the community of mankind, which is the slave. In the North, then, for several years commerce, which has accumulated people into towns, has also agglomerated the capital and created great fortunes. The inequality of conditions begins to make itself known: the style of the new mansions of Chestnut Street in Philadelphia, with their first stories of white marble, is an assault on equality. The same innovation manifests itself in New York. The anti-democratic tendency of commerce emerges to the light of day.

It sometimes happens to me to feel the humility of what I intend to report, of the miserable spirit that animates a portion of our commerce and which disconcerts us among people who are best disposed to esteem and love us, such as those of South America. I always console myself by the reflection that, if we give some place abroad to believe that we are a nation without faith or law, the proofs abound overseas that no people is more rich in altruism and virtue. In what land in the world can one find purer magistrates? Even in this century of universal defiance, suspicion has never dared to attack them. With what impartiality is not justice rendered to us by judges with emoluments of 1,200 francs, with presidents at 1,800 francs, and by counselors at 3,000 francs? If from magistrates we pass on to the army, we find officers who have no gold or silver except on their epaulettes, who remain imperturbably honest and devoted — I say nothing about their courage, since the whole world knows what to think of that. See as well the navy that, in all foreign ports, reestablishes the honor of our flag, not by the sumptuous feasts they give, but by their attitude and their discipline, expecting that it will have the occasion to realize the hopes of Navarino. And our civil and military engineers, through whose hands enormous sums pass, and who content themselves with their modest pittance, without even the merit of resisting the temptation, since they cannot conceive it. And, even in civil administrations, this crowd of modest employees, who do not have, as the others, the economic charms of study to reduce their poverty, or the profound impressions of a great education to cause them to disdain the allure of foul transactions, and whose probity still does not desert them. All of them work hard with conscience across a society of which the luxury and seductions grow continually, without ever letting themselves swerve toward the rock of corruption. That is one of the glories of France, a glory of which it is never proud enough.

The question is to know not if this is honorable, but whether it can endure, if the events are not being prepared, if new usages and ideas are not developing within the society which, in a little time from now, will render this state of things impracticable.

The great revolution that has been underway for three centuries and has changed the religious faith of a part of the world, has finally seized France by politics and philosophy, which had escaped the times of Luther and Calvin. The reformation, extending more and more, has invaded the material aspect of society. Work, in all its forms, rendered fruitful by the intellectual revolution, finally comes to bring, in abundance for all, the fruits it has it did not give in other times except in a small number and to an imperceptible minority, that of ease for a hundredfold. It suffices to open the eyes to see coming the four cardinal points of the new order of things, where agriculture, manufactures and commerce, infinitely more active and better combined than our fathers could have imagined, will also be infinitely more productive, and where a more equitable

repartition of the products will call the immense majority, if not the totality of the human race, to the joys of consumption.

But will not this industrial and material revolution react on morality? The day when it will be possible to all to rise by work to riches and ease, will abstinence and poverty restore the high virtues so essential to rise in the world? Could it continue to make a permanent law for the servants of the state? Would it be reasonable? Would it be possible? Functionaries do not form an order of monks, living in isolation, detached from the interests and affections of this world. They are people of the world, with worldly tastes. They have a wife and children, for whom they wish the best, they also have the right to obtain just as much good as the businessman, the banker, the notary, the master of forges, the physician, the lawyer, the painter, the composer or the entertainer.

France, I repeat, is a poor country. Except for our great cities and some départements of the North, where public wealth has developed, and where luxury and consumption have followed the same rising law, the situation of the majority of the public functionaries is still tolerable. With their appointments of 1,500 francs, 2,000 francs, 3,000 francs, they are, in many provinces, at the same level as everyone else. They are not aware of their penury as they move in their habitual milieu, and especially until they poke their noses outside the territory, and they find themselves in contact with the English race. But when one has developed material interests in France, when, by the constitution of public and private credit, by the establishment of new ways of communication, by the reform of education, they have directed their spirits toward the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing industry, when one has multiplied the sources of riches, and a great number will be admitted to press for themselves and their own, on what right and what pretext is an existence demanding sacrifices imposed on functionaries? Those who resign themselves today to a life of constraint will then want ease and comfort. It will then be necessary either to redistribute the functionaries or to be satisfied with the rebuke of all the professions in public services. The elite of French youth already dispute for modest positions as civil and military engineers of the state, and do eight years novitiate in the colleges, the *École polytechnique* and the applied schools, to attain the grade of lieutenant of artillery or engineering, or to be an apprentice engineer of [the Corps of] Bridges and Roads or of Mines, with appointments of 1,500 to 1,800 francs, and a prospect of 6,000 to 8,000 francs after 25 years of labors. If industry should undergo a rapid expansion tomorrow, the most capable of these young men will desert the service of the state once their education is terminated, as the better students of West Point do here. They will embrace an industrial career, at least until the state decides to treat them better in order to keep them.

These ideas of parsimony were born with us in the course of a reaction against the principle of authority, a reaction that legitimated the faults of the holders of power. When the government affected to believe that the people were created solely to provide for governing and taxing, the public had a reason to treat them in turn like a parasitic growth. Everything that could be reduced was that much taken from the enemy. The present condition of functionaries, in material terms as well as moral terms, is therefore one of the effects of a revolutionary crisis that, I believe, is reaching its end. When society has resumed its regular advance, when the governing powers have proved themselves worthy of being at the head of the peoples, the governed will restore their confidence and will put an end to their acts of reprisals.

One could believe that among a people deeply absorbed in material interests, such as here, greed would abound. It does not. There is never any stinginess with the man of the South; there is sometimes still some with the Yankee, but nowhere, North or South, does one find the sordid greed of which there are so frequently examples in Europe. The American has too elevated an idea of human dignity to consent to deprive himself and his dependents of the comfort that sweetens the frictions of interior life. He has too much respect for his person than not to surround him with an attitude of devotion. Harpagon [chief figure of *L'Avare (The Miser)* by Molière] is a type that does not exist in the United States, and further Harpagon is by no means the most miserably crass miser that European society has to offer. The American is devoured by the passion for riches, not because he finds pleasure in heaping up treasures, but because riches are power, because they are the levers with which nature is dominated.

I must also do honorable penance to Americans on an essential point. I said that all business was a matter of money for them, since there is a sort of business that, for us, people with lively affections love, people in general, have this principally mercantile character, and does not have it at all for Americans, and that is marriage. We buy our wife with our fortune, or we sell to her for her dowry. The American chooses her or offers himself to her for her beauty, her intelligence and her qualities of heart; that is the sole dowry he seeks. Hence, while we make a matter of trafficking what is for him the most sacred, these merchants show a delicacy and an elevation of sentiments that does honor to the most perfect models of chivalry. It is in work that they owe this superiority. Our bourgeois of leisure, unable to increase his patrimony, is obligated, at the moment he takes a wife, to furnish her dowry, finally to know whether his joint revenue will cover the costs of marriage. The American, having the taste and habit of work, is certain to subsidize amply the needs of his family, by his industry, and to find himself dispensed from this sad calculation. Is it possible to doubt that a race of men that thus unites in high degree the most apparently contradictory qualities, is reserved for great destinies?

Note 70 [Vol. 2, Note 20, 1836 edition]

On the Municipal Elections in France

Here are the observations on this subject contained in a report addressed to the king on the municipal elections of 1834, by the minister of the interior, dated 16 December 1833:

The choice of mayors and adjuncts presented great difficulties in many communes. The proper councilors capable of fulfilling these functions often refused to accept them. Sometimes no councilor even wanted to exercise the functions of mayor provisionally, although the law of 21 March 1831 imposed the obligation, in truth without fortifying this with a penal sanction. It is only by dissolving the council and asking the electors to make other choices that it is possible to execute the law to take mayors and adjuncts into the municipal council. At this moment, there are only a few towns where the mayoralty could be settled over the last year. A certain number of rural communes present the same situation. In some of them, it was necessary to confer the administration to the mayor of a neighboring commune ...

The difficulty of finding municipal councilors who consent to accept the functions of the mayor or an adjunct in such a large number of communes, or who were in the position of filling them, has led to long vacancies in the organization of mayoralties. Thus, at the end of last April, of the 1,093 towns where the functionaries were named by the king, there were 65 where the mayoralty could not be organized. Even today 13 towns are still in the same situation, not counting some others where those named have renounced the functions they had originally accepted. Of the 76,000 mayors and adjuncts in the nomination of the prefects in 86 départements, there were still 900 to name last April, that is, about an eightieth. One could estimate the places still vacant at 300.

This difficulty of organizing the mayoralties demands to be taken seriously.

Note 71 [Vol. 2, Note 21, 1836 edition]

Table of the Complete Pay on Board of Officers of the French and American Navy

French Navy	US Navy
Vice Admiral ³⁷⁶ 39,900 fr.	
Rear Admiral 32,075	
	Capt. comm. in chief 24,000 fr.
	Capt. comm. squadron 21,333
Capt. 1 st class 14,760	Captain 18,667
Capt. 2 nd class 14,160	
Capt. frigate 11,500	Commander 13,333
Capt. corvette 8,710	
Lieut. Comm. 6,050	Lieut. Comm. 9,600
Lieutenant 3,221	Lieutenant 8,000
Lt. Frigate 2,621	Passed Midshipman 4,000
Student 1 st cl. 1,165	Midshipman 2,133

Master gunners, boatswains, sail makers and master carpenters, receive in the US Navy:

In a vessel of the line	4,000 francs
On a frigate	3,100
On other vessels	2,667

In France, the payment of masters in all professions varies from 2,000 to 4,000 francs.

Note 72 [Vol. 2, Note 22, 1836 edition]

³⁷⁶ The ranks of vice admiral and rear admiral do not exist in the US Navy.

Exceptional Honoraria in the United States

It is curious that in the United States, alongside eminent office holders so badly paid, there are subaltern employees who receive enormous honoraria. Here, for example, are the amounts paid in 1835 at New York, to the inspectors who oversee the exportation of various items.

Inspector of beef or salt pork	11,400 francs
<i>Idem</i>	30,800
Hides	15,300
Leather	29,200
Flour	13,900
<i>Idem</i>	53,600
Potash	103,500
Tobacco	182,000

Note 73 [Vol. 2, Note 23, 1836 edition]

On Costs of Rich Persons

If, in the great cities of the Northern states, the rich are used to spending eight to ten times more than the employee, this is not because he leads a great entourage, nor even, as I said, because he always has a carriage. At which hour of the day are the husbands served, always absorbed in business, and the wives, absorbed in their domestic concerns? When does one have the leisure to use it and public opinion is not offended, what does one do with the equipment on the streets of Philadelphia? The principal cause for expenditure by the rich that makes the difference between him and an employee, is that from time to time he gives some sort of *soirée*. He then seeks to be luxurious. The indulgent democracy permits it for a day, and luxury here is much more expensive than with us. He cannot have a very brilliant *soirée* in these little houses, where one has no more than two lots, 20 feet long by 25, for the cost of \$700 to \$800.

[First published in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 10 September 1835, pp. 3-4, "Variétés," "Lettres sur l'Amérique," pp. 3-4, dated New York, 15 July 1835. The first sentence is also different: "If anything is capable of reassuring the friends of peace on the possibility of a rupture ..."]

XXV SPECULATIONS

Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 4 August 1835

The attitude that the United States presents at this moment is eminently suited to reassure the friends of peace on the possibility of a rupture between this country and France. Today the Americans of all parties are agitating in their private affairs like men who are certain that no incident will cause any disturbance to commerce. Anyone disembarking at New York, Boston or Philadelphia on the day when they announced the effect produced in France by the message of General Jackson, and which would have moved Epimenides [a Greek prophet], does not yet know America. After the disturbance came most unlimited confidence. Everyone speculates and one speculates on everything. The most audacious enterprises do not frighten; all find subscribers. From Maine to the Red River, the United States has become an immense *rue Quincampoix*. Up until now, all the world has benefited from it, as always happens when speculation is in the ascendant. How the money was made, no one cares, consumption is enormous, and Lyon is upset.

I say that they speculate on everything. I was wrong. The American, essentially positive, never speculates on tulips, even in New York, although inhabitants of this town have Dutch blood in their veins. The principal objects of speculation are the same that ordinarily occupy the calculating spirit of the Americans, that is, cotton, the land of town and countryside, the banks and the railroads.

The lovers of land dispute, at the northern extremity, over pine forests rich in construction wood;³⁷⁷ in the southern extremity, the marshes of the Mississippi, cotton fields of Alabama and the Red River, and, far in the West, the wheat lands and the pastures of Illinois and Michigan. The unexpected developments of some new towns have turned heads, and they fling themselves at localities advantageously placed as if, in six years, three or four Londons, another Paris, a dozen Liverpools must extend their streets, their monuments, their quays encumbered with warehouses, their ports prickling with masts on American territory. At New York they have sold *lots*³⁷⁸ for a population of two million, New Orleans for at least a million. They have sold pestilential swamp and sharp rocks for house lots. In Louisiana, shifting terrains, bottomless backwaters with alligators, cypress lakes that have ten feet of water and silt, and here the bed of the Hudson with twenty, thirty, fifty feet, have found many purchasers. Take a map of the United States. Place yourself at Lake Erie, which, twenty years ago, was a solitude. Pass to its western point, and thence to Lake Saint-Clair. From Lake Saint-Clair press north, cross Lake Huron, go on further, enter Lake Michigan, and advance south until the water runs out. You come across a little town called Chicago, one of the posts that we French established in the course of our indefatigable excursions to the north of America.

³⁷⁷ To give an idea of the blind furor of speculations on the wooded lands of Maine, a story had it that some impoverished people of Bangor escaped together from the hospital, and each realized a profit of 1800 dollars before they were able to return.

³⁷⁸ A lot or place for a house has 22 to 25 English feet of frontage on 80 to 100 deep.

Chicago appears called to one day possess an extended commerce. It will be at the head of a canal that will join the Mississippi to the Lakes and to Saint Lawrence. But today, Chicago has barely two or three thousand inhabitants. Chicago has behind it lands of admirable fertility, but these lands remain uncultivated. Soon the land for six leagues around has been resold and sold in little pieces, not to Chicago but to New York, eight hundred leagues away. There is in trade currently in New York a piece of paper that figures the lots of the town at Chicago for 300,000 inhabitants. It is more than today live in any city in the New World. It is probable that more than one buyer of these rags counts himself happy if, when he comes to examine his acquisition, he finds it covered by six feet of lake water.

Speculations on railroads can cede nothing to those on lands. America has a passion for railroads. They love them, as when Camille Desmoulins said in reporting to Mirabeau, "as a lover loves his mistress." This is not only because the supreme happiness consists, for an American, in this aggression that devours time and annuls space; it is also because he senses, as he has always seen rightly, that this mode of communication is perfectly adapted to the immensity of his territory, to his flat coastline, and to the featureless configuration of the great valley of the Mississippi, and because he finds in his primeval forests a profusion of materials that permit him to execute it cheaply. Therefore they multiply railroads in competition with the rivers and canals, opposing one to another. If the works in construction today are finished (and I believe they will be finished), in two years there will be three distinct routes from Baltimore to Philadelphia, not counting the old great road, specifically two exclusively by railroad, a third by steamboat and railroad. The one of the three will be virtually sure to ruin them, to win a half-hour on its rivals.

The mode of creating banks universally adopted here (it is the same for all enterprises of public utility when they are delivered to the particular industry) consists of authorization granted by the legislature to open books of subscription in a public place, where all have permission to come and sign by means of an advance payment of five, ten or twenty percent. The day of the opening of the books is a solemnity. With us, one stands in line at the door of theaters; in the United States one stands in line with profound anxiety at the door of the sanctuaries where the books of subscriptions for banks were placed. In Baltimore, the registers were opened for the creation of a new bank (*Merchants' Bank*) with a capital of two million (one counts here by millions of dollars), the subscription rose to nearly fifty. At Charleston, for the same capital of two million, the subscription was for ninety. And since, at Charleston, the prior payment required by law was, this time, 25 percent, paid in current money, paper money to be sure, but good at par, the sum was 22 million dollars (about 118 million francs), or eleven times the required capital. This rage for bank shares is easy to explain. Most banks here are in fact irresponsible institutions that have the right to coin money with paper. The shareholders of the banks touch the interests of eight, nine, ten and twelve percent³⁷⁹ on their capital that, by ingenious combinations, they can dispense themselves of possessing, and so in a country where the 5 percent of Pennsylvania or of New York is to be had at 110 and 115,

³⁷⁹ There are financial companies that distribute dividends at the rate of 20 percent. This was the case a few days ago for the Atlantic Insurance Company of New York. The banks properly so called never attain this figure. (See Letter IV on dividends of the Bank of the United States).

and the 6 percent of the state of Ohio. Six percent of the state of Ohio! Just imagine if the heroes of Fort Duquesne could return to life!

Most of these speculations are imprudent, many are mad. The boom of today could and should be followed by a crisis tomorrow. The great fortunes, in great number, arise from the grave in the spring, others return to the grave before the leaves fall. The American is not disturbed. To shake his robust fiber, he needs violent sensations. Public opinion and the flesh forbid to his vigorous organization the sensual satisfactions, wine, women, the deployment of princely luxury; cards and dice are forbidden him; the American therefore demands from business the strong emotions he needs to feel alive. He bets with delight on the rolling sea of speculations. One day, the wave will push him to the skies; he savors hastily this instant of triumph. The next day, he disappears between the crest and the trough. He is not troubled by this; he watches phlegmatically and consoles himself with hope of a better future. And besides, as one speculates, what enriches the one and ruins the others, the banks create and distribute credit, the railroads and canals pour out, the steamboats launch from their yards into the rivers, the lakes, the ocean. The race course always expands for the speculators, for the railroads, the canals, the steamboats and the banks. Some individuals lose, but the country gains. The country gets peopled, gets cleared, develops, the land advances. *Go ahead!*³⁸⁰

If the movement and rapid succession of sensations and ideas constitute life, here one lives hundredfold; everything is circulation, everything is mobility and frenetic agitation. Experiences chase experiences, enterprises chase enterprises. Riches and poverty follow one another on the track and dislodge one another in turn. While the great men of this day dethrone those of the past day, they are already half-overthrown by the great men of tomorrow. The fortunes last a season, the reputations the length of a torch. An irresistible current seizes all, overturns all, reverts everything to new forms. People change house, climate, profession, condition, party, sect.³⁸¹ States change laws, magistrates and constitution. The soil itself, or at least edifices, participates in the universal instability.³⁸² The existence of a social order alongside this turbulence seems to be a mirage, an inexplicable mirage. They say that, being formed of heterogeneous elements that accident has juxtaposed, and of which each follows an orbit that only its caprice and interest modify, this society, after being raised for an instant to the heavens

³⁸⁰ *Go ahead!* This locution was made fashionable by Colonel Crockett, a rude personage of the West, who is a member of Congress. The son of one of his neighbors having written him to ask for permission to marry his daughter, it is said that Crockett sent him this laconic response, *Go ahead!*

³⁸¹ Here one changes religion for many diverse motives. It is not rare to see Americans, having become rich, change their sect and embrace, for example, the sect of Anglican Episcopalianism, which is reputed the most *fashionable* of all. Otherwise, the passage from one sect to another cannot be, in the United States, an act as grave as one is inclined to suppose it in Catholic countries. All the Protestant sects differ little among themselves, less actually than between a Jansenist or a Molinist from a Jesuit or a Gallican. Further it is necessary to except Anglicanism, which has a proper character, a discipline and a liturgy of its own, as well as the two less numerous sects of the Unitarians, who deny the divinity of Christ, and the Universalists, who do not believe in damnation.

³⁸² American houses are in general very low and very lightly constructed. Their walls have nothing but one and a half thickening of brick, often only one. Thus, when the alignment of the streets change, which often happens in New York, for example, they advance or pull back without inconvenience. Often you even raise them yourself. In the countryside, there are many houses of wood. They are transported along the roads for distances that are often considerable. I found myself stopped, being in a carriage, between Troy and Albany, by a house of more than forty feet of façade that was traveling that way.

like a water spout, must inevitably fall flat, reduced to powder. This will not be its destiny. In the midst of this mobile system, there is a fixed point, which is the domestic hearth, or, to be more specific, the conjugal bed. An austere sentinel, sometimes harsh unto fanaticism, removes from this sacred point everything that could disturb its fixity; it is the religious sentiment. The more this fixed point enjoys its inviolability, that the guard that persists there will persist in its rigorous vigilance, the system may, without serious danger, make new turns and undergo new changes of view. It may be battered by the storm, but, in virtue of its elasticity and aided by its point of attachment, it will not break and will in fact survive. It is even necessary to divide into various small groups nearly independent one of the others, but it will spread on the earth, it will grow in extent, resources and in energy.

The influence of democracy is so universal in this country that it would be entirely simple for it to raise its head in the midst of the speculators. There have been coalitions of workers who have wished to participate in its benefits, and for their part they have demanded a reduction of work and an increase in salary. The second point was just, since, in the general rise, all the objects of consumption have increased in price. Here the coalition is by no means timid: it now has the English habit of speaking in public and making processions. Further, the working class feels its force, knows its power, and knows how to use it. Diverse bodies of crafts have gathered in New York, in Philadelphia, and elsewhere. They have deliberated publicly and have exposed their arguments. Women have their *meetings* just as well as the men. That of the dressmakers in Philadelphia had an impact: it was presided over by an economist, Mr. Matthew Carey who was assisted, as vice presidents, by two clergymen. Among their demands was that of the baker apprentices, who, by virtue of human rights and the holiness of the Sabbath, no longer wanted to make bread on Sunday. The principal bodies of crafts decided that all labor should be suspended except for that of the masters,³⁸³ if this term could be applied here except in derision, for they gave in to their ultimatum. Finally, so that everyone should know it, they have caused their *resolutions* to be published in the journals, signed by the president and the secretaries of the *meeting*. These resolutions declare that those workers who refuse to conform should suffer the consequences of their refusal. The *consequences* were that the refractory workers who continued to work would be chased from their workplace with sticks and stones, without authority needing to give a sign of life. The consequence is that at this moment, a troop of club-bearers is stopping boats loaded with coal from descending to Philadelphia, holding them in embargo, thereby interrupting the most fruitful of the branches of commerce of Pennsylvania, depriving of employment Philadelphia's sailors and boats, which distribute precious fuel throughout the coast of the Union, exposing miners to unemployment. The militia watches them go, the sheriff rests with crossed arms. If the minority of club-bearers persists, since the disorders are the work of a small minority, a battle between them and the miners is to be feared.³⁸⁴ In Philadelphia the *consequence* already is that the carpenters, to make up to some recalcitrant contractors, have set fire to several of the houses they were building. This time the authority is aroused, the mayor has had placards hung with a warning that there is reason to believe that these fires are caused by malice,

³⁸³ This word is not in use here. They use the term of *employer*.

³⁸⁴ See Note 74.

and he offers a thousand dollars in reward for anyone who points out the authors. But it is too late. The municipality, hoping, it is said, to win some votes for the cause of the opposition, which they support, instead of interposing their mediation between the workers and their masters, are concerned from the first days to defend the workers by subscribing on the spot to all their conditions for work in the city.³⁸⁵

The philosopher, for whom the present is only one point, on reviewing the facts, can find something to entertain him there. Workers and domestics in Europe live in a condition of almost absolute dependence that is convenient to those who command. Legitimists, republicans, moderates, all deal with the workers they employ or the domestic who serves them as if there were beings from an inferior nature, who must devote to their master all their zeal and all their efforts, while receiving in return nothing more than a meager salary. It is permitted, it is wonderful to call in these views for social combinations that establish a more equitable proportion between rights and duties. In America, the absolute principle of the sovereignty of the people has been applied to relations between master and server, between the bourgeois and the worker; the industrialist, the manufacturer and the contractor, to whom the workers make the law, seek as much as possible to pass around them, substituting more and more the power of machines for the force of man. Hence the most elementary industrial works press more and more on the human species. The master, whom domestics obey when it pleases them, and who pay dearly to be badly served or served with a bad grace, favor, as much as is in them, the mechanicals and the devices that simplify needs, in the end of economizing work and servants.

It would be a curious study in this country to make not only on great industrial mechanisms, but also on the hand tools and the utensils of the domestic economy. These utensils, or tools, these mechanisms powerfully influence the practical liberty of the greatest number. It is through them that the largest number free themselves bit by bit from a yoke that tends to crush or disgrace. Under this relationship, then, which passes today between master and domestic, bourgeois and worker, contributes to hasten a future a friend of humanity must desire with all his voices. But if philosophic satisfaction is ample, material satisfaction and presence is almost entirely missing. For whoever is not a worker or domestic, for whoever has tasted the existence of the cultivated classes of Europe, life practical and real, life in flesh and bone, is composed of a series of pains, uncertainties and displeasures, I would almost say of humiliations. The independence of workers is sometimes the ruin of the chiefs of industry. The independence of domestics compels the dependence of women, relegating them to households much less in harmony with the careful education that many of them have received, and keeping them locked away from the day of their marriage until their deaths.

The renewing force to which nothing is a counterweight pushes with a great excess of energy to the detriment of all classes without exception. Behold, not only the existence of the classes that are called superior in Europe, who must now take another name, is stripped of a thousand little joys that he has come to reject in books and in discourse with machines, but which each loves in reality, once again the social machine takes away, and the malaise becomes general, the tiny demands of those I will call inferior, to speak in the European manner, falls heavily upon him. At this time, for

³⁸⁵ See Note 75.

example, the Sybarites of Philadelphia, who like their fresh bread on Sunday, are not the only ones who will suffer or are threatened to suffer. If the exaggerated demands of the workers continue, one will see those of the commanding class decline. Work will be less in demand. Speculations, if work does not consolidate, must break like soap bubbles, and if the reaction comes, the worker, who economizes little, will resent it more intensely than any other.

Note 74 [Vol. 2, Note 24, 1836 edition]

[Putting down domestic disorder]

The citizens of Pottsville have put an end to disorders by going, with a mandate from the sheriff, to the place where the club-bearers have assembled, seizing the most mutinous, and throwing them into their town's prisons. This courage of simple citizens, converted at need into an armed force, is one of the surest guarantees of American liberty. It is to remark that things have become more pleasant in the towns.

Note 75 [Vol. 2, Note 25, 1836 edition]

Repression of Unions

The excesses committed by unions have finally attracted the attention of justice. Pursuit has taken place in the state of New York. The shoemaker workers of Geneva (a small town of this state) gathered together to raise wages, to strike with condemnation every master who presses workers to take less money than the workers have fixed for themselves, and to impose a fine of 10 dollars on each worker who would work below the conditions they have set. They were called before the *Court of General Session* and acquitted. The *Chief Justice* of the state was of the opinion that they were badly judged and that the case had to be reheard. In June 1836, a trial was begun in similar terms against worker tailors in the city of New York before the *Court of Oyer and Terminer*, composed of a judge, Mr. Edwards, and four municipal councilors. Despite menacing gatherings, the tailors were condemned. The jury recommended clemency to the court, and their penalty only consisted of a very light fine, 800 francs for one of them, 533 francs for another, and 266 francs for the rest. The day after the judgment, a *meeting* took place at Park Place, where the most violent speeches were made, and where Judge Edwards was burned in effigy, but the sentence was carried out. The law of the state of New York differs from our own in that it leaves everyone free to work. It does not punish any union except when the members try to compel other workers not to work except at a price they have determined, and that in this regard the intention was followed in effect.

XXVI
BEDFORD SPRINGS

Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, 7 August 1835

Here I am among the waters of Bedford; it is one of the pleasant places of the United States. I have been here barely three days, and I am in a hurry to escape. It is necessary that male Americans, and even more female Americans, be bored profoundly in their souls to consent to exchange the calm and comfort of home for the noise without gayety and the prosaic misery of such an experience.

It appears that, in truly democratic countries such as here in the states of the North, nothing can exist like European spas. You will see that in the measure to which Europe becomes democratic, if that is its destiny, your delicious rendezvous of summer will lose all their charm. Man is exclusive by nature. There are many pleasures that cease to be pleasures the moment they are accessible to everyone, and by that fact alone. In Saratoga, at Bedford, the American is bored because he senses that there are twenty thousand fathers of families in Philadelphia and New York who could be here just as well as he is, if envy compels them, and if it leads to give themselves the satisfaction of bringing there his wife and daughters, and, once there, to yawn away on a chair in the gallery for a whole day, to go armed (I am speaking of knife and fork) to consume one's portion of a bad dinner; to stuff oneself into the mob scene of a dancing evening, and to sleep, if this is possible, in the middle of a hubbub on a pallet in a noisy cell made of fir planks. The American traverses the magnificent countryside that borders the Hudson without looking at it, because he is one of six hundred or a thousand others on the steamboat. Freely, I become an American in this setting, and I have not admired the panorama of West Point and the Highlands except when I found myself alone in a rowboat on the river.

Democracy has come too recently to the world to have been able to organize its pleasures and its joys. All our current pleasures in Europe were founded on exclusion and are as aristocratic as Europe itself, and as a result cannot be a practice of the multitude. It would be necessary, in this relation, just as in politics, that American democracy grasp it anew. The problem is difficult but not insoluble, since it was resolved with us before. The religious festivals of Catholicism were eminently democratic: all were called to them, and everyone took part. To what transports of joy and enthusiasm the whole of Europe was called, great and small, nobles, bourgeois and serfs, when, at the time of the crusades they celebrated with a procession and with a *Te Deum* the victory at Antioch or the taking of Jerusalem! Even today, in our southern provinces, where the faith is not yet watered down, there still exist ceremonies genuinely popular. Such are the festivals of Easter, with representations of the Passion exposed in the churches, and the processions with their deployment of crosses and banners, their brotherhoods of penitents, with ragged shirts and floating robes, and their long rows of children and women with the male and female saints in grand costume and the relics carried piously, and finally, with military and civil pomp intermingled, despite the atheism of the law. It is the spectacle of the poor, a spectacle that leaves one with better

and livelier memories than the atrocious boulevard dramas of suburban Paris and the artificial pomp of the *Barrière du Trône*.³⁸⁶

Here now, particularly in the states of the West, democracy commences to have festivals where its fiber is revived, and where it savors the emotions with delight: these are religious festivals, the *camp meetings* of the Methodists, where the population devotes itself with ardor, despite the philosophic disapproval expressed by more bourgeois sects, who denounce their heated excitement and their declamatory attractions, despite the convulsionary, hysterical character of the scenes on the *bench of concern*, or perhaps because of this character. In the old states of the North, it is political processions, pure demonstrations of the most common party, but which are most interesting when the democracy takes part, because it is the Democratic Party that organizes the most brilliant and animated ones. After *camp meetings*, the political processions are the sole things, in this country, that resemble festivals. The party banquets, with their speeches and their deluge of toasts, are frozen, if not repellent, and, for example, I have never seen anything more sovereignly disgraceful than a banquet that took place on the green at Powelton, near Philadelphia, for the entire population, by the opposition, that is, by the bourgeoisie.

In Philadelphia, I was halted against my will to watch gigantic trees (*poles*) passing by, making their solemn entry via eight streets to be planted by the democracy on the eve of election days. I recall that one of these *hickory poles*³⁸⁷ that advanced, its head still decorated with its fresh foliage, to the sound of fife and drum, preceded by ranking Democrats, with no distinctions save small branches of the sacred tree in their hats. Eight horses hauled the tree, with harnesses decorated by ribbons and symbols. Mounted on the tree itself were a dozen *Jackson Men of the purest water*, with an aura of satisfaction and triumphantly on the advance, waving flags in the air, crying: *Huzzah for Jackson!*

This promenade of the *hickory* is nothing but a detail of what I saw in New York.

It was in the night that followed the closure of the elections that victory was declared for the Democratic Party.³⁸⁸ The procession was a quarter of a league long. The Democrats marched in good order and with torches; they had more banners than one would have seen in a religious festival, all transparent because of the darkness. On one was inscribed the names of democratic associations: Young Democrats of the Ninth or Eleventh Ward (quarter). The others were covered with imprecations against the Bank of the United States: *Nick Biddle* and *Old Nick* (the devil) made the attacks more or less ingenious, the pendant to *Libera nos a malo* ["Deliver us from evil"]. Further there were portraits of General Jackson on foot and on horseback; he had the uniform of a general, then as a *Tennessee farmer*,³⁸⁹ the famous hickory cane in hand. Those of Washington and of Jefferson surrounded by democratic maxims, mixed with splashes of all colors. Among the banners was an eagle, not painted but a real living eagle, attached by its claws, in the midst of a crown of foliage, seated at the end of a pole, in the manner of Roman standards. The imperial eagle was carried by a sailor, who was more excited than

³⁸⁶ [The *Barrière du Trône* or *de Vincennes* on the *Avenue du Trône* was originally a tariff barrier near the *Place de la Nation*, in eastern Paris. It was a site of the ceremonial entrance of the king, topped in the mid-1840s by statues of Saint Louis and of King Louis-Philippe.]

³⁸⁷ *Hickory* is high in honor among Democrats, because the popular nickname of General Jackson is *Old Hickory*.

³⁸⁸ See Letter XVI.

³⁸⁹ The *Tennessee farmer* because of the properties of General Jackson in that state.

one of the elect admitted to hold one of the ropes of the dais in a Catholic ceremony. From a distance as I beheld the Democrats advance, I was struck by the resemblance of their folderol to the cortege that accompanies the Host at Mexico or Puebla. The American bearers of the banners were gathered like Mexican Indians carrying holy lanterns. The Democratic procession also had wayside altars precisely like a Catholic procession: they stopped before the homes of *Jackson men* to fill the air with their *cheers*; they stationed themselves at the doorways of leaders of the opposition to attack them with three, six or nine *groans*. If these tableaux ever find their painter, one would admire them from afar: it would be the equal of the triumphs and sacrifices that the ancients left us in marble and in bronze. For they are more than grotesque in the fashion of the scenes immortalized by Rembrandt: it has history and it is grand, these are episodes of a marvelous epoch that will leave long memories in the world, that of the advent of democracy.

And yet, as festivals and ceremonies, these political processions are quite inferior to the *revivals* that take place during *camp meetings*. Every festival where women do not participate is only a half-festival. Why are your constitutional ceremonies so deprived of attraction? It is not only because those participating are bourgeois, very honorable to be sure, but with little poetry, and that the drama of costumes and the prestige of the fine arts are banned from them. It is also because women have no place and cannot find a place. A man of spirit said that women were not poets, but that they were poetry itself.

I recall what, in my town in the provinces, made the charm and drama of the processions. We opened our eyes wide when the red coat of the first president advanced, we admired the epaulettes and the embroidered clothing of the general, and more than one military vocation was decided that day; we saw approaching from afar the episcopal cortege, we mechanically threw ourselves on our knees before the dais, and with his escort of Levites, the bishop approached, a venerable old man, the miter on his brow and the Holy Sacrament in his hands. We were envious of the glory of the young men who were, for a day, Saint Mark or Saint Peter, more than one large boy would have abdicated his fifteen years to be admitted to the signal honor of being one of these little Saint Johns clothed with a sheepskin, but the crowd held its breath when one perceived among the forest of banners, among the surplices and robes of the priests, across the ragged shirts of the penitents and the bayonets of the garrison, one of the young women in white robe, representing the holy women and the Mother of Seven Sorrows, or which, weighted down with chains of gold, ribbons and pearls, portraying the empress alongside her emperor;³⁹⁰ or she who, as Saint Veronica, displays the face of Our Savior as he advanced to Calvary. Or at last those, still very pious, who were confirmed this morning by Monseigneur. All the same, because there are women at the *camp meetings*, and there they are actresses of the same rank as the most passionate preacher, it is for this alone that American democracy flocks there. The *camp meetings*, with their delirious sibyls, have made the success of the Methodists, and they have attracted to them in America a church

³⁹⁰ It is one of the memories of the Roman Empire, which remained very profound in our départements of the south.

more numerous than that of the sects that flourished the most among the English race in Europe.³⁹¹

Tournaments suppress women, and all that they have left is an assault of masters at arms. Remove the *bench of concern* from the camp meetings, and you get rid of the women who shake, cry out and roll on the ground, creeping pale and disheveled, haggard of eye, to the ministers who breath into them the holy spirit, or those who sit in the passage, at the opening of the tents, hardened sinners straining to listen. Vainly the scene will pass to a lovely summer's evening, under a sky that would fear nothing in comparison with that of Greece. Vainly you would be surrounded by tents and numerous carriages that would remind you of the nation of Israel in flight from Egypt: vainly the fires shine from afar, among the trees, you see the preachers in the distance, gesticulating above the crowd. Vainly the echo of the woods would deliver the drama of their insistent voices: this would be a spectacle from which you would recover at the end of an hour, while the *camp meetings*, as they are, have the gift of retaining the populations of the West for long weeks. One has seen those that continued for an entire month.

I admit that the camp meetings and political processions are still nothing but exceptional events in America. A people has no complete character without its national festivals and its pleasures, its poetry. In this regard, American nationality would not be easy to constitute. The American lacks a past from which he can draw his inspirations. On quitting the old land of Europe and breaking with England, his fathers left behind them all the chronicles, all the legends, all the traditions that make a homeland, this fatherland that one does not derive *from the soles of his boot*. The American is therefore impoverished in the ideal of everything he has won in material riches. But, with democracy, he always has the resource in the fact of imagination. I do not pretend to say how American democracy will supply the default of the past and of memories, any more than I ask myself to determine how it will impose on itself a restraint for itself and prevent its own mistakes. But I am convinced that America will have its ceremonies, its festivals, its art, just as I am persuaded that it will organize itself regularly, for I believe in the future of American society, or to say it better, from the commencement of the society that grows before our eyes, to the east and already to the west of the Alleghenies.

In France for more than a century we have been battling with ourselves to strip ourselves of our national originality. We attempt to make ourselves reasonable on the model of what we believe to be the English type,³⁹² and, after our example, the people of southern Europe have tortured themselves to take up a calculating and parliamentary air. Imagination is treated like the commonplace madness. Noble sentiments, enthusiasm, chivalric exaltation, which made the glory of our France, which is half the universe to Spain, all of that is disdained, scoffed at. Public festivals and popular ceremonies have become the laughing stock of strong spirits. The love of fine arts is no more than a frivolous passion. We make unheard-of efforts to impoverish the spirit and the heart, conforming to the prescriptions of the *Sangrados* of religion and politics. To strip our existence of the last vestige of taste and art, we have pushed the abnegation to the point of exchanging the elegance of costumes that we borrowed from the Spanish, when they

³⁹¹ The two most numerous sects in the United States are those of the Methodists and the Baptists (or Anabaptists): together they comprise more than the majority of the population. The Baptists have an exalted language like that of the Methodists (see Note 76).

³⁹² See note 77.

gave the tone to Europe, for the casual style of the English, which one may qualify in one word, which is that it derives from the climate of Great Britain. Pass again if we have not done anything but throw away as useless baggage our tournaments, our carousels, our jubilees, our religious festivals and our luxurious clothing! Unhappily we have returned to the source of all social and national poetry, to religion, and we have tried to end it. Our mores and our customs barely retain a light varnish of their vaunted grace. Politics has surrendered to the most arid positivism. This would be to abandon the national genius if, from one time to another, outbursts and explosions did not reveal that it was sleeping but not dead, and that a sacred fire glows under the cinders.

Certainly France and the peoples of southern Europe of whom it is the chorus master, owe much gratitude to the philosophy of the eighteenth century. That was our Protestantism, that is, which revealed to us the standard of liberty, opening the career to the human spirit and constituting the personality. But let us declare that, by the sole fact that it is irreligious, it is inferior to German, English and American Protestantism.

The writings of the apostles of this great revolution will remain as literary monuments, but not as lessons of morality, because all that is irreligious has only an ephemeral social value. Let us place in the Pantheon the remains of Voltaire and Montesquieu, of Jean-Jacques [Rousseau] and of Diderot, but on their monuments let us place their works covered with a veil. Let us tell the people to bless their memory, but let us not teach their systems and see that they not be taught by the servile continuators that these great writers would disavow if they were to return to inhabit this earth, for men of that temper are of the present century, sometimes of the century to come, and never of the past century.

In return for what we have shed, we have been given a parliamentary regime. One has supposed that this would satisfy all our needs, that it would fulfill all our views in the moral order and in the order of ideas, just as in the material order. God prevent me from being an enemy of the representative system! I believe in its permanence, while I doubt that we have already discovered the form under which the French nature and that of the southern peoples can accommodate it. But whatever it has in political value, one agrees that it will not replace, that it will never replace all that the reformers took from us. It has its own ceremonies and festivals, but that is redolent of a perfume of protocol against which our senses revolt. Although it has its dogmas and its mysticism, up to a certain point, it has not seized our imaginations. Fine arts are hostile to it. It does not have the gift of stirring our hearts. It leaves outside itself three quarters of our existence.

I comprehend that here they have wanted to make of representative government the corner stone and the keystone of the arch of the social structure. An American of fifteen years of age is as reasonable as a Frenchman at forty. Besides, the society is male; woman, who in all countries is a being with little of the parliamentary in her, exercises no empire there. There are no *salons* in the United States. Further, even here this regime does not exist, in its primitive purity, except on paper. The religious field, passably retraced, it is true, remains open to human idealism there, and the imagination finds more good than bad pasture there. But, among us, it is necessary to be a fanatic of representation to dream of making it the pivot of our social life. We all have our youth, thank God! Among us, women are a real power, although there is not a word about it in the Charter, and our national character has many feminine traits, I would not say effeminate. You could easily decimate France and leave nothing but the bourgeois

having passed quarantine, who would have a sober sense, well disillusioned, that is, well stripped of poetry, and you would barely arrive at having a society that would contain itself within constitutional emotions.

Here is why France is the theater of an incessant struggle between maturity and old age on the one side, and on the other young men who find their lot too small. Youth accuses Gerontius [“Old Age”] of narrowness, of faint heartedness, of selfishness. Gerontius complains about the frenetic ambition that consumes young men, besides their limitless turbulence.

Modern youth has lost the sentiment of respect for old age, which is a grave symptom of social decadence. Soured by discontent, youth has come to the point that it scorns experience; it regards itself as superior to men grown gray in governing human affairs; it persists being opinionated in this bad error, while the demonstration in fact of inferiority has been administered. Its raising of shields has resulted always in defeat. Tomorrow it will seize again political influence in favor of a new revolution, so that the day after tomorrow it will be newly dispossessed. For youth today is, in effect, superior to maturity and old age in many of the branches of human knowledge, which knows physics, chemistry, mathematics and physiology, is better versed in the theories of political economy, is and will be inevitably always be behind in the most difficult science of all, which is the foundation of all practice, the science of the human heart. However badly founded the claims of youth to put their hands on the rudder, it is no less true that if one wishes to reduce public life to the monotonous unrolling of constitutional forms, one has infinite struggles against energetic protests and against the resistance, more or less open, of all those who, like youth, carry a beating heart, of all that lives in the imagination as well as in the world of interests.

There will be no good government except that which satisfies at the same time the need for order, regularity, stability and material prosperity, on which maturity and old age are preoccupied and which, at the same time, knows how to deal with the thirst for live sensations, grandiose movements and brilliant ideas of which youth is tormented and this large portion of society that is always young or always minor. In regard to their Parliament, the English have their immense colonies into which they overflow across the seas. The Anglo-Americans have the West, and also the Ocean, as does Great Britain. This double invasion of the Orient of our planet by the fathers, and of the Occident by their emancipated sons, is yet a drama both colossal and sublime. Suppose that we French, who need a giant action to cause us to feel alive, which offers a role in viewing the universe, besides a spectacle of prodigies, will resign ourselves to be indefinitely imprisoned in our territory, without any other purpose than to make or watch wheels functioning in the parliamentary machine, this would be to wish that a man of taste would believe himself in paradise in this hovel in Bedford.

Note 76 [Vol. 2, Note 26, 1836 edition]

The Religious Sects of the United States

The United States has innovated in religion as it has in politics. The various English sects on passing from the Old World to the New, have changed their character, discipline, and most of all their relative proportions.

In the United States most of the sects practice *revivals*, having as their goal the reheating of religious zeal. A revival includes prayers in common, sermons, conferences,

extensive reunions, and visits to the home. This is somewhat analogous to our interior missions.

American churches offer a reflection of the political institutions of the country. Ministers there are much more dependent on the faithful than anywhere else. They are chosen and even removed by them. The dependence is more or less absolute, according to the various sects. It is much more considerable among the Congregationalists, whose churches are isolated one from another, than in other sects where they more or less recognize a superior authority, such as a synod and a general assembly among Presbyterians. The Methodists have few or no ministers with fixed posts, eluding the difficulties that result elsewhere from the precarious situation of ministers.

Besides ministers or pastors, there are in the various sects other ecclesiastic officer holders. Almost everywhere there are *elders*, who participate in the spiritual government of churches, and *deacons*, who are especially charged with the administration of their temporal resources. Among the Congregationalists and the Baptists, the functions of *elders* and *deacons* are unified under the title of deacons. Baptist ministers bear the title of elders.

It is known that in England the Church numerically dominant is the established Episcopal Church; in Scotland, it is the established Presbyterian Church, in Ireland the Catholic Church. Outside the established churches of England here are the Protestant sects or *dissenters*, who compose more than a half of the population of towns, and two fifths, at least, of the Protestant population of the entire country. The principal sects of the dissenters are those of the Presbyterians, which should not be confounded with the Presbyterians of Scotland, the independents, the Baptists and the Quakers or Friends. The first three of these sects resemble one another considerably. They differ from the established Church by having a far broader latitude of ecclesiastical discipline and liturgy. They agree extensively in personal independence. The English Methodists, although forming a group apart, are not included among the dissidents. They remain attached to the established Church. They are rather like Anglican Jansenists.

In the United States, the Anglican Episcopal Church is much less numerous. It accounts for only a 25th or 30th of the population. The dominant sects are: 1) the Methodists, 2) the Baptists, 3) the Presbyterians, and 4) the Congregationalists. There is besides a multitude of sects that are separated from the principal branches, or have come from Europe, besides the Catholics, who number about 700,000, divided into ten bishoprics, besides, finally, the Quakers and other less important sects. The Unitarians, who approach deism, and whom the other sects regard as *infidels*, came from the Congregationalists.

The Methodists of the United States differ from those of England both by their discipline and the forms they have adopted. They form an entirely distinct sect. It is they who hold *camp meetings*, a form of revivals that has become peculiar to them. Their clergy is composed of traveling preachers who are zealous, involved in an activity and proselytism like the Catholic missions we saw in France under the Restoration.³⁹³ They have six bishops who are also always on the move. Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists have many common traits. The Congregationalists are constituted in churches that are independent from one another, joined to one another through

³⁹³ The clergy of the English Methodists also consists, at least for the most part, of traveling preachers.

conferences, conventions or associations, embracing an entire state, which render no obligatory decisions but simply facultative advice, or by *councils*, composed of delegates of neighboring churches which have only a consultative character. Even the ordination of ministers, which takes place in *council*, proceeds in fact and in law from the churches themselves, that is to say, from the people. The Presbyterian churches are associated and form a body, only loosely organized it is true, and depend on general assemblies of partial synods. The Congregationalists are also *independent*, which is the name of the corresponding sectarians in England. The Puritan founders of the states of New England were Congregationalists. The very organization of the Congregationalists allows that there will be many variations among them. In some cases they approach the Presbyterians. The Baptists, who are only a derivation from the Congregationalists, differ in that they do not baptize anyone until they have reached the age of reason. They also have a more democratic language, more passionate. Their faithful pertain, in general, to the less cultivated classes.

In the states of New England, most of the inhabitants are Congregationalists. The Congregationalist sect hardly exists outside these states, where originally this sect confounded the state with the church.³⁹⁴ The states of the center are those that show the largest proportion of Presbyterians. The states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois include a rather large quantity.

The Methodists and Baptists dominate in the states of the South and the West, everywhere there are slaves; they also exist everywhere else.

The old states of the South are those where Episcopalians have the most adherents. A large part of the educated or rich persons of the Union in general belong to this sect or to that of the Unitarians. Catholics are most numerous in Louisiana and Maryland. Irish immigrants greatly increase the number of Catholics in the North and in the West.

Quakers are found almost uniquely in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The Dutch Reformed Church counts a number of adherents in the states of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is known that the Dutch were first to colonize the banks of the Hudson.

One also finds in the Union all the varieties of European Protestantism, whether because refugees of all lands sought an exile where they could practice their faith,³⁹⁵ or whether emigration brings here people of all sects.

I add here a table indicating the number of ministers of each religious denomination, grouping the less important according to the number of churches or congregations, that of the persons in regular communion and recognized by the churches, and the distribution of the total population among the sects. I have organized this table according to diverse publications, particularly according to the *American Almanack* of 1836. One may not consider it as having any but a rather imperfect degree of approximation.

³⁹⁴ The separation of the state or even the commune from the church was only complete in Vermont, Connecticut and New Hampshire about sixteen years ago. It was not definitively consummated in Massachusetts until 1833. It has always been the case in Rhode Island.

³⁹⁵ After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a certain number of Huguenots found refuge in English America. They particularly established themselves in South Carolina, where their descendents figure today among the most honorable families of the land.

SECTS	A	B	C	D
Methodist ep.	2,458	5,500	658,784	3,300,000
Other Methodists	70	200	30,000	300,000
Baptists	5,110	5,888	384,859	3,200,000
Other Baptists (7 th Day, 6 Principles, Free Will, Christians. Mennonites, Duncards)	926	1,800	94,671	700,000
Presbyterians	1,914	2,648	247,964	2,000,000
Other Presbyterians (Cumberland, Assoc.	470	1,100	72,886	300,000
Congregationalists	975	1,150	139,756	1,500,000
Reformed, Dutch, German, Lutheran	587	1,524	122,302	1,000,000
Episcopalian	700	700	70,000	500,000
Unitarians	165	187		200,000
Quakers		500		200,000
Universalists	300	600		300,000
United Brethren, New Jerusalem				300,000
Jews				300,000
Catholics	340	383		700,000
Total	12,015	22,180	1,801,222	14,500,000

A=Number of ministers; B= number of churches or congregations; C=communicants; D=Total population.

Messrs. Reed and Matheson, English Presbyterian ministers who, in 1834, were deputed to the Presbyterian churches and congregations and the Congregationalists of the United States by the Congregational Union of England and Wales, represented the religious state of the United States as follows, without the Episcopalians of the Anglican Church and the Catholics.

Population	13,000,000
Ministers	11,450
Churches	12,580
Communicants	1,550,890

They added that for England and Wales one could admit the following figures

Population		15,000,000
Anglican ministers	7,000 +	
Dissident ministers	6,500	13,500
Communicant Ang.	350,000 +	
Communicant Diss.	700,000	1,050,000

Messrs. Reed and Matheson remark that the number of edifices of the cult is much lower in England than in America. They report an assertion of the bishop of London according to which only a sixth of the population could find a place in the temples of the Church established in the diocese of London.

The French clergy consists of 41,000, of whom about 3,000 do not have cure of souls.

Note 77 [Vol. 2, Note 27, 1836 edition]

On English Imagination

We are persuaded that the English have no imagination, but that is a grave error. The Englishman does not lack it, but he keeps it to himself. Neither his individual temperament, his Protestant education, nor the cloudy and smoky climate in which he breathes, move him to expansion. He lives within, while the peoples of the south have a need to let their thoughts and their impressions expand to the outside. If we could say what goes on in the brain of the coldest and most gourmet Englishman, we would be stupefied by the fantastic and bizarre dramas that would unfold for us: it would be 24 carat [Ernst Theodor Amadeus] Hoffmann [1776-1822, German Gothic writer]. All the follies of our expansive and nervous nature have their equivalents with the English, but they do not allow them out, they gobble them back up and ruminate on them. These are his festivals and poetry. It is surely not Greek art, since the Englishman holds little with the Athenians, it is more of Teutonic art, which has an entirely different character. Mr. Heinrich Heine 1797-1858, German Romantic poet, in a recent work (*On Germany*) has spiritually exposed what is the native taste of Germanic populations, when it is not modified by a Hellenic education, and in what it differs from the southern nations.

[First published in the 1836 book edition]

XXVII

AUTHORITY AND LIBERTY

Richmond, Virginia, 16 August 1835

Richmond is a town admirably posed on a slope that bathes itself in the James River. Its capitol, with brick columns covered with plaster, its architrave and cornice of painted wood, makes an impression from afar that the Parthenon itself in the times of Pericles cannot surpass, for the heavens of Virginia, when not darkened by a storm or hidden in fog, are as beautiful as those of Attica. Richmond's port is closer than Piraeus was to Athens, which does not prevent it from inclining to the falls of the James River. Richmond ravished me from the first moment by its enchanting site and by the cordial humor of its inhabitants. They overwhelmed me with their ambition, since they are trying to become a metropolis, and they are working there on great projects in which they are founding or intend to found, canals, railroads, water works, huge mills, and factories for which the river will provide the motor power as needed. I found there Frenchmen who, after fifty years of living far from their country and at eighty years of age have not lost their love for the fatherland, and who, in the midst of the simplicity of American mores, have preserved this fine flower of urbanity we are losing at home every day. Here, for the second time I visited the cannon and mortars given by Louis XVI to America as it fought for its independence. At the capitol, alongside the statue of Washington, I found the bust of Lafayette. Here I can speak of Rochambeau and d'Estaing as one does of old friends from whom one is separated. At times it seemed that I was miraculously transported, not to France, but to the frontier.

My love for Richmond, however, is not blind. The founders of the new town traced the streets with a width of a hundred feet in the style of Louis XIV, but on the roads at least, between the large bogs on right and left, there is a narrow file of paving or usable road. The streets of new Richmond have neither pavement nor lighting. These are dangerous morasses in the rainy season, where one often encounters cattle, which the municipal authorities allow to wander, so that you suffer the destiny of the Lord of Ravenswood on the Kelpie. Richmond has some of the appearance of Washington, which is that other than the merchant quarter it is neither a town nor a countryside. Houses are distributed according to a fictive plan, between which it is impossible to discern any alignment, or finding K, F or D streets, to which we are directed. The names of streets in Richmond are furnished by the alphabet, just as Philadelphia's are arithmetical. The finances of Richmond have at least this advantage over Washington, with its plan laid out for a million residents, which is to have fifty thousand here in perhaps twenty years.

There is something in Richmond that displeases me much more than the bottomless mud of the streets, that shocks me more than the rude manners of western Virginians I encountered during the session of the State Legislature,³⁹⁶ and that was slavery. Half of the population here is black or mulatto. Physically, the black is well treated in Virginia, with humanity almost all the time, but also because he has become the cattle one raises to export to Louisiana. But if he has nothing to complain about materially, he is treated morally like a biped alien to human nature. Free or slave, he is

³⁹⁶ See note 78.

forbidden everything that could give him any idea of the dignity of a man. There is no education, either for a slave or a free man of color. The law classes the most elementary education given to a black or mulatto as a crime. The slave has no family; he has no civil rights, not even that of having money. The white knows that the slave has heard the word “liberty” that everyone proclaims on this earth. He knows that the black is hatching vengeance in secret, and in the black cabins they tell the exploits and martyrdom of Gabriel, head of an old plot, and of Turner, from a more recent insurrection.³⁹⁷ Measures of precaution inspired by this thought leads whites to treat a stranger with an icy terror.

Richmond is famed for its market in tobacco and flour. The flour of Richmond is sought in Rio de Janeiro as in New York, and in Lima as in Havana. The largest mill in the world is at Richmond. It has twenty pairs of mules, with a multitude of accessory machinery, and it is able to mill 55,000 kilograms of flour in twenty-four hours. The reputation of the flour of Richmond, like that of American flour in general, in foreign markets, is due to a commercial organization peculiar to the country that is contrary to the absolute ideas of industrial liberty but essential to the prosperity of American commerce, and against which I have never heard any protests.

Richmond flour is inspected before exportation. The weight of each barrel and the quality of the flour is marked on the lid by the inspector. Only flour of superior quality is allowed to be exported. The inspection is genuine and intense; it is at the expense of the shipper. The Havanan, Peruvian or Brazilian businessman thus knows exactly what the merchandise he purchases is worth. Commerce can no longer pass to the markets except through the confidence of the merchants.

Virginia tobacco is submitted to the same process. In general, all the states of the coast, all those who ship food, have established inspection, and this extends to all goods where fraud is possible. Hence, in the state of New York, they inspect wheat and maize flour, salt beef, pork and fish, potash, fish oil, lumber, staves, linseed, leather, tobacco, hops and spirits. I reproduce the summary of chapters of the laws of inspection for the state of New York to give an idea of the spirit in which these laws are conceived: *Ban on the export of salt beef and pork without formal inspection. — Exception to the rule. — Penalty. — Inspectors are to be bonded. — They must have adequate storage. — How the barrels are to be made, of what wood, of what dimension; how they are to be bound. — Exportation not permitted except when the meat is sufficiently fat. — Classification of various qualities of pork. — Quantity of salt and brine per barrel. — Ban on exporting shriveled, soft or impure meats. — The barrels that contain something should be so marked. — Diverse qualities of salted beef. — Age of the cattle providing the meat. — Form and weight of the pieces. — Proportions of salt and brine. — Special measures for bloody pieces and those coming from the beef neck. — Composition of the brine. — Mark on the barrels. — Measures concerning beef slaughtered according to the Jewish method. — Tax raised by the inspectors for their profit. — Ban on inspectors trading directly or indirectly in salted beef and pork. — Diverse penalties to prevent diverse frauds.*

The law contains even more rigorous rules for flour. The inspector will brand the word *light* on barrels that do not have the right weight (export of these barrels is also

³⁹⁷ In August 1831, a troop of blacks of Southampton County suddenly rose and massacred many white families, without distinction of age nor sex. The alarm was raised throughout the country. They believed themselves menaced by a general insurrection. The rebels were soon tracked down, taken and executed.

prohibited), and the word *bad* on barrels whose contents is not sufficiently pure and choice. In the case of maize, it is demanded that the grain be dried prior to milling. Flour from other states of the Union cannot be sold in the city of New York, even for local consumption, without undergoing inspection as if for exportation. Every inspector has the right to visit ships where he suspects that non-inspected flour has been loaded, and to seize what was embarked or attempted to embark. There is also a mass of penal measures to fight fraud.

If the necessity of these inspections were not sufficiently demonstrated by their good effects and long experience consecrated to them, they would be by the abuses that have been introduced in the trade of commodities that are freed of them. They began complaining loudly at Liverpool that many bales of cotton were fraudulently composed of inferior quality cotton under a cover of better quality cotton. According to a report addressed to the American Chamber of Commerce of this cotton metropolis by cotton processors, it was not a matter of one or two bales interspersed in large shipments, but rather masses of a hundred or two hundreds.

“What!” you say, “this classic land of liberty still does not actually have freedom even in the case of business?”

No, external commerce is not free in the United States, because they do not wish to allow a freedom to the first rascal to come along and ruin the industry and commerce of an entire state. The people of the United States are, before all else, a people of workers. One has the freedom to work, to choose a profession and to alter it twenty times over. There one has the freedom to come and go for business, and to transport oneself and his industry from the center to the circumference, and from the circumference to the center. If, politically, the country does not enjoy the benefits of administrative unity makes no difference industrially, so far as miserable details go, such as the questions of oversight, opening of a mine, etc., under servitude to an exorbitant centralization. It is not necessary to go to two hundred places to solicit authorization and personal signature from a minister overloaded with duties and harassed with parliamentary concerns. But American freedom is not a mystical liberty, undefined. It is a special freedom, in keeping with the special genius of the people and their special destination. It is a freedom of work and movement from which Americans profit to expand into the vast territory that Providence has given them, and to turn it into value.

The freedom of movement is virtually unlimited, save for restrictions imposed by the observation of Sunday.³⁹⁸ Freedom, or rather independence in work is also very large. Further, if anyone abuses it, the tendency is to react against him with laws or acts of dictatorial authority, or by *coups d'états* of opinion, up to and including mobs.

Concerning domestic commerce, the examples of restrictive regulations have always been rather rare. They have imposed repressive taxes on wandering merchants (*hawkers and peddlers*) who abuse the credulity of the country dwellers. If they have not yet passed laws against stock-jobbing,³⁹⁹ this is not because of a lack of will on the part of the legislator, since he is entirely aware of the injury for the country from unproductive speculation that deprives industry of the capital it needs: it is because he does not know

³⁹⁸ See Note 79.

³⁹⁹ In the United States as in France, long-dated markets are banned. One cannot recover payment through the courts.

how to proceed.⁴⁰⁰ Besides, in the case of domestic commerce, fraud is not easy in the United States. Here everyone knows everyone else, and they watch one another; in this country one can easily trace the source of cheating. It is more difficult with merchandise sent from a distant market. And, finally, here there is a type of patriotism that accords with self-interest properly understood and the fear of opinion, so that external transactions go forward reasonably conscientiously, and in keeping with a morality certainly superior to that of our own commerce, where there seems to be toleration of cheating and bad faith toward a foreigner, who is regarded as a sort of barbarian.

Before 1789 in France we had restrictive regulations not simply for exportation but also for domestic industry. Everyone knew, at least by name, the masters and sworn officers. The government bodies had their special regulations. Agriculture had even had its own since immemorial time, and it is incontestable that for the cultivation of grape vines, for example, they were the fruit of a harsh experience. It was due to them rather than to nature of the soil that our famous vintages are salable for their quality without equal and for their high reputation. They fixed the lands where the vine had a right to grow, where the grain was permitted to be cultivated, the spacing and cut of beehives. Inspection on departure was required for cloth sent to the Levant, and for other objects of exportation.

The Revolution blotted out all the old regulations. The destruction of most of these rules was a good thing, since they were antiquated in many ways and behind current science; because they were often applied according to the letter that kills rather than the spirit that gives life, because the officers of the state civil service and craft officers were inelastic and did not orient themselves adequately to admitting new persons. In a word, the country's industrial organization had grown bad, and another one was needed, but the established powers were incapable of creating it. The inept government of the unfortunate Louis XVI, instead of realizing the power it had in the Third Estate and giving this force a goal and direction of action, took pleasure in insulting it and amused itself by restoring decrepit ordinances by which it permitted only nobles to wear epaulettes in the army. One came to the point where every authority appeared to be a plague of God, every organization a tyranny, and when the nation rose up, rather than correct the abuses and improve the existing order, it denied all, it abolished all, it made a *tabula rasa* in commercial matters, as it did in political matters. One proposed that in principle commercial transactions could not be subject to any surveillance, and not only were the statutes of the craft organizations suppressed with their tests of skills, not only were the guarantees that the corporations represented renounced, not only was the group spirit of industry stripped away, but, consequently, as a point of honor, they annulled the simplest and most salutary police measures, notably inspection for exports.

Unlimited competition became the sole law of labor, each was thrown on his own will, without which opinion, less severe among us than among the English race, supplied the silence of the Code and the absence of corporate regulations, so that there were misdeeds and victims in great number. Industry was transformed into a field of battle where one is battered by equal weapons, where unworthy stratagems were practiced, where the strongman, the master, at the moment he thought himself triumphant, was brought low by the lead of bankruptcy, and where the weak party, the worker, paid too often the price of the war. Despite that, then and to the present day, the sum total of good

⁴⁰⁰ See Note 80 below.

remained incontestably superior to the sum of evil. One must also say that many industries that interest the poor particularly, those that deal with subsistence, have remained subject to regulations and have continued to be the object of the vigilance of authority. This was not without difficulty, since the fanatics of absolute liberty of commerce have risen against these exceptions. One recently saw a mayor of Châlons-sur-Marne marveling to find an opportunity to apply the theories he had learned, at the risk of experimenting on the stomachs of the poor, by refusing to fix the price of bread.

Earlier, I repeat, and provisionally, our industry has gained in scale through the destruction pure and simple of old regulations, and the public even more. There was necessarily a period of groping, though they were anarchic, before the establishment of new regulations. But, in our external relations, the evil done has surpassed the sum of good. The decline of our maritime commerce proves this.

Our exporting commerce at the time of the Peace of 1814, when the seas were reopened, fell into the hands of greedy cheats, having erased the name of ship-owners. During the first years of the Restoration, the title French was disdained in all the markets of the Old and New World. The commerce of the Levant, where we had a monopoly, passed into the hands of the English and the Austrians.⁴⁰¹ The cloth that we once supplied to the Orient, no longer inspected for export, was badly made and of bad measure. Once, the chests passed from hand to hand without being opened. Now it was necessary to check them closely, since often they were found to contain something entirely different from cloth. South America had been the classic land of cheats. They had sold water as Burgundy, rolls of wood for rolls of ribbon. The traders of Bordeaux, who complain of the decay of their town, cannot deny that the spirit of robbery that presided over a number of expeditions from their ports is half to blame for this decline, along with the laws of 1821 and 1822.

Since no one wants to trade with the French anymore, the frauds have necessarily dwindled. Export commerce has centralized gradually into the hands of large houses, and this concentration, which has contributed to maintaining honest habits in English commerce, has begun to rehabilitate our own. The cheats, who are business rogues, have been pushed aside. It is the same cause to which must be attributed the good tone of our commerce with the United States. But let's not flatter ourselves too much; it is once more at a deciding-point. Those of Bordeaux have not yet purged their town of the thieves still infesting them, and a recent circular of Monsieur Duchâtel has revealed to the whole world the secret of the despicable games that still embarrass our overseas commerce.⁴⁰²

In face of other similar facts, I have no idea what could be said against the immediate adoption in France of inspection on the export of principal commodities, especially for our wines. It is necessary to believe in absolute theories of commercial freedom, a strange faith indeed in a century that looks to be strong in spirit, not to see that the absence of all regulation in commerce is monstrous, that in fact policing in commerce is needed as in all other social relations, and that if the people most given to *self-government* and the most hostile to preventative laws, has placed on themselves such severe regulations in this matter, we would be hard-put to abstain from them ourselves. Let us consider whether our politics, almost always loyal and disinterested, has given us

⁴⁰¹ See Note 81.

⁴⁰² See Note 82.

the right to denounce the Punic Law of *perfidious Albion*. The English race, on its own behalf, opposes with fire the brave and honorable spirit of its commerce to our cowardice and misdeeds. Let us confess it and submit to a regimen that will cure us of this leprosy. Only, in order for the government to pretend to moralize industry and commerce, so it can put its hand to the evil, it must do something other than mislead or shuffle papers, something other than bluffing. It is necessary that it comprehend what industry is and what destinies are reserved to it. It is necessary that it become familiar with oaths and ideas, the needs and the intimate nature of industrialists. It is necessary that it love work and workers, which does not exclude either a taste for the arts or the generous thoughts and vast plans that it must bear if it is to strike the heart of the French nation.

The United States forms a society that marches in keeping with instinct rather than according to a preconceived plan that it does not itself know. It rejects the tyrannical order of a past that was exclusively military, and it is still impregnated with sentiments of order. It was nourished in hatred of the political relationships constituted by the laws of our old Europe, but in its blood it has the need to impose laws on itself. It is torn between the instincts of the future and the hatreds of the past, between the thirst for emancipation and its hunger for social rules, between its religious veneration for experience and its horror for the violent forms of earlier centuries. Hence the contradictions that make its tastes misunderstood and disfigure its tendencies, but the confusion is only superficial.

Each state has two authorities whose personnel and attributions are distinct. One corresponds to the government of the ancient European society, to old Caesar. At its head is a magistrate who carries the antique name of governor,⁴⁰³ with the pompous title of commander in chief of the forces by land and by sea. In the new states of the West that came into the world since independence, these attributes have been reduced to nothing, many suppressed, or the citizens as a group are reserved to exercise them themselves. Hence the citizens name most of their employees directly. The allocation of funds rarely takes place by the action of the governor: they are placed by habit under the responsibility of special commissioners. The governor does not have disposition of the public force. To speak properly, there is none, but in case of necessity, the sheriff, by a *posse comitatus*, constrains all passers-by to swear to him and immediately makes him a gendarme of whoever passes on the street, armed or not. He has neither police nor passports, but no one may stop in a hotel without writing in a register his name and residence. This register is displayed to the general gaze in the *barroom* that is the obligatory annex of every public place: it is there, paged through at every moment by everyone. The bar keeper in reality holds the office of commissioner of police, and the mob that visits the bar room to read journals, drink a glass of whiskey, smoke and do politics, including all travelers, furnish sergeants at need. Behold self-government as it functions, behold the obligations that each citizen contracts for when one disarms power. The authority of the governor, who once represented royalty, the brilliant reflection of the supreme power of the proud sovereigns of Europe, has become dust. In stripping it, they have not even sought to save appearances. No more guards, no more palace, no more money. The governors of the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois have 1,000 dollars (5,333 francs) of appointments, no house, not a centime in accessory pay. There is not a

⁴⁰³ See Note 83.

businessman in Cincinnati who does not do better on his first commission. The office boys at Washington get \$700 (3,733 francs).

This decay is explained by considerations beyond those derived from the nature of *self-government*. The ancient authority was Caesar: his character was military. American society has denied Caesar. In Europe, Caesar is certain to remain strong in the interest of national independence, since we are always two fingers from war. North America, on the contrary, is organized according to the hypothesis that war of state against state is impossible, and that a foreign war is hardly any more probable.

Americans may be able to do without Caesar, but we certainly are obligated to keep him, but one should not conclude that they can do without authority over the long run, and even that they have never had any. There is in America religious authority that always has its eye open; there is the authority of opinion that is severe to hardness: there is the authority of legislatures that often play with omnipotence. There is often a dictatorship of mob rule.

There is more: alongside the authority of Caesar in politics, a second regular authority commences to weigh more and more, which embraces within its domain modern institutions and new establishments of public utility that, in the United States, have acquired an unheard-of extension, those of the routes of communications, the banks and the primary schools. There are canal commissioners, bank commissioners and those of schools. Their power is real and large. The commissioners of canals make the regulations of public administration that they change on their own say, without previous discussion. They fix and modify tariffs, they are surrounded by a numerous personnel, entirely under their dependence and revocable at will. They dispose of considerable sums: 120,000,000 francs have passed through the hands of the commissioners of the state of Pennsylvania. They are certainly submitted to a control less rigorous and less minute than that surrounding the least transactions of our [Corps] of Bridges and Roads or our military engineers. If they had our laws of finance, our compatibility, our court of accounts, they would have taken ten years more to execute the works committed to their care, and they would have constructed neither better nor for less cost.⁴⁰⁴ The commissioners of banks of the state of New York, by virtue of the Safety Fund Act, are armed by law if not in fact with a sort of dictatorship. They have, in certain cases, the right of life and death over local banks.

It is entirely in the young states that one must see how these commissioners exercise their powers. Last summer, the commissioners of canals of the state of Ohio perceived or believed themselves to perceive that the contractors of transport on the canals of the state of New York had conspired to raise their prices, and they passed immediately a resolution that, considering the excessive pretensions of these contractors, they would henceforth make a distinction between the merchandise passing over the canals of the state of Ohio, and that the tolls would be doubled on any object that had paid a price higher than a figure they set: this was to establish a *maximum*, not only on their territory, but on that of a neighboring state. A Director General of Bridges and Roads here who permitted a parallel coup would be cashiered in the name of the liberty of commerce. In the United States, some say that the commissioners of Ohio were right,

⁴⁰⁴ See note 84.

that the contractors of transport will gain a little less, but that the public will get its accounting, and the contractors resigned.

It is thus in the United States that the general interest is the supreme law, it is thus that it energetically seizes the initiative and takes its revenge whenever it believes itself injured by private interest. The regime of this country becomes less a regime of liberty and *laissez-faire* than a regime of equality, or rather it takes on the character of a strong government of the majority. When one reads the restrictive clauses inserted in some states at the end of laws authorizing incorporated companies, one asks oneself how they were able to form, how they found the capital. In Massachusetts, the shareholders are all individually responsible for all the commitments of the company. In Pennsylvania, it is expressly stipulated that if, at any time, the authorization accorded to the company becomes contrary to the interests of the people, the legislature may revoke it.⁴⁰⁵ It is arbitrary in its germ, but, in the United States, Caesar is disarmed: the old feudal lion has no more claws or teeth. Industry is ready to be frightened of the arbitrary rule of Caesar; it is not at the last extremity that it is alarmed of those of a society that lives and prospers from work, and of which all the public and individual preoccupations have as an object to increase itself by creating work.

Must one believe that in Europe, where the supreme authority is the direct heir of Caesar, industry must in the end vegetate? I do not think so. Currently an irresistible force presses industry, and if the existence of our military governments of Europe were incompatible with its development, I would not hesitate to say that they will disappear. One cannot suppose that Europe will continue to offer the aspect of a vast camp, or rather of several camps opposed, one against the other. The sword that is drawn today will return tomorrow to its scabbard. It will come about that Europe shall have found the place it seeks, and it will find it consecrated by other solemn treaties. I admit that the sword will continue to be one of the attributes of our absolute or tempered monarchies, as well as ephemeral republics that might replace them in certain cases, but even war will transform itself. Military institutions are marked to a very high degree with a character of order and wise regularity that reproaches industry, and which industry needs to borrow. All, starting with the army, are susceptible to being employed to enrich the world, as in the past it was good only if it ravaged it. Royalty is modifying itself and prepares itself to take on new prerogatives in place of those that it has lost and those yet to be lost. It preoccupies itself with new concerns and considers new duties. It no longer holds only to conserve itself and to reaffirm its shaken foundation. In a word, in the United States, the old power that could no longer hold its place had to be destroyed, and a totally new power surged up naturally from the soil, alongside the debris of the first. In our old countries of Europe, where the old power has overthrown such profound limits that one cannot defeat it without overthrowing all of society, the new authority must come from the very stump of the old royalties.⁴⁰⁶

To make good sense here of the word “liberty,” it is necessary to go back to the origins of the Anglo-American populations, that is, to the distinction between the two natures of the Yankee and the Virginian. They have arrived at the notion of liberty, the

⁴⁰⁵ I found this clause in the charters of more than twenty railroad companies of this state.

⁴⁰⁶ See note 85.

one through the gate of religion, the other through that of politics. And they are comprised of two very different manners.

When the Yankee came to establish himself in America, it was not to create there an empire, but to establish there his church. He fled a land that was liberated from the yoke of papal Babylon only to fall under that of the Babylon of the episcopate. He left behind him Satan, his pomp and his works. He shook his feet free of the dust of the inhospitable land of the Stuarts and Anglican bishops. They sought an asylum where they could practice their cult and follow what they believed to be the law of God. The Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock,⁴⁰⁷ coming to found the liberty such as they expected for others. They therefore created a liberty for their exclusive use, in the circle in which they found themselves perfectly at ease, without concern that others disapproved. One would have believed that these proscribed would at least have included religious toleration: but they did not accord the least refuge to it. Even today it is necessary to keep them at arm's length. In the beginning there was no right of citizenship except for the Puritans among them. The state and the church were confounded. It was only in 1832 that the separation of the state was definitively and completely consummated in Massachusetts. Their soil was closed under the most severe penalties, pain of death in the case of a repetition, to Jews and to Quakers. Still today, if the law permits one to be Catholic there, opinion forbids it, as witnesses the burning of the convent of the Ursulines in 1834, and the scandalous scenes that accompanied the trial of the incendiaries. For an even stronger reason, it is not permitted there to be an unbeliever, witness the trial for blasphemy of Mr. Abner Kneeland⁴⁰⁸ for having written in favor of pantheism, a trial that only ended because, fortunately for the accused, after two separate attempts, only eleven of the twelve jurors found to condemn him, and American law like English law requires unanimity.

The Yankee type has very little variation. All Yankees appear to be cast from the same mold, therefore it was very easy to organize a liberty of rules, to combine a framework within which they believed their movements to be free. Upon their arrival, they traced out one, not just in its general form and exterior contour, but with a multitude of compartments that precisely defined all the details of life, exactly as Moses did for the Hebrew people. Thus constituted, it was impossible for anyone but a man cut precisely on the same model to establish himself among them. Although most of these laws that placed existence under formulas,⁴⁰⁹ have been abrogated, particularly since independence, the spirit that dictated them remains. The habits that inspire them and that, in natural reaction, they affirm, continue to subsist. Even today it is remarked that strangers do not settle in New England.

For us French, who do not resemble one another so much than that we resemble no one, for those of us to whom variety is as necessary as air, for us who have a horror of being boxed in, the regime of the Yankee would be a penance. Their liberty for them is not the liberty to offend all that they hold most sacred on the earth, to mock religion, to offend mores, to sap the bases of the social order, to insult all traditions and all opinions.

⁴⁰⁷ This is the place where the Puritans set foot on land on 22 December 1620. This rock is the object of public veneration.

⁴⁰⁸ He was convicted a first time before the judicial authorities of the town. It was on appeal that the trial was twice without result. The public authorities have not yet renounced further prosecution.

⁴⁰⁹ See note 86.

There is neither the liberty to be a monarchist in a republican country, nor to sacrifice the honor of the wife or daughter of a worker to his passions; this is not the same thing as gambling wildly with his fortune, since public opinion has sumptuary decrees that one needs to obey on pain of moral ostracism. It is not a liberty to live by oneself differently than everyone else. The liberty of the Yankee is essentially as limited and special as his nature to himself. We Frenchmen would find that he is made in the image of the liberty of Figaro. The Yankee is content because he is left all the latitude he believes he needs, and also because of all the passages in the Bible, those that remain the best in his memory is that of the forbidden fruit, which we have not been able to lodge in our brain.

Just as the Yankee does not suffer in the midst of his restrictions, that he is or believes himself to be free, which comes down to the same thing, with him preventative authority is useless. It is for that reason that power is not at all apparent in New England, and that armed force, the gendarmerie and police there are unknown institutions more than the whole rest of the Union. The absence of exterior power amazes us and makes us believe that the American in general, and the Yankee in particular, are freer than we are. I am persuaded, however, that if we measure liberty by the number of permitted or tolerated actions in private and public life, the advantage is on our side, not just in relation to New England, but even concerning the white population of the South.

The Virginian would be more inclined to understand liberty in our manner. His humor is more of an analogue to ours, his faculties are less special, much more general than those of the Yankee; his thoughts are more ardent, his tastes more varied. But it is the Yankee who today dominates the Union, it is his liberty that has provided the principal traits to the model of American liberty. Nevertheless, to have his empire accepted, he has had to borrow many of the distinctive signs of Virginian liberty — I could as well say, of French liberty — for the high priest of American democracy was a Virginian who had imbibed at Paris the principles of the philosophy of the eighteenth century. American liberty, such as it exists today, could be considered as the result of the mixture, in unequal portions, of the theories of Jefferson with the habits of New England. It is from these two different tendencies that results another series of contradictory acts⁴¹⁰ that intersect one with the other, and confuse an inattentive observer. It is for reason of the coexistence of these two impulsions on American society that one makes such opposed judgments on it: it is because the Yankee type is the stronger today, while at the time of independence the superiority was on the side of the Virginians, that the ideas that today give birth to the spectacle of America appear to be in fundamental disaccord with that which it could inspire at the time of independence.

Note 78 [Vol. 2, Note 26b, 1836 edition]

The Western Virginians

During the session of the legislature, Richmond is filled with country gentlemen from western Virginia, true colossuses, larger, more square, more robust than the giants that are shown for money here. When I found myself surrounded by these personages of loud voice, with Herculean gestures, I had the same sensation as the companions of Magellan when they found themselves in the midst of a group of Patagonians. These excellent men, in their naïve desire to show their friendship, overwhelm you with the

⁴¹⁰ See Letter XXVII.

same heavy embraces that the Spaniards use for attacks, and when their heavy hands hit you like a hammer on your European shoulder, you need nothing less than a free smile spreading across their large faces to assure you of the perfect benevolence that animates them on your regard. The first time I was in Richmond, I occupied a room from which came a representative of western Virginia, who had not completely vacated. Having the need to leaf through the legislative documents of the session, I was searching in vain for where his library was. His entire parliamentary furnishing consisted of empty bottles, a barrel of biscuits, a box of liquors and the debris of a huge cheese. For reason of the good sense with which they are provided, similar legislators still make passable laws.

Note 79 [Vol. 2, Note 27b, 1836 edition]

Traveling on Sunday

The law of several states once forbade traveling on Sunday. It was forbidden to do anything that day that was not of absolute necessity (*of necessity or mercy*). I believe in this regard the law was abrogated in all the states, without exception, but the practice has persisted in several, and, for a great number of persons, to travel on Sunday is a grave violation of religious law.

In some states of New England, in Connecticut for example, and even in some of the central states, such as New Jersey, one exposes himself to arrest by the population if one wishes to travel on Sunday. Everywhere most services of public vehicles and steamboats are interrupted. One does not circulate on Sunday, even between Philadelphia and New York, nor between Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Vehicles bearing mail depart on Sunday as on other days. Numerous petitions have been addressed to Congress on this subject. The petitioners desire that there should not be any mail posts on Sunday, even that the post offices be closed on that day. These petitions were the object of two reports, one in the Senate (1829), the other in the House of Representatives (1830): both were presented by Colonel R[ichard] M[entor] Johnson [c. 1780-1850] of Kentucky, recently moved by the Democratic Party to the vice presidency, who, between the two sessions, had become a Representative from being a senator. In the two pieces, the demands of the petitioners and the fanatical tendencies of which they were the product, were rejected with much vigor and votes.

Still, if the language of Colonel Johnson does seem to me worthy of praise, I must say that I cannot keep from withholding respect for the scruples of one part of those who oppose the fact of travel on Sunday. Of the three railroad companies that terminate in Boston, there are two that refuse to exploit their line on Sunday, namely those of Lowell and Worcester. On receiving Sunday travelers, these companies would augment their receipts considerably without increasing their costs, hardly, in the same proportion. But the principal shareholders that administer these routes of communication voluntarily renounce a part of their profits, besides renouncing the sanctioning of a practice they believe damaging religious sentiment and good mores. An equal sacrifice to the public good among the premier calculators in the world is worthy of being marked for universal admiration. It is possible, I admit, that the Boston capitalists are in error, and that what they believe to be a disorder would in fact be quite innocent. But in what land of Europe in the mercantile sphere does individual interest desire to impose on itself a law so severe? Where can the spirit of business and the sentiments of good citizens go to a higher degree?

Note 80 [Vol. 2, Note 28, 1836 edition]

On Stock-Jobbing in New York

In its annual message to the legislature, dated 5 January 1836, the government of the state of New York, after having exposed the evil caused by stock-jobbing while raising capital they demand for industry, it goes on to state:

It is an imperious duty for me to apply your attention to a practice that, pushed to the point it has recently attained, has become very pernicious to the well-being of the state. The traffic in shares, when it takes on the character of pure speculation, is gambling, and it produces all the public and private disasters that the vicious passion of gambling engenders. If this is not in itself something new here, it is at least something new in the degree of extension this abuse has acquired. Immense values have been sold by persons who do not have them, and bought by others who do not expect delivery. These markets at terms, where one pays the differences, are no more than a bet on the price of this or that value at a fixed moment. It is worse than ordinary bets, because the artifice and intrigue could exert an influence on the decisive result. Our laws are certainly not favorable to these transactions; not only do they not recognize their validity, but they require that whoever profits by them can be constrained to restitution to the one losing, or those having the right. Meanwhile these markets consume no fewer of them, and generally they are executed with fidelity. The development of these plots and the fatal consequences they have had for many of our fellow citizens has created a public and private curse. It appears to me that it is your duty to deliver the land from it. I recommend that you strike it with a vigorous legal interdiction, an interdiction made effective by the penalty attached to it.

Some time after the governor's message, a bill was filed in the state senate to the effect of putting the thought of the message into execution. Here are the principal portions:

Every bet or market at term is prohibited.

The sales of public assets of all natures done by brokers are not valid unless they are done publicly. All meetings of brokers shall be public. It is expressly forbidden to those present and every broker who assists at a non-public meeting of brokers, to be liable for a fine of \$500 at the most, and an imprisonment for a maximum of a year.

This proposal is of an inadmissible rigor; I expect it will be rejected.

Note 81 [Vol. 2, Note 29, 1836 edition]

On the Commerce of Egypt

Here, for example, is how the commerce of Egypt was distributed in 1831 among the various European powers:

Exportation	
Turkey (including Syria)	13,750,663 francs
Austria	10,370,411
England (England, 5,573,656; Malta, 1,182,646; Ionian Islands, 259,549)	7,015,851
Tuscany	4,798,119
France	4,654,787
Various	<u>681,612</u>
Total	41,251,443
Importation	
Turkey	18,702,639 francs
Austria	7,105,825
Tuscany	6,661,825
England (England, 3,172,381; Malta, 1,334,209)	4,506,590
France	<u>2,223,544</u>
	39,200,477 francs

Note 82 [Vol. 2, Note 32 (*sic*, there is no 31), "Abuse in French Commerce," 1836 edition]

Remarks on French Commerce

There is only one voice on the necessity to remedy the abuses of confidence that degrade our commerce. Here is what one finds among the *extraits d'avis divers* published by the ministry of commerce (April, 1835, page 83):

The first concern of French commerce should be to destroy at New Granada, like all South American markets, the false impression that grave abuses of confidence have caused that, even though long denounced by agents of the government of the king, by the press, by private correspondents, are unfortunately renewed in recent times and to which the attention of the chambers of commerce have now been seriously awakened.

One hastens to repeat everything at once so as to establish in the most positive manner all the information transmitted to the government to know that French manufacturers, that French commerce, properly so-called, is not culpable of these miserable speculations, that shame should be shed on some shoddy dealers who have been able to make some money once, but who soon have paralyzed all operations.

For example, one has seen hogsheads of wine gauged as much as 5 *veltes* [1 *velte* = c. 7 quarts] less than the guaranteed contents on the bill of lading on which the sales were made. One has seen pieces of cloth, satin among others, having up to three ells less than the length indicated on the label by which the buyer had thought to be able to believe. One conceives the effect of similar frauds, recognized only on the opening of packaging, when they have been transported great distances that render any control as well as any reclamation impossible. For the liquids, the result was very

simple: the price per hogshead was dropped in keeping with the fraud, while the charges created by the customs tariff remained the same; for the cloth, the buyers commenced the habit of demanding measurement of each piece in the warehouse of the sellers before delivery, while even large shipments of ribbons, sent on order, were simply refused as of inferior size in the number demanded.

Evidently the discredit that resulted was for French merchandise in general, the grave prejudice caused to loyal businessmen by these acts of disloyalty, cannot be attributed to the shippers, to French manufacturers obligated to conform to the precise instructions of their agents in their shipments between them and their American buyers, and complete strangers in operations beyond those agents.

To see what terms are expressed on the same subject, here is Captain Laplace in his description of the voyage of *La Favorite* around the world.

How many times in the course of my voyage have I had to groan about the abasement of our maritime commerce, on the fatally bad reputation into which it has fallen, and that it merits its low dignity! Should we mount our ships loaded without selection or discernment with the remnants of the warehouses of the capital and the commercial towns, losing the reputation of our products by the sale of merchandise of bad quality? Shall I see merchants abusing confidence with the most unworthy trumperies, leaving to the Frenchmen who follow the defiance and the distrust of the cheated populations?

It is by conduct of this sort that our commerce, burdened for long years by the sole exportation of wines and deluxe merchandise, seeing their consumption decline in distant lands. Watches, a branch of industry so rich, so lucrative in earlier times for our merchants has fallen into disrepute. That of the English, although much more expensive and less gracious in form, but more dependable and solid, is preferred by foreigners. French fashions, copied in London, are no longer sent from Paris. What effort does the industry of our rivals not do to take from France the sole products in which our manufacturers have conserved some superiority, such as painted cloths, wallpaper and silk stuffs Other commercial powers rise to participate in the remnants of a commerce once so flourishing, and which marches toward its total annihilation. Cruising through several countries, we see enlightened people struggling enviously with activity and industry, the Dutch, the Americans, even the Germans, to show English competition to be dangerous and formidable for its commerce. France alone remains behind. It appears to have forgotten its past grandeur as well as all the principles that made their past maritime commerce flourish, too feeble now to be left to itself, without the protection and support of the government. Having become an infant again in the present, it has need to be directed, and a future should be prepared for her.

(*Voyage de la Favorite*, vol. 1, p. 236)

Note 83 [Vol. 2, Note 33, 1836 edition]

Respect of Americans for old names

In achieving independence, the Americans have preserved most of the terms in use under English domination. Hence the states are divided into counties. There are still in many towns, most notably in Charleston, a King Street and a Queen Street. In Virginia there are counties of Prince Edward, Prince George, of the Queen and the King, of King George and of King William, and so on. Georgia preserves his name even while waging war against King George.

I was also very surprised in Pennsylvania to hear the courts of justice opening with the old French word sounded by a bailiff repeating without understanding, “*Oyez! Oyez! Oyez!*” The English borrowed that from the Normans, and the Americans have preserved it, since they received it from their fathers. In France, we understand revolutions differently: we impress ourselves to consummate it in the words themselves. The republicans gave Choisy-le-Roy the name of Choisy-le-Peuple. The restoration changed the name of Napoléonville and called it Bourbon-Vendée. The suppression of the words “Saint” and “Sainte” on the signs of streets in Paris is the ideal form of this system.

Note 84 [Vol. 2, Note 34, 1836 edition]

Markets with Publicity and Competition

Among the formalities imposed by our legislation for our engineers in the execution of public works is that of not holding markets without publicity and competition, after posting notices and by means of various delays. They are set to get the lowest of the offered submissions, provided that they are above a limit set by them, and also at least that they do not suspect a conspiracy of entrepreneurs. Today, such a conspiracy is almost always present. The submitting entrepreneurs agree on a small rebate to the profit of the administration, divide among themselves an advance of part of the profit, and leave the rest to one of themselves, who becomes the contractor. The engineers have no way of remedying this abuse, and by annulling the adjudication, they do nothing but push back the problem to be repeated forever, and they delay indefinitely the execution of the works.

In the United States, the commissioners of canals, or the engineers placed under their orders, also make the adjudication by means of publicity and competition (*public lettings*), but they have more latitude in their choice. I also believe that in America the danger of a conspiracy of entrepreneurs is less to be feared than here: Americans understand the spirit of association differently.

In most public services this exaggerated system of adjudication has the same onerous consequences for the treasury. Today there is an established habit among entrepreneurs that operates against the administration. The system of markets by private contract has its inconvenient aspects, there can be abuses of confidence, but I believe that currently the treasury benefits, and in most cases there is real saving of money and that the country finds there, in the matter of public works, a saving of even more precious time. One may add, without flattery to anyone, that the agents employed by the government in the execution of public works enjoy today a reputation of morality that

justifies one relaxing in their case the defiance against functionaries in general that has dictated our regulations of public administration.

It appears that the formalities for the adjudication and payment of works executed by military engineers are at least as complicated as those for the [Corps] of Bridges and Roads.

Matters are such at this point that highly competent people whose opinion is entirely favorable to the execution by the state of great works of communication believe that the sole means of creating long lines of railroad, for example, would be to concede to companies whose chief shareholder is the state. These companies, not having their hands tied like the administration, would lead enterprises with activity and vigor. The state, being the chief shareholder, would adopt the plans that it wished, choose the engineers, and administer the works by its will. This would be, to speak properly, an artifice to disengage the administration from forms by which it is as if strangled, without openly suppressing these forms. It appears to me to be the place to return to this subterfuge; it would be better to freely alter our administrative procedures where they are defective.

Note 85 [Not in the 1836 edition]

Ancient Powers and New Powers, in France

We in France have, alongside our ancient authorities, new authorities with a character entirely positive, industrial, that is, embracing in their attributes the principal facts of the material activity of modern peoples. In saying this, I do not have in view the chambers whose principal mission, the sole one for which they are perfectly proper, is to control the political acts of Caesar, to hold the cords of the purse and to revise financial accounts. I intend to point out other entirely special bodies. Hence we have chambers of commerce⁴¹¹ and the consultative chambers of arts and manufactures,⁴¹² which have an official existence. Parallel to the session of the chambers, we have every year a session of the General Councils of Commerce of Manufactures and of Agriculture. Facing the ancient tribunals, we have our Tribunals of Commerce and the Councils of Wise Men. All these institutions are now modest. In relation to ancient powers, they are in a position of more or less complete dependence. The men who compose them do not still have much awareness of the mission to which they are called. Still the germ subsists; it grows and develops, and it is worthy of the attention that it owes its progress to Caesar, for it is from royalty that these institutions relate directly, and it is royalty that has given it more and more importance.

⁴¹¹ There are chambers of commerce at Amiens, Avignon, Bayonne, Besançon, Bordeaux, Boulogne, Caen, Calais, Carcassonne, Clermont, Dieppe, Dunkerque, Granville, Le Havre, La Rochelle, Laval, Lille, Lyon, Marseille, Metz, Montpellier, Morlaix, Mulhouse, Nantes, Nimes, Orléans, Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Saint-Brieuc, Saint-Étienne, Saint-Malo, Strasbourg, Toulon, Toulouse, Tours and Troyes. They number therefore 38.

⁴¹² There are Consultative Chambers of the Arts and Manufactures in 19 towns, namely Abbeville, Alençon, Arras, Beauvais, Castres, Châteauroux, Elbeuf, Laigle, Limoges, Lisieux, Louviers, Lodève, Nevers, Quimper, Romorantin, Saint-Quentin, Sedan, Tarare and Valenciennes.

Note 86 [Vol. 2, Note 35, 1836 edition]

On the Spirit of Legislation of New England

I doubt that nowhere has the power of society over the individual been pushed so far as in New England, so that in Connecticut, they have laws to regulate the amount of time to remain in a bar (a half hour), the maximum quantity one may drink there (a half-pint), and after 9:30 PM inns and bars must be closed. It was not permitted to a young unmarried person to have a house without the consent of the inhabitants of the commune; a father of a family had no right to receive an unmarried person without the same formality.

It is forbidden to swear, to lie or spread false news, forbidden to take tobacco, at least to have a note from a physician stating that it was for his health, and at least to be authorized for it before a court.

Other regulations simply forbid smoking in public. This very year (1836), the magistrates of Boston have banned smoking on the public walkway of the city (the *Mall*), which is a vast area. I do not pretend, incidentally, that their rigor here is excessive.

It is useless to say that the laws of the colonies of New England were of great religious severity. Each was constrained to take part in a Congregationalist church, and employment was on the same condition. Dissidents pay for the costs of the established church. Jews and Quakers were exiled, and subject to the death penalty if they returned to the soil of the state.

The *blue laws* of Connecticut also include some curious prescriptions on the subject of marriage.

Almost nothing remains of this old legislation than a strong communal organization.

Today, however, the community often intervenes in the private life of the individual, to the extreme of depriving one of rights that seem to us the most natural and beyond command. Hence, in Taunton, in Massachusetts, in 1836, two justices of the peace forbade publishing the bans of marriage of a man and woman because the future spouses were *not in a condition to remain to themselves after the marriage*, and that they *did not have enough discernment to contract an act of this importance*.

In some German states, the governments exercise the same control over marriage.

[An earlier version of this article is found in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 10 July 1834, pp. 2-4, "De l'amélioration populaire," dated New York, 5 May 1834.]

XXVIII

SOCIAL BETTERMENT (I)

Charleston, South Carolina, 1 September 1835

North America is a land of blessings for the worker and the peasant. What a contrast between our Europe and this America! At New York, after my landing, I thought that every day was Sunday because all the population crowding together on Broadway seemed to be celebrating Sunday every day. None of the faces blemished by the privations or miasmas of Paris, none resembled our miserable refuse workers, nor our caste of seamstresses, or our open-air market women. Every man was warmly dressed in his overcoat, every woman had her coat and hat in keeping with the latest style of Paris. Rags, dirt and misery degrade women more than men. Hence, one of the most characteristic traits of the physiognomy of the United States is, without contradiction, the change brought about by the well being in the material destiny and physical condition of women.⁴¹³ The salary of a man suffices for the support and maintenance of his family, and the wife has no other work except at home, a greater advantage for the children than for her. Today it is a rule without exception among Anglo-Americans that the woman is exempted from every harsh task and, for example, the woman takes no part in labor in the fields and never carries heavy burdens.⁴¹⁴ Thus freed from occupations incompatible with her delicate constitution, women is thus also freed from that repellent heaviness and that grossness of complexion that poverty and fatigue inflicts everywhere else. Every woman here has the traits as well as the carriage of a lady. Every woman here is considered a lady and tries to appear as such. You will search in vain among the Anglo-Americans from the mouth of the Saint Lawrence to that of the Mississippi to find even one of those repellent beings that are feminine only in physiological terms, of which all of our towns abound, or one of those disgraceful viragos that people our markets and three-quarters of our countryside. You will encounter the first type nowhere, except among blacks, and among the Indians.⁴¹⁵ You will not encounter the second except among the French of Canada or the Germans of Pennsylvania, because in both cases the woman works at least as much as the man. It is one of the glories of the English race to have generally, as far as possible and more and more, interpreted the superiority of the man over the woman by reserving to the man the monopoly of all difficult work. A country where women are treated that way offers a vision of a new and better world.

Picture an Irish peasant, who at home can barely win enough potatoes to feed himself, and who considers himself rich if he owns an acre, and who, on setting foot in New York, finds he can make a dollar (5.33 francs) a day by the sole force of his hands.

⁴¹³ The legal situation of women of all classes in the United States is that of the English bourgeoisie. The same is true for their moral condition, with more liberty before marriage and more dependence afterward.

⁴¹⁴ England is certainly the European land where the woman participates the least in material work, above all else in agricultural work. You never see a woman carrying a load of dung, or forging iron as they do at Saint-Étienne.

⁴¹⁵ It has been remarked that there is nothing more hideous in all creation than an elderly Indian woman. These unfortunates, ruined by work and obliterated by bad treatment from their brutal spouses, lose everything distinguishing their sex, particularly when drunk. They have the face of furies, and they also have the same mood. To speak of those who have assisted at burnings at the stake, it is usually the old women who most enjoyed torturing captives.

He can feed and house himself for 2 dollars a week, and, at the end of two weeks, he can have saved enough to buy ten acres of the most fertile land in the universe, the famed *American Bottom* in Illinois. It is a long way from New York to the West, but going there on the big canal does not cost much, 25 cents a league (not including food),⁴¹⁶ and, by stopping along the way, he can pay for his voyage. It is true that the most miserable Irishmen do not want to buy ten acres — that would be too much. The least you may buy in the West is 24 acres. What does it matter? Saving for a few months will suffice, and, besides, *Uncle Sam*⁴¹⁷ loves emigrants. Even if the principle is that he does not sell land for credit, in fact he is benign to the cultivator setting out to clear the West, and he permits him to settle provisionally without asking anything. Despite the fact that an Irishman will wage a duel at sword-point with anyone doubting that their Isle of Erin is the earthly paradise, and who sings the glories of this Pearl of the Seas when possessed by whiskey, still the Irish depart it by the fifty thousands for the United States.⁴¹⁸ On their arrival, they cannot believe their eyes. They have to pinch themselves to believe they have not been enchanted. In their letters to their friends in Europe they do not dare to describe the streams of honey and milk that enrich this land of promise.⁴¹⁹

Even here [in South Carolina], where the worker in the towns and the cultivator of the fields are not the lords of the country as in the North but rather slaves, there is still more material comfort for the working classes than in France. Also the black population bears more children than among our rural population. Our peasants bear as many children as the blacks of Carolina and Virginia, but among us death, which leads the poor by the hand, is active to eliminate those that would compete with their fathers and to close forever the mouths that demand bread their parents cannot give them.

In Europe, for some time, the attention of philanthropists has been directed involuntarily to investigating public expenses. They are convinced to reduce them, hoping thus to improve the lot of the greatest number. To judge the direction of this procedure of improvement, I suppose that one could immediately eliminate 100 million in state expenditures. One could agree it is the maximum reduction to be hoped for, since in reality only one chapter of the budget is susceptible to being reduced, and that is for war; and yet a reduction of the military budget of France assumes a European harmony that unfortunately does not exist today, and will not be solidly achieved until the treaties of 1815 are replaced by other alliances more equitable for our France. One hundred million francs, divided among 33 million population comes to 15 francs per family of five, or 4 centimes a day.

Improving the daily resources of a poor family by 4 centimes a day would be a result a philanthropist would rightly applaud, but it is little for a new government that is seeking to establish itself on bedrock. You cannot modify the feelings of the masses that you wish to have pass from despair to hope, from indifference to all authority to respect and recognition, so cheaply. Four centimes a day does not put a chicken in the pot!

⁴¹⁶ The voyage from New York to Louisville, or any other point on the lower Ohio, costs, via Philadelphia or Pittsburgh, about 70 francs, not including food, and will take two weeks.

⁴¹⁷ That is the popular name for the federal government.

⁴¹⁸ See Note 3 above [sic].

⁴¹⁹ It is said that an Irishman, newly landed, had his master write a letter on his behalf to his family: “But Patrick, why do you say you are eating meat three times a week, when you are in fact eating meat three times a day?” — “Why?” Patrick responded, “it is just that if I tell them that, they would never believe it.”

Let us admit that by reduction of expenditures, I do not know how, and by a radical change in the system of taxes, which do not seem so difficult to me,⁴²⁰ one could reduce double the contribution of the poor; one would then have added 8 centimes per day to the ease of a family of five persons.

Also suppose that, by some means or other (we will define the means later), that public credit would be improved, industry enlivened by a new energy, agriculture promoted, that a hundred new enterprises would promote our shops and our countryside, and would spread activity and life over our canals and roads, over rivers and the seas: crafts would rise, crashes and forced unemployment, the causes of the hardest suffering of urban workers, would disappear at once. Making possible twelve days more of work at 1 franc 25 centimes over 150 days, and a rise in salary of only 25 percent, a modest calculation to be sure, the result would be an immediate rise in revenue of 52 francs 50 centimes, or 14 percent per day, twelve additional days of work, and a rise of 50 centimes a day over 150 days, would produce 123 francs, which is to say 34 percent per day.

I am far from saying that it would be necessary to ignore reductions in expenditure, even the slightest. Honor is due to the hard-working men whose indefatigable patience proof line by line the enormous publication of the budget, weighing all these figures in the balance of the public interest! God prevent me from acting as if we have arrived at the best system of taxes! And, for example, I do not think that our municipal duties need last forever.⁴²¹ Hence once again I vote for the suppression of the salt tax, since it is the heaviest tax of all for the poor class, and I think it would be easy to get rid of it.⁴²² With decisive acts of this nature, governments will do themselves a favor and families will be established. But the only material result they win through the method of reduction is to cause a couple fewer centimes to escape the purse of the poor man rather than create a system of measures calculated to instill in the lower classes the taste for order and the habits of an industrious and ordered life, multiplying opportunities for work and better conditions, which would have the effect of filling his so-depleted purse. Reduction that subsidizes one class by burdening another class has a revolutionary character that jibes poorly with an epoch where one is tired of revolutions, and with the nature of a government born of the need to end the revolutionary flood. On the contrary, everything that developed work is in harmony with the current tendency of all fine spirits. Work is an admirable instrument of harmony, since all interests do well with prosperity in industry and business. It is the pure and legitimate source of public and private fortune. Work alone creates new riches, and it alone has the power to aid those in need without impoverishing those who lack necessities, and without even reducing the brilliant existence of those who live on the fat of the land; this gives opulence to a few, ease to a great number, and to all that chicken in the pot that is, in the material order, the unknown quantity of the social problem posed since Luther's revolt.

The admirable prosperity of the United States is more the fruit of work than it is of tax reform. The soil here does not have the luxurious fertility of the tropics; in keeping with the vulgar saying, larks do not fall from the sky ready-cooked for anyone. But the American is a model worker. The United States is not the second edition of the Roman or Greek republic: it is a colossal house of commerce that keeps a wheat farm in the

⁴²⁰ Note 87.

⁴²¹ See note 88.

⁴²² See note 89.

Northwest, a farm for cotton, rice and tobacco in the South, which owns sugar plantations, salt depots and the fine beginnings of manufactures; which has the Northeast ports filled with excellent, well-made ships with which it undertakes carrying for the account of the entire world, and speculates on the needs of all peoples. Every American has a passion for work and a million means of satisfying it. If he wishes to be a craftsman, even if he wishes eventually to become a manufacturer, they will give him credit; he passes along unoccupied watercourses, of which he takes possession, and on the bank of which he builds his mill. If he has a taste for trade, he places himself in the hands of a trader who, after some time of trial and apprenticeship, sends him to pursue his interests in the interior of the country or in the Antilles, or in South America, or at Liverpool, at Le Havre, or in China. He can work without hesitation and produce vigilantly. Since he has no rent to pay, his wheat or his salt stocks fear no competition from anyone in South America or in the Sugar Islands. The United States is almost alone in furnishing cotton to the world, and they cannot plant enough of it. As intelligent, active and daring traders, the career open to Americans is without limits, and they exploit it admirably. They beat their rivals of all lands, even the English. If the American dedicates himself to the interior market, the field is not smaller, since interior consumption is unlimited. Here everyone revels or at least pays out. Life is ample; they cut from the full cloth. Everyone produces much because the country consumes a great deal. Everyone consumes much because he earns a great deal, has a great deal of business, and has no care for his future or that of his children, or does not concern himself about this future.

Just as in France, the most effective measures of public administration will be those that tend to increase industrial qualities among the masses, and those that furnish the means to apply those qualities, that is:

A system of industrial education

1. The creation of institutions of credit providing all classes with the instruments for work, or, in other words, the capital not presently available not just to the worker or cultivator but even to a large part of the bourgeoisie;
2. The execution of a complete system of communications, from local roads to railroads; industry and commerce are impossible where there are no facilities for transportation;
3. The revision of a multitude of laws and regulations, and of many of the attitudes of civil and administrative jurisprudence that restrict labor without benefiting anyone.

Popular Education

Where I am right now, I do not dare speak openly about popular education. The “people” in the Southern states consists of slaves. The principle is that they are not permitted any intellectual culture; that the sentiment of fear is the sole moral culture that suits their condition. For them there is no other education than that of their hands, and that is itself limited by the fact that their intelligence and morality is imprisoned within their own limbs.

In the states of the North, the working class consists of whites. Law provides generously for popular education. Almost everywhere in the North, children go to

primary schools. Primary education there is more positive than with us. One could hardly say that this is a system of industrial education. It is nothing but our own primary instruction in literature and minimal ideals, with some economic and commercial ideas added. In fact there is no industrial education here except apprenticeship. There are no schools of arts and crafts, no agricultural institutions or model factories. Here it is pointless to sequester youth to inspire them with the taste for business, agriculture or the mechanical arts; they get that with their mother's milk, they breathe it in their homes, at all moments, in all acts of life. When an American wants to learn a profession, he enters an apprenticeship with a craftsman, in a factory or in a counting house. By seeing practice or by practicing himself, he becomes a craftsman, a manufacturer, or a trader; all the inclinations of his ambitious temperament will concentrate instinctively on his store, his workshop and his warehouses. He applies himself to perfect himself in his art, to adopt the progress achieved by others, and he will naturally succeed there, as to its natural destination. I will not argue that Americans are right not to draw on specialized theoretical preparation, for which we have established fine, great schools. I only wish to indicate this fact, that they don't do it and still come out well there.

Among us Frenchmen, the national character is much less committed to business. We do industry by necessity, not by taste. Our ideas are infinitely less for commercial, manufacturing or agricultural things. To make a Frenchman a good industrialist, an able agriculturist or a consummate businessman, he must be slowly and carefully created. It is necessary to change his natural inclination so that his thoughts and habits are transformed; in a word, with us, it is essential that a special education come before apprenticeship. Americans only learn by example; we have to learn industry by principles. We need this more than they do, and we are better at principles than are they.

In France the education of the people, so long as one was concerned to provide it, was successively in the hands of the clergy, which concerned itself above all else to propagate the principles of a healthy morality, and then in the hands of philosophers, who were interested in diffusing knowledge. Morality, the basis of all social relationships, is an indispensable thing to inculcate to the people, to all classes: it is there that all education must commence. Knowledge, if by that one intends the development of human intelligence, the fundamental notions of science, and not the dissolving principles we too often associate with this name, knowledge is of an incontestable utility. But in teaching morality to the people, you make an abstraction of its brain and its stomach. By reducing education for the people to participation in knowledge, you mislead yourself further, yet you make an abstraction of its stomach and heart that must come before everything. You act as if a person is principally a philosopher or doctor, or rather an orator and sophist, since science separated from morality is as dangerous as sophism, and injures like the harangue of an orator. Popular education should be moral above all else, since without morals there is no society. It is necessary that art has its place, since art is to principles of morality what the form is to the idea, and the people do not comprehend well except through forms.⁴²³ Besides, it must be especially industrial and practical. If one admits that industrial work, in its various aspects, agriculture, factories, business, are the normal ends of the material activity of modern societies, one must also admit that the education of the people must be an industrial education, an education to work. It is necessary to

⁴²³ This is why it is a great idea to introduce music as one of the elements of primary instruction, such as Monsieur Guizot has organized it.

exercise one's arms at least as much as one's spirit, fortifying his muscles more than sharpening his idealism. One must develop his intelligence, to be sure, since that is what regulates the movement of his arms and the play of his muscles, but it is necessary to direct them toward work and not to literature, philosophy and politics. The person is the worker of his state, not the writer, the philosopher, or the publicist.

All plans for popular education proposed from 1789 to the most recent years were bad, since they supposed that education was purely synonymous with intellectual instruction or culture. Freely, it is better to congratulate their failure than to deplore it, for they would have sown not the taste for work, but rather they would have fomented, by hundreds of thousands, ambitions that society would never be in the position to satisfy. They would have added intellectual and moral pains, which they would not have the power to heal, to the physical sorrows of the people. It is better that the majority of peasants doze in their ignorance than having falsified spirits and hearts sickened or tormented by evil passions. Ignorance is a lesser evil than false science and demoralization. Our France would have been ungovernable if the peasants had been submitted to the same influences as a certain portion of the workers.

It is not an easy thing to organize popular education, even after removing the moral element that is the domain of religion. Where are the personnel of the corps of education? Where are the books, where is the money to furnish the schools with their materials? Because, in the industrial schools, more is needed than paper, pencils and slates. Their schools will be farms, workshops, or at least it will need preparations, models and designs in great number. To create industrial schools in a number sufficient for millions of children who would have a right to be admitted appears to me to be a thing impossible at this point. One will get there only by degrees and with a great deal of time: one would be happy if he could have all of them participate in the most elementary instruction! This would be quite a basic duty for the government, the départements, and the towns, to establish the number of industrial schools sufficient for those who would be in a position to pay all or part of the costs of their education, that is to say, for the bourgeoisie, for the bourgeoisie has no less need for professional industrial education. They are the ones who furnish the people with the leaders of their work.⁴²⁴

But in reviving industrial education for the people through the age of 18 or 20 years, the government has an admirable means to start it. It holds in its hands four to five hundred thousand young men, the elite of the laboring class due to their physical force and their general aptitude. It has full power over them, it can, according to the centurion's oath, say to them, "Go!" and they go, and "Come!" and they will come. Would it not be possible to make of the army an immense industrial school without sacrificing its character as a military apprenticeship? From the day when they decide to apply the army to public works, this would be a thing that is not just possible, but natural. What am I saying? From this day it would already be three-quarters achieved.

The military service is separated today from the people, because they are six years removed from the useful life of the person. During these six years, the soldier forgets his estate, if he has one, and contracts too often the habits of laziness that later will keep him from reclaiming it with success, while today it would be an act of justice to restore to the administration, which avoids leaving soldiers unemployed in their barracks. But these

⁴²⁴ See Note 91.

reviews, these parades, these ceaseless repeated maneuvers tire out and disgust the soldier. Work would be a diversion from exercise, which would not be pure forced labor, and would add to his pay, raising his spirits. If, in place of losing his profession under the flag, one could perfect it there and get a nest egg, perhaps, in place of fleeing they would present themselves with enthusiasm. In this way, our young military would work themselves for a purpose. The army would gain in discipline, because our most exemplary soldiers who would be working are those of engineering and artillery. The country would gain fine, good works in large number, it would be enriched by what makes the prosperity of empires, I will say with an industrious and intelligent population, because education could be put at the head of work in the entire corps, as it is today at least for noncommissioned officers in the specialized regiments.⁴²⁵

In order for the army to become absolutely an industrial school, it is true that it would not be necessary to turn soldiers into landscapers or masons. It would be proper that the making of accessory objects necessary to grand enterprises of communication be conferred on them in succession, that they should cast and forge iron, making all the works of carpentry and joinery.

The officers of artillery and engineering, whose talents and zeal are used today in the sterile minutia of daily service, are all qualified to direct all sorts of works, even without the oversight of the engineers of Bridges and Roads, and to conduct them with order and economy, since for them to build something is nothing new, whether in wood, stone, iron or bronze. They will seize with enthusiasm the occasion to stand out by useful and vast creations. The war administration, where they have resolved the problem of pursuing each of the five hundred thousand soldiers registered under the colors at every moment, is in position to organize and coordinate this movement.

If, in this new state of things, the faculty of replacement were suppressed, at least for half or a third of the service, the moral effect that would result would be immense. When the children of the rich have to work alongside the children of the poor, the manual professions, which the bourgeoisie regards as degrading, will be, by that act alone, rehabilitated, and the industrial mores will revive in a fortunate direction. The relations of the masters with the worker and of the worker to the master, today imprinted with deceit and violence, with arrogance and abasement, will receive the mark of the freedom of the camps and military brotherhood. Today there are two enemy natures, the bourgeois nature and the proletarian nature. They will commence to confound themselves into one unique nature, that of workers.⁴²⁶

Before passing to institutions that are the most proper to develop labor, I must say that a political system that applies itself particularly to provoke and to sustain them cannot be accused of materialism. Work moralizes the person. Material prosperity contributes to the exercise of public liberties. Persons cannot practice the rights that the

⁴²⁵ Currently, in the actual state of things, regimental schools leave much to be desired. Unfortunately, they are the object of too little encouragement for the officers who dedicate themselves to them, and for the soldiers who demonstrate their zeal and intelligence. Some colonels have given the measure of the results that one could expect. The efforts of Monsieur de Brack, colonel of the 4th Hussars, and the fine results he has obtained, are worth being cited as models for our superior officers. The education he has organized includes lectures, calculations, drawing, topography, care of horses and veterinary anatomy, etc. There is not a noncommissioned officer in his regiment who would not be in position to command a company well, and even to serve, in case of need, as a staff officer (See Note 92).

⁴²⁶ See Note 93.

law accords them as long as they are chained by misery. The English and their sons the Americans define ease in terms of *independence*. The Anglo-Americans have arrived at riches through political freedoms; other peoples, and I believe that we are of that number, must pass to political freedoms through the progress of national riches.

I pass now to institutions of credit.

Institutions of Credit

Suppose on the one side that cultivator with his garner filled with wheat, his stable full of cattle, his cellar full of barrels of whiskey and salt pork, then the businessman with his warehouses arrayed with cloth, and the spice merchant well-supplied with tea, coffee and sugar. On the other side are the landscaper, the mason, the carpenter, the blacksmith, all of them able men in their way, all needing work to obtain their subsistence day by day. A canal or a railroad are projected; the country possesses sufficient capital to carry it out, but then it must gather the arms that must construct it, such as the food and needs required by the workers. It is indispensable that the works be undertaken for the day worker to find something to occupy his strength and to earn his bread, and that the merchant obtains an outlet for his goods. Here, in parallel, we do not have any other intermediary between the worker and the holder of the objects of consumption than an engineer, a man of talent but poor, and the bourgeois of the towns that are interested in the canal or railroad, people with ease and nothing else, without any common means to procure on their lands or houses the money that must serve to operate the exchange between the goods of the merchant and cultivator and the labor of the workers. Among us, however, the most useful projects remain on paper. Here, alongside the engineers or the bourgeois, you have one or several banks, in which all, peasants, workers and bourgeois, have confidence, often more than they merit. The bank guarantees to the cultivator and to the merchant payment for their goods, and to the worker his salary. To this purpose, the bank offers the bourgeois shareholder, in exchange for a personal engagement, renewable after a certain delay, and often by means of the deposit of the shares of the railroad or canal, paper money that the worker accepts in payment for his work, and that the cultivator and the merchant accepts in return for their provisions. Hence every reasonable enterprise passes from theory to practice.

In order that the same result be obtained here, it is necessary that we use a little of that genius for business that comes natural to the American, and as a result that the banks accept without fear the engagement of the bourgeois shareholder, who is not like in the United States, because here, with the exception of the industrial towns, the bourgeois generally works little, is a landed proprietor, lives from his revenue and does not augment it. The American bourgeois, in contrast, is actively engaged in affairs and tends to increase his property. Further, the banks have, besides the properties under the sun, a legal recourse much more efficacious than we can hope for in France.

Finally, it is necessary that the public, both bourgeois and proletarian, that all, proprietors and merchants, have full confidence in the bills issued by the bank, which is impossible in a country where all paper money evokes memories of the *assignats*. As long as our populations have before their eyes this disastrous experience, they will be unable to consider a piece of paper, even if exchangeable for gold on sight, to be the equivalent of precious metals. Metallic coinage for us, relative to all other values, has a superiority incomprehensible for an American or an Englishman. For all peasants, it is the object of mystic sentiment, a true cult, and, in this regard, we are all peasants, more or

less. The Americans, in contrast, have an intrepid faith in paper; this is not a blind faith, since if we had our *assignats*, they had their *Continental money*, and it is not necessary to move far back in history to recall the massive failure of banks. It is a reasoned faith, an examined courage. Last winter, it was known that a country bank in the state of New York only had five dollars in cash for each hundred dollars in circulation, and even less. In a parallel case, we Frenchmen would have cried out, "Every man for himself!" and we would have rushed to the bank to get gold in exchange for our bills. The bank thus beset would have suspended payments, fifty or seventy bills would have become rags in the hands of their holders and, what would have been more grave, the banks, relying one on the other, who possessed the bills in the greatest number, would have failed in sequence, as happened last April in the federal district. Each bank failure would have led to individual bankruptcies to infinity, these would have followed the others into the abyss. The land would be ruined. The Americans, in this same difficult situation, with bankruptcy suspended by a thread above their heads, would not have faltered. One said once that old soldiers remain unmoved under a battery's fire, or form a square, brandishing bayonets against a cloud of Arabs at the foot of the pyramids. None of the banks of the state of New York suspended payments; barely six or seven small banks succumbed here and there in the entire Union.

Let us not make illusions; it will be a long time before we enjoy a credit system as extensive in France as what exists in the United States or in England. We are, in this regard, in Barbary. We cannot pass from there to a perfected regime but through a revolution in the whole of our ideas and our industrial habits, and to a certain point, of our national mores.

I do not pretend to trace in advance the system of credit that must be organized here. I believe, however, to be able to affirm that what would suit France is different from what exists here. In assimilating the innovations of the English and their continuators of America, we must modify in keeping with our national genius, on penalty of seeing them perish from our soil. Just as the Orient is the cradle of religions, England is, in modern times, the melting pot from which comes the first jet of political and commercial institutions to appear to be able to rule the world. But just as establishing themselves in the West, the religious conceptions of the Orient had to undergo a radical transformation, in the same way the political and commercial innovations of our neighbors will have to change before they can be admitted among us. Coming today in the midst of particular circumstances, among a people with an original character, emerging in the unhealthy shade of conquest and civil war, one would be badly advised to see them transported in the same form to other nations and another soil. They were already modified in America, where they were among the rejects of the English race. Among the people of the South and among us, when they have reached their definitive forms, it is probable that they will not resemble their first British models any more than a Benedictine or a Sister of Charity resembles an Indian fakir or a dervish. It would take a great deal of presumption to wish from the present to fix with some precision what the institutions of credit will be. I believe it reasonable to say, however, that, to be in harmony with our character and our aptitudes, it would have to rely on the government in their organization, to combine their action with its own, to be in a word public institutions, and, in its object, to play a large role in agriculture.

The credit of the state, which in France must be the boulevard of private credit, senses and will sense still the bankruptcies of the past: we are not separated from the bankruptcy of two thirds by more than an interval of forty years. Our 5 percent is compromised by the menace of reimbursement; the question of amortization is undecided. What one accepts concerning the five percent and amortization, and what one keeps in mind before adopting a solution, that France has need to cause the failures of faith of the old monarchy and the republic to be forgotten.

It is not only essential to reaffirm the credit of the state, but it is also necessary to broaden the base. One achieves that by relying as much as possible on the interests of all families. The state here must become the depository of all savings. It could, with profit for us, serve the office of insuring against fire and even against flood and hail, as certain small German governments do. Nothing prevents that it will charge as much for these various operations as insurance companies do for life; in this way it becomes the agent of universal prudence, looking forward to the moment when every poor worker will have, like a soldier, a retreat at the end of his career. It is necessary to become the guarantor of the peace of the widow and the orphan.⁴²⁷ These combinations against which it is difficult to conceive serious objection, from the administrative point of view, would have a merit of circumstances in the times in which we live. One searches with anxiety the new elements of order without which one fears that nothing can prevent social disorganization. I do not believe that one can find anything more helpful than those that intermingle inextricably the interests of the individuals with those of society: order and solidarity are synonyms.

It is on the credit of the state thus constituted that one will have room to support the banks. In France, we do not have faith in the banks, and the banks do not have faith in themselves,⁴²⁸ until they are supported by the treasury and they have become governmental institutions. Many of the good spirits consider it to be indispensable that the system of institutions of credit should confound themselves in many aspects with the financial system of the state. This idea has nothing in it adventurous; this is not at all unknown. Here, in the states of the East and South, which are, as in France, principally agricultural, the most important banks depend upon the state. Taking part in the collection of taxes, and operating the movement of funds on account of the treasury. This is what has taken place in various degrees in the two Carolinas, in Georgia and Alabama; it is what is organized even more clearly in Illinois and Indiana.

The largest metamorphosis to take place in institutions of credit in introducing them to us will consist of causing them to turn to the profit of agriculture. We are a more an agricultural than a manufacturing people. Three quarters or four fifths of our population lives from agriculture. The English are above all else manufacturers and traders; their banks are accessible to their traders first of all, then to their manufacturers, and little by little to their agricultural people. The feudal attitude, which has retained territorial property among them, contributes to this result. Here, the banks were established on the English model. They have developed massively in the states of the North and Northeast,⁴²⁹ occupied by a population endowed with the genius of commerce and manufactures. That which one attempted to institute in the agricultural regions of the

⁴²⁷ See Note 94.

⁴²⁸ See Note 95.

⁴²⁹ See Note 96.

South and the West has fallen successively at various times, of which the most disastrous was 1819. In 1828, local banks were all dead in Kentucky⁴³⁰ and Missouri; each of the states of Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi and Alabama, had no more than one or none at all. Today they are constituted in the South and in the West with a governmental character, whether with the state is the chief shareholder, or by guaranteeing loans to the extent to which they have procured their capital. Many of them have a marked tendency to intervene in agriculture; Louisiana is of all the states the one where they have adopted the most serious and largest combinations in this regard.⁴³¹

It is difficult to apply institutions originally fashioned for the most mobile property form of all, commercial property, to another form of property that has received from nature a character of immobility recognized more or less formally by the laws of all countries. It is not possible to treat the soil like merchandise that one warehouses, or uses like a check. As a result one cannot put off too long adopting some measure proper to apply to agriculture the advantages of credit. Let us start at a small scale, if one fears my miscalculation. Experience will tell us how the network is to be expanded. If agricultural banks exist that are indissolubly tied to the treasury, if they were public establishments, like the amortizing fund and the fund of deposits and consignments, no one would be concerned that the interests due them were assimilated to direct contributions, collected in the same manner by twelfths, and recovered in the same manner, in case of default of payment. I cite this disposition as an example more than that I recommend it as a procedure to employ definitively. One conceives that it would permit banks to make advances on agriculture in all security, and as a result to offer advantageous terms. The government, in lending thus to agriculturists, at the rate of 4 or even 5 percent, who pay sometimes double and even triple what they receive on the title of their deposits, savings or premiums of insurance, change the face of our countryside and realize a profit for themselves, not to mention the progress of public prosperity. In this system, banks are as accessible to the small cultivator as to the large, and thereby they are in fact more democratic than in the United States, where, as I said, the doors of banks are closed to the small cultivator, and sometimes even to the large landed proprietor. Hence our centralization, if we wish to do good, will permit us, once public education in the matter of credit is more advanced, to pass the United States even in the direction where they appear to have gone the farthest; hence, the principle of authority has the power to produce institutions more popular often than the immediate products of a democratic regime.

So far as the present goes, without expecting that it would be possible to multiply institutions of credit in France, one will facilitate financial transactions of our agriculture and as a consequence the progress of our agriculture, through a revision of our mortgage legislation.⁴³²

Finally, it will be indispensable to research the most helpful dispositions in favor of leading the entire public to accept bank paper. There exists in this regard a number of projects that appear to be crowned with success.⁴³³

⁴³⁰ In 1819, this state had 35 active ones.

⁴³¹ See Note 97.

⁴³² See Note 98.

⁴³³ See Note 99.

When considering the savings that will result in France by the improvement of credit, it is easy to see that it will exceed anything that can be expected from a revision of the budget. It is said that in France interest on money is for four or even three. Yes, without doubt this is true for the treasury, when one does not have to borrow, or for some privileged businessmen in prosperous moments. Landed proprietors almost everywhere pay 6 percent at least, on the first mortgage. Small proprietors and small industrialists pay 8, 9 and 12 percent. As one descends the social scale, the rate of interest rises. For the worker in towns, in his retail purchases for household needs, it is 50, even 100 percent per year. For the peasant in his relationship with the marshal, the barkeeper, the merchant of the village, it is sometimes 100 percent per month.

The average interest on money in all transactions of all nature and of every order operating in France is at least 15 or 20, perhaps 25 percent. Suppose one could manage to reduce this average rate to 2 percent, which does not seem to me to be too difficult (I am persuaded in effect that between two years, that of prosperity like 1824, the other of distress in 1831, this rate varied to double) it is clear that one would realize a saving to the profit of the country as positive as what would result from reducing the expenditure of government, and which would differ in that the first would result in a saving of millions and the latter in thousands of francs. It is not possible to estimate the sum of transactions that operate every year in France: it rises to a very large number of billions, for there is a transaction, and the transaction affect by the rate of interest every time a product changes hands. The total production of France is estimated at 9 billion, which supposes a mass of transactions ten or twelve times more considerable. The annual sum of the sole effect of commerce is about 20 billion. Admitting an average length of four months, and a mass of transactions of 80 billion, a saving of 2 percent per year would represent 540 million.

Here are the economies of which statesmen should preoccupy themselves today: they are the largest, and they are the ones that will be the most fruitful.

We add that the creation of institutions of credit would have the effect of producing a saving of 1 1/2 billion or 2 billion, one time for all, by the substitution of bank bills for a part of the metallic coinage.⁴³⁴

System of Communication

It would be superfluous to stop to demonstrate the salutary influence that public works well intended will exercise on the well-being of all classes, particularly on that of the lower classes. The public is entirely converted to this view. A complete system of large and small communications on water and land, comprehending also the local roads as well as the main lines of railroads, provided there is sufficient funding both by the state, by companies, by the départements and the communes, cannot delay by doubling, tripling, and to transform in certain cases the value and product of a large quantity of lands. Our agriculture, so deplorably backward, will have magnificent growth. By virtue of the solidarity that joins all the branches of production, the whole of our industry will be changed as if by enchantment. How our France would have been changed if one had put to this use the billion of the indemnity to the émigrés⁴³⁵ and the four hundred million

⁴³⁴ See Letter V and Note 20.

⁴³⁵ A part of this billion served to establish the canals and railroads in Pennsylvania. The list of subscribers to open loans by the state of Pennsylvania for the execution of these public works figures among the

for the war on Spain! The Restoration, a blind government without any genius of its own, could never raise itself to the conception of this popular work: wishing to engrave its mark on France, it imagined nothing but to remove the “N” from our monuments to engrave others in its place. Pitiably plagiarism! It was with other characters and another stylus that the new government must write its symbol on the soil of the fatherland. It senses that it is its interest; it will not have any need for anyone to repeat what its duty is.

This would be an enterprise worthy of a great people, a vast system of works that will include the great railroads and the modest local roads,⁴³⁶ canals and roads; that dries up the swamps and subsidizes the irrigation of countryside deprived of water, that will render the Landes and the Sologne to cultivation, open Brittany, throw the Durance into arid Provence, and the Hérault into Bas-Languedoc, to cause it to flower; which will provide rails to Rouen and Le Havre, Lille and Calais, Orléans, Reims and Troyes, the suburbs of Paris, which will consummate the union of Belgium and France, which will fix at Strasbourg one of the premier exchanges of the world; which, expecting better, will render a little life to Bordeaux, which languishes, permitting it to join the départements of the Center and the South by a route more sure and rapid than the natural bed of the Garonne, the Dordogne and the Lot, which will revive moribund Nantes, restoring its Loire lost in the midst of the sands, reattaching it to the vibrant provinces of the interior, and above all, in approaching Paris again, this heart of France, which will place Lyon close to the Rhine and even the Danube, which is east of the Loire and the Rhône; which will bring our mineral riches value, which is easier to get out of the guts of the earth than to send it to market. In the enumeration of its benefits, do not forget, as too often happens, the pleasant and hard-working population of our countryside, and who will finally deliver every village, every isolated farm, from the blockade of six months every year performed by the billows of winter. This will be beautiful, this will be grand. May this work of peace be immediately supplied with the means proportionate to its extent!

All these improvements hold together: a good system of public works exercise an active influence on the development of credit, and, reciprocally, a large system of public and private credit will imprint the greater activity on public works. I say more: it is impossible that our public works can be conducted rapidly, at least to have recourse to credit. To pretend to execute them exclusively by means of taxes would be folly. Without public and private credit, the Americans would never have had public works. They would not have created their grand canals and their innumerable railroads but with the help of their banks and their loans. In 1828 the three towns of the federal district, Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, forming together a population of 32 thousand souls, with insignificant commerce, without manufactures and without agricultural resources, since the area around it is extremely sterile, subscribed for 8 million francs to the great canal of the Chesapeake to the Ohio. To cover their subscription, they negotiated a loan in Holland at 91 1/2 in 5 percent. Our grand, rich cities, such as Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux and Rouen, would have their canals and railroads when they want to

official documents submitted to the legislature. I have found many names there that were inscribed at exactly this epoch on the tables of indemnity.

⁴³⁶ See Note 100.

make them;⁴³⁷ in a just measure, what these small and poor towns of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria have tried too grandly.⁴³⁸

The improvement of the routes of transportation often produces such a reduction in the price of goods that, in many cases, the establishment of a road or a canal unburdens the population of a sum that surpasses the figure for the taxes against which there is the most murmuring. It is essential in France, where wine is abundant, and where it is a light beverage that does not harm a person, to make it accessible to the poor classes makes it something for daily use. In central France and the South, there are still many places where wine is transported on the backs of mules.⁴³⁹ Wine that has made 15 leagues in this way, and this is not unusual, has its price raised by about 6 francs a hectoliter. The same distance by canal costs less than a franc per hectoliter, conceding that one operates in masses that are a bit less considerable. A reduction of 5 francs per hectoliter, or 5 percent per liter, is somewhat equal, for the most common wines, to five times the value of the tax.⁴⁴⁰ Hence, the creation of a navigable line, considered under the sole relation of the transport of drink, profits certain consumers more than the suppression of indirect taxes. It is still true that, in certain cases, the tax can be a good strategy, and that one should be more concerned with the use of the budget than about the enormity of the total figure.

Reform of Legislation and Regulation

We must congratulate ourselves highly for having substituted a legislation founded on a single act, uniform for the entire territory, to laws and customs of all ages and all origins. Even while admiring the Civil Code, it is permitted to me to still say that it consecrates a principle incompatible with the tendency of modern societies.

It was the thought of Napoléon who planned the creation of this fine work in the Council of State. Now Napoleon was preoccupied above all with Roman ideas. He wanted to found an empire of granite on the model of Rome. His counselors were saturated by the idea that Roman law was pure justice, absolute and unchangeable. They have therefore made legislation that protects diverse interests, often assigning them the degree of importance they had eighteen centuries ago rather than what they have acquired today. Landed property in Roman times was almost the sole property; agriculture was the sole honored industry. Labor by manufacturing was only an accessory to domestic works and took place in the household by slaves. Commerce was abandoned to strangers or freedmen. Hence one did not suspect the possibility of immense factories in the

⁴³⁷ See Note 101.

⁴³⁸ They are unable to pay the interest on their debts. Congress, the protector and sovereign of the federal district, is obligated to come to their aid, and probably will bear the part and put itself in their place over against their creditors.

⁴³⁹ At Limoges, for example, wine from Brives (Corrèze) and of Sarlat (Dordogne) still arrives on mule-back. The distance from Limoges to Sarlat is 36 leagues. Since new roads have been cut, the quantity of wine transported in that way to market has greatly declined.

⁴⁴⁰ In France, the consumption of wine is hit by a triple tax: 1) the tax on circulation, which is quite small; it varies from 60 centimes to 1.20 francs per hectoliter; 2) the right of entry, which does not exist in towns where there is a head tax, and which varies from 60 centimes to 4.80 francs per hectoliter, depending on the importance of the town; 3) the right for retail paid by bar owners, which is 10 percent. To this must be added municipal taxes. Wine of inferior quality, worth 6 to 8 francs a hectoliter, is seriously burdened, in most cities, by 5 francs a hectoliter to the profit of the treasury. In the countryside, drinks are not taxed except by the circulation tax, except in bars, where the retail tax is always levied.

English fashion, nor of powerful mechanical systems that form the soul of our manufactures. They had no idea of grand establishments such as the docks and central exchange points, permitting a man to control immense operations from his office without touching the merchandise, without even seeing the samples, using his signature on *warrants* or orders. Standardization was ignored. Banks were beyond the vision of the most elevated spirits. Governments made little effort on ways to make exchanges prompt, extensive and easy. The roads that were open to praetors and emperors were military roads. They had little interest in saving time: time has no price except in a society that works and trades.⁴⁴¹ On the contrary, they have many reasons to preserve wealth in the great families. Landed property, in view of all the laws written, values mobility very little. The purpose of legislation was entirely on fixity and perpetuity. The forms they consecrated were of a majestic slowness.

Following the Roman type, Napoleon and his Council of State have given us legislation where everything is sacrificed to territorial property. The law is in a position of defiance against the industrial and the commercial.⁴⁴² In their eyes, it is more often the sons of the freedman and the slave, or at least the little people, the commoners, whom it is permitted to treat cavalierly. On the contrary, the presumption is always in favor of the proprietor. He is protected, not as an agriculturalist and worker, but for reason of his abstract quality as proprietor, holder of the soil, the heir of the patrician or feudal baron.⁴⁴³ Thus our law misunderstands the importance of industry and the great destinies it promises; it shackles and offends it by the complications of formalities that it imposes, by the details and cases of nullity that it multiplies.

Just as it is not given to anyone, even to Napoléon, to struggle against the tendency of their century, it now comes about that the forms instituted precisely to protect landed property, to the detriment of other forms, are in fact injurious to it. The combined dispositions intended to block forced displacement from the soil turn to the detriment of the proprietor more often than to someone who deals with him, profiting only cheaters. The new Caesar was obliged to alter his absolute principles on the immobility of the soil by consecrating the law of equal division. In the place of having written sufficiently the respect and consideration that are due to mobile and commercial property in the laws and principles of government, they have inspired many men, particularly the poor, this idea that land is the sole secure property. Landed placement had been the most sought-after of all, the sole one sought at all. Thus they provoked the ever-increasing division of the soil, which is not favorable to the well-intended progress

⁴⁴¹ It is told that in Naples, Italians made the following objection to a company that had established a steamboat for Sicily:

Your boat, which takes us there in one day, demands the same price as the sailing ships that cannot make the crossing except in three. That is absurd. How can you wish that we pay as much for being sustained for one day as for during three days?

This is the reasoning of a people with no thought except to kill time, and not that of a race that knows how to measure it for profit.

⁴⁴² At the end of 1830 and in 1831, Monsieur Decourdemanche published in the *Globe* a series of letters where the character of our legislation in this regard is clearly exposed.

⁴⁴³ Further, our legislation does not lack for dispositions in a contrary sense, but they are scattered and not coherent. They are only exceptions. In the number one might cite as remarkable there is the clause of the election law that concedes to the farmer a part of his contributions of the land he works in the census.

of agriculture, and which deprives commercial or manufacturing labor of the productive savings of the poor.

The parts of our legislation most in need of revision are: 1) the Code of Procedure: in an era when individuals and people live more in a year than earlier they did in ten, a system that prolongs judicial debates over a long span of years is obviously imperfect; 2) the Commercial Code, particularly as regards families.

The attributions of commercial tribunals must be extended. It is true that once, in the large cities, consular functions and particularly the presidency demanded too much work for the principal negotiators to accept them. They consent to sacrifice their leisure and a portion of their sleep to the high mission of arbitrators of industry. They cannot sacrifice their business or their commercial position to it. But this difficulty is one that can be lifted with money, whether by allocating an indemnity to the presidents of the tribunals of commerce that will permit them to receive the aid of intelligent secretaries, or by reassigning to the tribunals some functionaries who can lighten the heaviest concern. From right now, there is nothing to prevent making the tribunals of commerce independent of the royal courts. Perhaps we must try to have two distinct jurisdictions in France, as in the United States and England they have courts of equity and courts of common law. Here, the distinction would be more rational, neater and more useful. It would have as its object to disengage the industrial element and to assure it the liberty necessary for its development.

Let us not be too severe against our legislation: I do not believe that there exists any, all things considered, that is more convenient for labor. American law has preserved too many of the faults of English legislation. It has retained the indecision and vagueness; like the English, the Americans are under the almost exclusive reign of precedents and still acts under the judgment of Great Britain as if North America were still an English colony. In most of the states, the two ill-defined jurisdictions of Common Law and Equity have been maintained. In some of the old states, such as Virginia, the legislation has retained a strong dose of feudalism. American law does, however, offer the immense advantage, in the industrial context, of proceeding more simply, with fewer fees and formalities of either English law or ours, saving time by the reduction of delays. So far as the intervention of the jury in civil matters, it is of a dubious value. I intend to say always that one prefers to have treatment by three educated and non-removable judges⁴⁴⁴ than by twelve citizens chosen by lot, who often bring to the court their prejudices, their class jealousies and their party passions. With the jury, the talent of the advocate weighs too much in the balance, rather so than the justice of the case. Finally, in America the tribunals of commerce do not have obligatory jurisdiction: ordinary tribunals deal with all causes, at least by contract operating between the parties to submit every dispute arising between them to arbitration or to a committee of the chamber of commerce, which itself is only a free association and does not exist everywhere.

It is not a good idea for a people to change laws every morning, like a shirt. Therefore I do not think that it would be good to provoke a general recasting of our

⁴⁴⁴ The predominance of democratic doctrines has had the effect here of reducing the independence of judges in withdrawing, in most states, non-removability. Judges are named for a term that varies by state. In each state, judges of the superior court are chosen for a longer time than the others and are even sometimes non-removable. This is expressed in these terms: that their functions continue *during good behavior*.

codes. There will be only room for a partial and successive revision. From today, without changing a line, one could render our legislation much more favorable to the interests of work. The law is not something absolute and inflexible like an algebraic formula, it is elastic like the spirit of the people charged to apply it. Without doing injury to our courts, cannot one repeat that, turn by turn, according to the needs of the time, they have given to our political laws different and contradictory interpretations? The free will of the judge, particularly in civil cases where he is at one time judge and jury, could and does operate always in effect within a certain limit, without ceasing for that reason to be upright and conscientious. If our courts say to themselves that, in a mass of cases, Equity commands that the legislation tells us to interpret legislation in an industrial sense rather than in a feudal or Roman sense, you will see a thousand obstacles of detail imposed on industry without the law being in the least tortured.

Unfortunately, the education that our apprentice judges and our candidates for law receive in the schools of law places them in an entirely contrary disposition. They are held absorbed in the spirit of the past, backs turned to the future. They are supersaturated in Ulpian and Tribonian. They are accustomed to weigh social interests in the balance of the jurisconsults of Justinian, who have received from the counselors of the first Caesars, who received them from the magistrates of the Republic. The notions of just and unjust with which they are impregnated are those suiting a society entirely different from ours. The result is that one often applies our laws according to a social conception two thousand years out of date. I make this observation without any bitterness and with sad regret, because no one respects the noble character of our magistracy more than do I. The interest of France demands, on the contrary, that one rise to the task of going on the attack for the numerous thoughts of the future disseminated throughout our Code by the emperor, mixed in with the dust of twenty centuries.

The supremacy that French lawyers have enjoyed for fifty years, except during the imperial years, has caused the spirit of the Palace to dominate everywhere. It is the mode today to distinguish and render subtle, but to make distinctions in conformity with the ideas of a praetor of the Roman Republic, and to render subtleties according to the customs of the *Châtelet* [medieval criminal court in Paris]. The bureaucracy is infested with this malady. One great administrator now believes in such a way that, because he is tormented in spirit, he has come to appropriate the intellectual habits of a procurator's clerk. The result of this is that the land is inundated with minute regulations, too often conceived in the sense I indicated concerning our courts in advance. This way, enemies are made for our centralization, without which we could not live. This retrograde lawyerism is ruining us. It paralyzes the most useful enterprises, or it strikes them dead before they are ready. It would not be difficult to remedy this evil, if our parliamentary regime left the ministers the time to devote themselves to the country's affairs. Unfortunately, in the current state of affairs, their premier care is pressingly that of the struggles of the tribune. They have abandoned all administration to the routine of their offices.

When the wind starts to blow, a sharp and ill-favored wind accompanying torrents of cold rain, I feel myself moved to despair for the salvation of our old France. What other nation has endured whole for fourteen centuries? Fourteen centuries of glory, isn't that enough for one life of a people? I surprise myself sometimes to consider this preoccupation with the past, like that of an old man writing his will, this quibbling

ideology revived from the late Empire, this universal infiltration of disorganizing doctrines, as symptoms of approaching death. But these dark ideas do not last longer than a brief tempest; soon the sky is blue again, and I return to believing firmly that our race is not at the end of its destinies, and that we will recover lost time, because we have a prodigious facility to appropriate whatever is new. When we have the will, it is easy for us, thanks to our enthusiasm and to our habits of unity, to cross with a bound the gap that others have marked with a laborious ditch.

Note 88 [Vol. 2, Note 36, 1836 edition]

Difficulties of reducing burdens

In France it is very difficult to reduce burdens on the masses, because the resources of our workers, and particularly of our peasants, who form in France the poorest and most numerous class, are located where the fisc cannot reach them. The peasant of Limoges, for example, pays nothing or almost nothing to the Administration of Indirect Contributions, nothing or next to nothing to that of customs, post office and registration, for the sad reason that he does not drink wine, very rarely eats meat, does not use sugar, tea, coffee or English cloth. He can neither read nor write, with the consequence that he does not receive letters; he does not plead since he possesses nothing subject to litigation, or if he does possess a little land, which is often the case, he protects it without selling it or adding to it. With the exception of the salt tax, indirect taxes do not burden him. If one reduced the taxes and increased the land tax, one would burden a very great number of peasants with a sum often equal to what they were relieved of on the other side.

Note 89 [Vol. 2, Note 37, 1836 edition, title “*De l’octroi*”]

On Municipal Dues or octroi

There are no municipal duties (*Octroi*) in the United States, which is not surprising, since they did not have them in England, either, where the fisc, a true Proteus, had costumed itself in all imaginable forms. The English recognized that it was a bad tax. The right to collect a municipal duty is a curse for the poor people of cities, much more elevated than indirect contributions instituted for the profit of the state. It is a curse to the social order, because, exaggerated as it might be, it summons up fraud and creates in many large cities a class of violators, a race hostile to work, saturated with immorality, whose vicious contact perverts workers and leads them to all disorders.

The best means of replacing the municipal duty of Paris would probably consist of:

1. A modest increase of the sales tax;
2. A tax on rentals collected directly from the brokers;
3. A tax on vehicles and luxury horses, even on the dogs that infest Paris;
4. In the licenses imposed on wine merchants, hawkers and restaurateurs.

In Paris, it would not be hard to collect in this way, almost without any cost of collection, the 20 to 25 million that the municipal duty produces net.

Note 90 [Vol. 2, Note 38, 1836 edition]

On the Salt Tax

The tax on salt produces 60 million for the treasury. If one returned to the reduction of the tax on drinks affected by the law of 12 December 1830, a reduction which everyone agrees today has profited neither the consumers nor the proprietors of vineyards, one could return to the treasury a sum of 40 million. One could therefore, if not making the salt tax vanish, at least reduce it by two-thirds, which would be a great benefit for the peasant and a great service to our agriculture, which is and will always remain the premier national industry in France.

Note 91 [Not in the 1836 edition]

On Industrial Education

Industrial education is not absolutely unknown in France. We possess very fine germs that it is only a question of cultivating.

The establishments of industrial education existing in France are:

1. The *école polytechnique* ["Polytechnic School"] and the schools of civil applications depending on it, of which the principal ones are those of Bridges and Roads and of Mines.
2. *Les écoles d'arts et métiers* ["Schools of the Arts and Crafts"] of Angers and Châlons.
3. Various local and special schools, such as those of *la Martinière* at Lyon, the Miners' School of Saint-Étienne, the system of apprenticeship organized by the Industrial Society of Nantes.

These three groups of schools correspond rather precisely to the three industrial classes: 1. directors; 2. sub-directors and heads of shops; 3. master workers and simple workers. In considering them in this way, all three are capable of receiving various improvements and degrees of extension.

1. *Polytechnic, Bridges and Roads, and Mining Schools.*

The Polytechnic School was created originally as the central school of public works. Later it was reorganized under the name of the Polytechnic School, with the goal of furnishing, at the same time, subjects necessary for various public services and persons cultivating pure science. Education here has since taken on a character of abstract science that many experienced people consider detrimental.

The end of the last century and the first years of this one were marked by striking works of mathematics that gave this science great renown and brought it, along with pure science, into the instruction of the Polytechnic School, a larger place that does not comport to the real and positive purpose of the institution.

In the current state of things, it is difficult to put an end to this inconvenience, since the rules and ordinances that organized the School assign it the purpose of spreading pure science.

One is in any case required to recall that this mixture of pure science with science destined to application is problematic.

In fact, the Polytechnic School currently provides very few of the subjects of pure science that are not furnished by the central post-graduate program of public works. The chiefs of the corps complain about the direction of spirit that this education impresses on young men rather than the gaps it leaves them.

Further, this combination, supposing it is possible to realize it, would not be useful today, since the Normal School, currently on a very good footing and slated to receive new improvements, is and will be more and more able to provide all the needs of pure science.

One could henceforth modify the teaching in the Polytechnic School, not to render them less wise, but to render them wise in a different way, to give them a more practical turn, to make young men used to paying more attention to questions of real utility that, in the eyes of theory, are only miserable details.

The School of Bridges and Roads presents the same imperfections as the Polytechnic School; it is also a school of application, and they have more serious consequences. In general it is necessary to recognize that our civil schools of application are very inferior to the Military School of Application in Metz.

Our engineers of [the Corps of] Bridges and Roads are well-instructed men. Still, there is not one in four who knows the mineralogy and geology of the materials they use to build or cover roads. There is not one in ten, perhaps one in twenty, who knows how to make an analysis of limestone worthy of confidence, of a mortar or of a composite. The School of Bridges and Roads lacks a good collection of models and materials. It even lacks a serious course on several very important parts of the art of the engineer today, on suspended bridges, for example.

The School of Bridges and Roads is at the level that public works achieved about thirty years ago; it is far behind the current importance of this branch of public administration.

It is evident that the teaching of this school, as well as a good number of its regulations, ordinances and usages in force concerning material, are no longer in harmony with the immense quantity of highly varied public works they will have to cause to be executed and promptly executed on the soil of France.

So far as the School of Mines goes, since the Corps of Mines was deprived of the establishments at Kaislautern (Prussian Rhineland) and of Pesey (Savoy), this is truly not a school of application, if by this term one means a school of practice. The courses there can be good, and there are many that are excellent, but the system of instruction there is defective in its whole and in its spirit.

The perfectionism of this school is directly tied to the question of great public works, particularly to railroads. A league of a two-way railroad demands at least 500,000 kilograms of iron, including the fasteners, supports, etc. To make sixty leagues a year, and this is a figure that one might hope to attain if the government concedes or executes the main lines, will demand 30,000,000 kilograms.

The demand for such a quantity, together with the usual demand, would cause a complete disturbance of the market. In fact, I am not afraid of saying that the state of our forges presents an obstacle, larger than any other, to the building of main railroad lines. To improve the forges, it would perhaps be best to set up model establishments to serve as schools of application to the corps of mines, which could then recruit the flower of the Polytechnic School, and to admit to the Polytechnic a large number of students independent of those destined to become engineers for the government such as is now the practice for the current School of Mines.

This would also be the place to modify the education of the polytechnical schools, of the Bridges and Roads, and of the Mines, not, I say again, to make them less wise but

to make them wise in a different way. No one will give more homage than I to science in general and to mathematical science in particular. The study of mathematics impresses on the spirit habits of analysis and of precious precision for the progress of all things. It is of the highest importance that our engineers of [the Corps of] Bridges and Roads and of Mines know mathematics, but one is not adequately concentrated on the problem of marrying abstract science properly with the application to what concerns the art of the civil engineer. It is not the excess of science that I denounce, it is the quality of the science. It is a type of science that facilitates and clarifies practice. It is another type that I disdain. It is the first alone that should be at our great industrial schools. There one should teach only a science that masters the facts, which can order them and command them, not a speculative science that hides its impotence of application behind the symmetrical display of its formulas.

It further is necessary that there be a continuous return to the practical, to the facts as they exist, and what they have to be. The interests and the material facts must be represented there without cease. The political and social economy must be developed there, not in more or less accidental speculations, but in those that are directly connected with history and the future of industry, and with the principal areas of public prosperity.

It is now time to cite here the Central School of Arts and Manufactures established a few years ago at Paris and which already is giving very satisfying results. The system of education in this school is superior in several regards to that of the great schools of the government.

I do not pretend to give here a table of changes to make of all the schools that I have enumerated, but I believe that having in view in a precise manner the object proposed, which is to know the industrial progress of the country is a point on which a properly composed commission could undertake without difficulty.

2. *Schools of Arts and Crafts.*

The Schools of Arts and Crafts at Angers and Châlons have long had an excess of speculative theories and speculative studies. They are now ready to be improved, and above all else they could be gradually multiplied.

3. *Local and Special Schools*

The School of La Martinière at Lyon, and a certain number of attempts, among which I would indicate that of the Industrial Society of Nantes, could serve from now as the basis of the creation of industrial education destined for master workers and workers in all our large cities of manufacture. Why do not Lille, Rouen, Amiens, Saint-Quentin, Mulhouse, and Saint-Étienne have what Lyon possesses? Lyon is a very highly placed city whose example is excellent to follow. Our workers form the least advanced part of our industrial personnel. It is important to be concerned about their education even more than of our engineers and directors of industry. If, along with our engineers, of whom we already possess a certain number, we have workers such as English workers, France would rise industrially perhaps above the current level of England. A good system of industrial education for workers or, to speak without neologism, a good system of apprenticeship, is indeed one of the premier conditions to achieve to develop in France work and material interests without miscalculations and without catastrophes.

Agriculture being the premier industry of France, it is very clear that it needs to be comprised in any system of apprenticeship and education that one will organize.

Conclusions

In summation, our weak side in industry is before everything else personnel, these are able industrialists, educated and active, in all the orders: directors, sub-directors, foremen and workers. We cannot have them without industrial education.

Specifically, concerning the Polytechnic School, Bridges and Roads, and Mines, who are such that reform would be the easier, so that we shall have public works accomplished in great quantity and with vigor, so that the mechanical arts perfect themselves, so that the mineral and metallurgical industry emerge from its rut, it is necessary that the three schools be reorganized to various degrees and without delay.

Among the advantages that will result from the development of industrial education, there is one that should be marked out.

One of the difficulties raised by the question of secondary instruction consists in what one has to do with two needs that appear irreconcilable:

1. Give education an industrial character;
2. Conserve the literary character of the education.

One resolves this difficulty considerably if one develops the various elements of industrial education that already exist in the country separately, and which I signal as the most important. Industrial development constitutes itself separately, and no one dreams of weakening or denaturing literary education that is one of the needs and one of the glories of France.

Note 91 [Not in the 1836 edition]

On regimental Schools

I have received the following note from a distinguished soldier relative to regimental schools, which will give an idea of some of the current results of these institutions.

In each regiment there exists a school for soldiers and a school of noncommissioned officers.

These schools are directed by an officer, ordinarily a lieutenant.

The young soldiers, on their entry into the corps, are admitted to the school for insufficient instruction or at the most for absolute incapacity. One teaches them to read, write and calculate. The average length of their instruction is a year. When they have passed through the eight degrees of primary instruction, they leave the school and are entirely left to themselves.

In the cavalry, all the time of day is employed in service details, and the schools cannot be held except in the evenings. In the infantry, one chooses the most favorable hour.

Lessons last for an hour and a half. They take place three times a week. The needs of service or illness reduce the lessons each soldier receives to eight per month on average.

The courses for noncommissioned officers comprehend: *history, geography, the elements of mathematics and geometry, military administration* and, in a very few regiments, a course in *topography*.

This course takes place three times a week and lasts each time an hour and a half.

The funds allocated for the costs of these schools rises, for each cavalry regiment, to 360 francs per year, or 30 francs a month. They are a bit lower for infantry regiments.

	Per month
The general monitor (a noncommissioned Officer) receives	10 francs
Four particular monitors (officers or soldiers) receive a franc per month	4
There remains, per month, for purchase of paper, pens, ink, pencils, slates, books, geographic charts, etc.	16

So the officer director lacks the most indispensable materials to prepare for the course. He is very fortunate to have at his disposition some old books and some bad maps. If he wishes to perform conscientiously the function to which he is assigned, he is forced to buy the necessary books out of his own pocket.

In the largest number of regiments, the general inspectors have indicated in their reports to the minister of war the poor state of the schools. Instead of going to the cause of this bad situation and destroying it, one is compelled to send superb circulars to excite

the zeal of colonels. There one pompously recapitulates the innumerable advantages of civil instruction. One speaks of establishing schools on large bases, to make of the soldiers instructed citizens, and capable of rendering new services to the fatherland on their return under the paternal roof. The colonel addressed publishes an order of the day on the benevolent intentions of the minister and demands from the officer in charge of the schools a report on the improvements needed. The report having been made and sent, the order of the day forgotten, and the circular placed in the files and everything resuming its accustomed progress after a few days, and so on until the next inspection.

To remedy the sad state of the regimental schools, acts are needed and not words.

The officer in charge of civil instruction performs all the military functions of his rank. The direction of schools, the course for noncommissioned officers, which he makes and prepares himself, are added to his military service, already hard. He receives no supplement of salary for this supplement of work. Seeing how one makes little of this employment, the officers regard it as forced labor, which they refuse or avoid.

In contrast, the captain charged with military instruction has no other function and receives a quarter addition to his ordinary pay as captain. He is surrounded with respect, and his advancement is more rapid than that of other officers.

The professor-officer is not consulted in any matter when there are ranks to award to soldiers or to noncommissioned officers. He has no list of candidates for promotion to present. He has no compensation for those that have made progress.

On the contrary, the captain military instructor proposes the young soldiers and noncommissioned officers who satisfy him. If there are some chevrons to grant, he is called and consulted on the merits of the candidates. The inspector general does not make the tables of advancement for the noncommissioned officers or soldiers, and even for the subalterns and lieutenants, except on the notes he furnishes.

A difference of action arises from this difference of position. The professor-officer, already fatigued by his military service, sees all his evenings taken by school, and he barely gets recognized for it. The captain instructor is always free by midday, and for this morning's work he is regarded as the most useful man in the regiment and is treated as such. So we see it almost every time: on the one side negligence, on the other, zeal.

It is the same for noncommissioned officers and soldiers. They follow with ardor military instruction that leads to advancement. They neglect civil instruction, of which none sense the utility, and is also takes up times that should be dedicated to repose, after the fatigues of the day.

Note 92 [Vol. 2, Note 39, 1836 edition]

On the use of the military in public works

In 1835 the government tried to apply the army to public works in the construction of the strategic routes of the West. Enterprises, composed of 320 to 350 workers, were established in four départements. The results were unsatisfactory. In Mayenne, the Vendée and Maine-sur-Loire, the work cost 14, 15 and 30 % above the plan. In Loire-Inférieure, it cost 10 % less, but this profit turned into a loss if one compensated the [Corps] of Bridges and Roads, or added those of the War Ministry, which continued the salary and rations of the soldiers, and which paid the cost of their camp. Finally, a contractor would certainly have given a rebate on the plan.

This poor success could be attributed to various causes:

1. The soldiers remained at work for too little time to adjust to it: they worked for five consecutive months, it is true, in Loire-Inférieur, but they were on the job for only two and a half months in the Mayenne and the Vendée, and only one month in Maine-et-Loire.
2. It is sensible only to compose the enterprises with men of good will, sufficiently robust, and yet nothing was done for this in the three départements where there was lack of success. A part of our army has come from the countryside, and they are proper for working on preparing the ground. The other part came from towns, and they have little taste to dig dirt. Taking the corps as a whole, without distinguishing between well and weak, of good will or not, one inevitably had heterogeneous operations, where the energies of some were paralyzed by the softness of others. In the département of Loire-Inférieur, the local military authority chose men of good will.
3. They organized a staff that was too large relative to the workers, and it would be easy to reduce it by half, which would have saved costs.
4. The bases of evaluation of work, imposed by the war administration, were truly inadmissible. They demanded that each soldier be paid as much as an ordinary worker, and the [Corps] of Bridges and Roads was wrong to agree to it.
5. Finally, it is to be doubted that the officers showed themselves animated by the same zeal and vigilance they showed in military service. The officers appear to desire little use of the army in public works. Inadequate to direct their soldiers in this new service, it is human nature that they do not favor order of things where they believe themselves to have inferior importance.

In 1835 the Saint-Germain Railroad Company also employed soldiers, and they repeated it in 1836 on a larger scale. The authority has refused to provide only volunteers; they had to accept all of those sent, by whole companies. It also did not permit that they be paid by task, they have to be paid by day, and all equally. They have banned the agents of the company giving any additional pay to the most active military, and when soldiers were recalled from the shops because they have left them in disorder, they continued to be on the payroll. In short, incentive was destroyed. So the preparation of the ground cost during the first three weeks was 120 % more than if they had been done by civilian workers, and 60 % during the last three weeks. After six weeks of work, the needs of service had obliged the authority to remove the soldiers; the experience was hence suddenly interrupted.

In 1833, the price per day of the soldiers employed by the Saint-Germain company was 1.25 francs, or 7.50 francs per week. They retained 1.65 francs for the military service from which they were dispensed, so that 5.85 francs remained to them, on which they retained an additional 3 francs of profit for the whole, as if the application of the army to public works had no purpose but to round out the regiments that it had diminished. The arrangement of 1836 was better. The price of a day's work was raised to 1.30 francs, or 7.80 francs per week; the mass continued to absorb 3 francs, but nothing was retained for the service. It was ordinarily set at 40 centimes a day, and for Sunday the soldier touched 2.40 francs. The company paid them 40 centimes ordinarily even when weather prevented them from working. By reason of this expense, for reason

of the indemnity to the officers, noncommissioned officers and drummers, and some items of equipment furnished by the company, the daily salary of a working soldier ended at 1.55 or 1.60 francs. A terrace worker received 2.25 to 2.75 francs.

If it is permitted to draw a conclusion from these experiences, it is that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to apply the army to public works except through the state.

In order that the application of the army to public works should be useful, even in enterprises undertaken by the state, it would be necessary that officers be capable of cooperating there, and for that it would be necessary to modify education at Saint-Cyr, which is not impossible. At the school at West Point, for example, the officers of all arms understand the art of the military and civil engineer. One could then also organize regiments composed of select persons, commanded by officers of engineers or artillery, among whom the general staff is less numerous except by custom. Fifteen or twenty thousand men thus organized will suffice to execute amounts of considerable work.

A certain means to prevent all misinformation between engineers and officers will consist of restoring completely the execution of some grand communications to the corps of military engineers or to those of artillery. The officers of these corps have, as I have already said, all the required knowledge, and they are currently without an occupation worthy of them.

As with any great innovation, the application of the army to public works would remove many difficulties and encounter much resistance, but I am persuaded that one exposes himself to great embarrassment and bad delays in undertaking the fine work of navigability and viability of the territory without creating this resource. With soldier-workers, who can be moved easily in masses, one could, in a given time on a given point, execute quantities of work out of all proportion with that possible to obtain from ordinary workers.

Note 93 [Vol. 2, Note 40, 1836 edition]

Property of Women and Minors in England

In England the fortunes of women and minors are under the protection of the Courts of Equity, which, when there is any reason to doubt the probity or prudence of a husband or tutor, intervenes in the administration of these fortunes and orders administrators to pay to their account all the sums touched by them.

It is assured that the sum of values thus administered by means of the courts of equity rises to a billion, of which a very large part is placed in public funds.

This system is not only advantageous for women and minors, it adds a novel element of the public credit to all those who already hold the country.

Note 94 [Vol. 2, Note 41, 1836 edition]

On Support given to Banks by the Government

One has seen the proof in 1831-32, when the Bank of France gave its support to commerce. If the Bank had felt that the treasury was behind it, it would have been much less timid. It would not have failed commerce at the precise moment when commerce needed it most.

Some weeks after the July Revolution, the brothers Messieurs Péreire proposed the creation of a *company of mutual insurance for discounting the effects of all accounts falling due, and for advances made to commerce and industry on good guarantees of*

whatever type. One of the principal traits of this project consists in the government included in a number of subscriptions for 50 million, with this clause, that if the losses exceeded the benefits, the government would support them only to the amount of 25 million.

Everything inclines one to believe that, with good administration of the resources of the company, the state would lose little or nothing, and that many existences would be saved in this way.

Note 95 [Vol. 2, Note 42, 1836 edition]

Banks of the North, South and West

In 1811, of the 88 local banks, the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York counted 55, that is, two thirds, although they had only 2,700,000 inhabitants out of 7,300,000, that is, a bit more than a third of the population. On 1 January 1834 states situated to the north of the Potomac had 414 banks with a capital of 565,000,000 francs. The states of the South and the West counted only 88 banks with a capital of 324 million, which is reduced by half if one suppresses the banks of some commercial centers, such as New Orleans, Charleston, Richmond and Mobile. The population of the states of the North was about 6,500,000, those of the South and the West were 7,500,000. The respective forces of the banks was hence in a relationship of 4 to 5, while the populations were related at 6 to 7. The states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, those of all the Union where the genius of the Mother Country is best preserved, possessed 174 banks, that is a third of the total number of banks, with a capital of 220 million, that is, equal to a fourth of the total of the banks (907 million), while their population was only a thirteenth of that of the country.

Meanwhile the development of the growing of cotton and the commerce it has created has tended to reestablish the balance in favor of the South and West. Very large banks have been created in the metropolises of the South, with centers in the interiors of the states.

On 1 January 1835, the banks of the states north of the Potomac had a capital of 632 million, while the capital of those of the South and West was 400, which is to say that the North preserves its advantage. On 1 June 1835 several large banks of the South, including among others that of New Orleans (*Citizens' Bank*), who made advances on agriculture, were no longer operating.

Note 96 [Vol. 2, Note 43, 1836 edition]

Citizens' Bank in Louisiana

In Louisiana, the charters of several of the banks have made it a law to loan a large part of the capital to the *inhabitants* or planters. The Citizens' Bank is thus restrained to advance half of its capital to landed proprietors; they would also profit in that they are shareholders without having paid anything. The bank had borrowed the whole of its effective capital, \$6 million (32 million francs) from European capitalists (the Hope house of Amsterdam) at 5 percent. Its nominal capital is double that. In return it has given a mortgage on the goods of the planter shareholders, and on this mortgage the state of Louisiana has joined its own guarantee. Each planter shareholder has the right to a credit for the half of his subscription at the rate of 6 percent. The other half goes to the

operations of the institution as a commercial bank. The planter shareholders have additionally their own part of the profits.

One sees that this system rests on the ability of legislation on mortgages.

Note 97 [Vol. 2, Note 44, 1836 edition]

[Published in *Journal de débats politiques et littéraires*, 11 November 1833, "Variétés," pp. 3-4, "Des Hypothèques," signed "M." A prior article "De l'agriculture française — Hypothèques," signed "M.," was published *ibid.*, October 10 1833, "Variétés," pp. 3-4, but not republished in the book edition.]

On the Mortgage Regime

The mortgage system currently in force in France reposes on two wise principles, certainly the most advanced in this matter: the principle of publicity and the principle of purge. These two principles are written in French legislation since the edict of 1771. There are great nations in Europe, starting with England, that do not yet have its benefit. The principle of publicity for mortgages has as its object furnishing to every acquirer of beneficial fund, and every borrower with a mortgage, the means of knowing the mortgage charges weighing on the good that he is buying or is offered in pledge. The purpose of purge is to permit an owner to pay his property clear of all mortgage obligation when he has the desire and the means.

Unfortunately, when it comes to regulate the application of these salutary principles, it encounters grave difficulties, notably when it concerns the interests of minors and women. Through the complications of our judicial forms, through the revisions operating in times of crisis, other exceptions and bad restrictions have been introduced to the laws or in the jurisprudence. Hence, when speaking of excellent principles, one arrives at a practice that one could, without exaggeration, qualify as detestable.

Let us enumerate the inconvenient principles of our mortgage system.

1. The absence of security for the acquirer or the loaner.

This results in the possibility of a *stellionate* [mortgage to two loaners on the same property], or a fraud or an error, perhaps due to the diverse privileges recognized by the law, without any means offered to the acquirer or the loaner to discern the error or fraud, or to discover the privileges that existed at the time of the sale or loan.

These privileges are of various sorts: the treasury enjoys a privilege on the goods of felons, and this privilege has a retroactive effect. There are here privileges of a previous seller who can subsist without anything confirming his existence. There are privileges, temporary to be sure, among coinheritors. There is also one for what juriconsults call the separation of the patrimony. There is one to the benefit of architects, to certain furnishers, to servants. The evil here is not precisely that these privileges exist, while they are not all equally sustainable: the evil is that there is no legal or positive means to recognize them at any given moment. Monsieur Sévin du Mans, the author of an interesting work on this matter, relates:

Under this relation, the vices of our mortgage system are such that, speaking rigorously, there is no proprietor who cannot be criticized about

real property he possesses. Nor is there a lender on mortgages who has certitude not to lose the money owed.

One may see, by reaction, how much such a state of things is bad to the seller as well as to the loaner.⁴⁴⁵

2. Legal mortgages, that is, secret. — These are mortgages operating without written agreements, indefinite, established for the profit of a minor on all the goods of the tutor and to the profit of the wife on all the goods of the husband. Certainly, the rights of the minor and those of a wife are sacred, but there is reason to ask whether it is not possible to guarantee them without withdrawing them from circulation, without striking the goods of the husband or tutor with sterility, so far as credit is concerned. It would also be good to examine whether an excess of precaution in favor of wives or minors is not prejudicial. Monsieur Savin says: “The present code has pushed solicitude for minors so far that tutelage has become a frightening obligation. Hence, so long as it is not forced, it is not accepted by those who do not have real property that could support this tacit and indeterminate mortgage. The goods of a tutor becomes in effect as inalienable as those of a majorate: it is found to be hit with an incapacity as complete as his pupil; you have two incapacities in the place of one.”
3. The long and ruinous formalities imposed on the creditor to achieve the recovery of his money, that is the procedure of expropriation, and that of the order that concerns repartition, between the creditors, of the product of the sale. — These procedures could last two years, four years, even six years. The costs that they involve could reach an intimidating figure. The causes of nullity, which could force one to start over, are multiplied. The loaner, who had counted on the interest of his funds, is deprived of it during a long delay, and during this same time, he also has frequent expenses to pay. So far as the recipient of the loan, it is rare that the costs of justice do not absorb the

⁴⁴⁵ Monsieur Decourdemanche cites several examples of acquirers or loaners whose interests were compromised by the vices of the current mortgage regime. Here are the most curious:

Monsieur Count of S.-A. possessed a house in Le Mans. He gave viscount of S.-A. the power to sell this house. The latter substituted his wife in his powers.

On 24 September 1818 the viscountess of S.-A., then in Paris, sold the house of the Count of S.-A. to one Sieur Goguet.

[P. 234] On his side, by an act before a notary of Le Mans, on the following 7 October, the viscount of S.-A., by virtue of the same powers, sold this same house to Jean Durand.

The Sieur Goguet had already taken possession; he had absented himself and returned on 14 October.

During this interval, Durand had installed himself in the same house, which he believed he owned; but on precisely the same day, 14 October, affairs had called him into town. That evening, he found the door closed and could not re-enter his home except by climbing over the back wall. On the 15th, Goguet, in turn, saw Durand refuse him entry.

Both of them appeared before the courts.

Each of them was ignorant that there was a sale other than his own.

Goguet, whose title was the first in date, was maintained in his possession to the exclusion of Durand.

(Decision of the Court of Angers of 11 November 1818. — *Journal du Palais*, vol. LVI, page 273.)

remnant of his property. This is the singular result of a system created by the desire to favor owners of real property!

The remedy of these diverse inconveniences would consist:

1. In regulations that render obligatory the statement of all changes undergone in the property as a result of sales, death, and judgments, that defined the privileges and render them apparent, of the sort that every new acquirer, or every loaner, can verify the state of the property he bought or that is given him as a pledge. He is obligated, for this, to render obligatory, under pain of nullity, the deposit of certain acts in the bureaus of mortgages. In the current state of things, every acquirer would be obliged to make known, within two months, under pain of forfeiture, every non-registered owner of a legal mortgage, that is conserving the rights of women and minors. For, if the purge has power against women and minors, who are of all the creditors those that the law is most concerned to protect, why refuse them power against the unknown rights of a preceding seller or any creditor whatsoever? And why is the formality of the purge not accessible except to a new acquirer? Why is it forbidden to an old proprietor?
2. In the adoption of means that will determine the legal mortgages, or rather those that guarantee the rights of women and minors without hindering the property and without subjecting it to transactions. In this regard, one could introduce an analogous regime to that which exists in England, giving tribunals the right to constrain husbands and tutors, in case of suspicion, to place the values of properties pertaining to women and minors among the 5 percent rents or in the chest of deposits and consignations.⁴⁴⁶
3. In the simplification and abbreviation of the procedures of expropriation and order.

The mortgage regime of the United States varies according to states. In Pennsylvania and the state of New York, it is simple, but it presupposes the registration of pieces that, here, pay enormous amounts, and in America only support a tax of one or two dollars (5.33 to 10.67 francs).

It has been proposed with a great deal of reason, it seems to me, to call geometry to the aid of writing and to place on plans all the changes that take place in property. The conservation of the plans of the cadaster [property map], which is necessary for other reasons, and whose power has been ignored to the present, permits us to realize this idea with little cost. The works of Monsieur de Decourdemanche on this question are of great interest. His ideas have been put into practice in the commune of Chesnay (Sein-et-Oise), over a period of fifteen years, during which the land there has shown all mutations and multiple transfigurations, and the test has been a success.

The state of the current legislation of mortgages thwarts all the transactions to which land is subject, and in certain cases it makes them impossible. One knows to what degree the division of the soil has been pushed in France over the last fifty years. In

⁴⁴⁶ See Note 92.

some localities, particularly in the area of Paris, it has come to the point, not only where the culture of the plow has been abandoned and it is necessary to cultivate by hand as it was 3,000 years ago, but also that property can no longer support the least legal operations. There is a good number of properties that are not worth the trouble of passing an act, and in consequence they have ceased legally to exist. There are parcels paying less than 5 centimes. There are already some worth even less. There are those of which the revenue is less than the cost of an advertisement by the collector of contributions. A parcel taxed at 5 centimes is worth between 15 and 20 francs. Now, in the current state of things, to purge this property, even incompletely, to carry it out would involve a fee of around 80 francs. In order to assure, even imperfectly, the ownership of one of these parcels would involve an expense quadruple what it is worth. This explains why so little reconstitution is taking place, and I am not speaking of the large properties but middling ones, of a dimension adequate to apply good agricultural methods.⁴⁴⁷

So far as the direct economic influence of a good mortgage legislation goes, it is easy to calculate. This results from the official information provided two years ago by the director general of registration saying that the total of mortgages on real property has risen to 11 billion 233 million, not counting legal mortgages. On the other side, it was stated, during the open investigation on the creation of the mortgage fund, that the real rate of interest on mortgages varies from 5 to 12, and even to 15 percent. The average rate does not currently appear to be below 8 percent. On this account, real property pays an annual mass of interest equal to 900 million. Every measure that improves mortgage legislation will cause a portion of this enormous charge to disappear. A reduction of 1 percent on the rate of interest would produce a relief of 11 million. It is a great deal more, certainly, than real property could expect from a reordering of the budget.

Note 98 [Vol. 2, Note 45, 1836 edition]

New Banknotes

The Bank of Lyon, recently created, is to have its bills circulate not only in Lyon but throughout the South. For this result, independent of ordinary bank bills, which are bearer bills and payable on view, they issue bills on order and with a determined exchange that Lyon businessmen give in payment to their correspondents, endorsing them themselves. By means of this endorsement, these order bills will be accepted as cash money, and thus they accustom those in the country to have confidence in bank titles. Not being porter bills, these bills would not be liable to theft as is the case with ordinary banknotes. This is in imitation of the *post bills* of the Bank of England.

It has also been proposed to issue a third variety of bills that will carry interest and will be payable on view or exchange. They offer individuals who keep metallic money and to laboring classes who often conserve hidden the products of their savings, in silver or in gold, a convenient means of placing their savings. By this the banks extend their operations as banks of deposit. The country will derive a great advantage from it,

⁴⁴⁷ According to a recent work by Monsieur Léon Faucher (*Revue des Deux Mondes*) on the state of property in France, in the commune of Argenteuil, near Paris, there are parcels of a half-*are* in size, of a quarter *are*, 2.50 meters by 10 meters, that is, of the size of a room, and of which the revenue is 9, 6, and 3 centimes, which supposes a tax of a centime. One often sees on posters of sale around Paris and in the départements, parcels whose price is 6, 8 and 10 francs. And the indispensable charge for the acquisition to become legal is around 110 francs, including 80 francs purge.

because while today all the metallic capital is disseminated and dormant in the strongboxes and money boxes, entirely unproductive for the society and those who possess it, will find it concentrated in banks, in the hands of which it will fructify.

In the bank project proposed by Messieurs Pereire in September 1830, bonds will be issued to the bearer producing interest at the rate of a centime a day, 200 francs a year. This bank will never have to have any other paper money.

Note 99 [Vol. 2, Note 46, 1836 edition]

[*New Law on local roads*]

The session of 1836 finally produced a fine law on local roads; they have been allocated a sum that will be 50 million and perhaps more, in money or in work.

Note 100 [Vol. 2, Note 47, 1836 edition, without title]

Zeal of Localities for Public Works

The general councils of the départements have finally showed very fine zeal for public works, particularly for their local roads. The département, such as that of Indre-et-Loire, has borrowed a sum of 2,500,000 francs. Other départements have borrowed one million, 1,500,000 francs, etc. La Charante, Le Cher, etc., are among the most distinguished départements.

The town of Dieppe has also given an example that merits being set apart. It has offered to contribute to the establishment of a railroad from Paris to the sea, with a branch to Dieppe, by an annual sum of 120,000 francs, sufficient to cover the interest of 3% for a loan of 4,000,000 francs.

[First published in the 1836 book edition]

XXIX

SOCIAL BETTERMENT (II)

Augusta, Georgia, 3 September 1835

It is truly not possible to foresee the day when the Negroes of this country will be free. There is an abyss here between black and white. The difficulty is not precisely financial; for, if one applied the process that the English employed on their colonies to the 2 1/2 million American Negroes, it would require a billion and a half, a sum that is beyond the resources of North America. A smaller sum would be needed if one gradually introduced an emancipation operation, to make it slower and more certain than in the English islands, but there is another obstacle against which gold and silver can do nothing.

The English nature is exclusive. English society is divided up into an endless number of little coteries, each of them jealous of those in front of them and disdainful of the one following. England in the land that is its home is what it remains to the rest of the world, an island.

This exclusiveness of coteries is found in the relations of race to race. The Englishman is susceptible to fraternize neither with the redskins nor with the blacks. Between them and him there is no relationship of sympathy, and reciprocal confidence is not practicable. Anglo-Americans have preserved this default of their fathers while exaggerating it. For those of the North as well as the South, the black is a Philistine, a son of Ham. In the states without slaves, as well as in those where slavery is admitted, the rehabilitation of the black appears impossible.

An American of the North or the South, whether rich or poor, ignorant or learned, avoids contact with blacks as if they had the plague. Free or slave, well or badly clothed, the black or the person of color is always a pariah. They refuse him entry to hotels, in the theater and on the steamboat, he has a marked area far from whites; he is excluded from commerce, since he can place his feet neither in the stock exchange nor in the offices of banks. Everywhere and always he is eminently impure. Thus treated as a vile being, it happens that he almost always becomes degraded.⁴⁴⁸

In Europe, blacks or people of color have occasionally held high positions. There is no example of that in the United States. The Republic of Haïti has two accredited representatives in France, but it has none in Washington. It is told in New York of a young Haïtian, a near relative to one of the ministers of de Boyer, having received a good education in France, having come to New York was not able to be admitted to any hotel, whose money was refused at the theater, was sent to the door of a room on a steamboat and was obliged to depart without being able to speak to anyone. In Philadelphia, I was told of a man of color who had a large fortune (a very rare fate in this class) who once invited some whites to dine with him, but who took no part in the festivities, and served

⁴⁴⁸ Americans recognize that the prejudice on skin is much stronger with them than with the English. A few days ago I assisted in the performance of a piece of American theater entitled *Jonathan Doubtkins*, in which the hero, a native of Philadelphia, arriving in London, finds himself, through a series of mishaps, dining with the domestics instead of in the salon with his correspondent. Immediately, a black chambermaid comes without ceremony and sits down at the same table, without the sommelier or the maître d'hôtel stopping her. Jonathan, more susceptible, gets up immediately, seized with indignation, and refuses to continue the meal.

his hosts himself. At dessert, he sought to sit with them, but accepted their protests. At the end of 1833, in the New England state of Massachusetts,⁴⁴⁹ if I have a good memory, a man of color found him on a boat with his wife, and when he wished to enter the *ladies' cabin*, the captain sent him away. From that point there was a suit between himself and the captain. He wanted to have the court decide if it was permitted to free men of color, conducting themselves decently, to enjoy the same rights as whites in a state where they were recognized as citizens. He won in the first instance but the court of appeals supported the captain.

The various peoples of the great Christian family, after having received over many centuries the education that the successors of Saint Peter distributed across the world, have chosen in the community of Christianity a principle in harmony with their temperament and which forms the basis of their existence. We French, a very-Christian people, have given the preference to the principle of universal charity.⁴⁵⁰ In our eyes there are no longer any gentiles. Our positive attitude toward strangers grows in proportion of the distance squared that separates their country from ours. The Spaniards, a chivalric people, have adopted with true ardor every particularity of the cult of the Virgin,⁴⁵¹ which is a more modern institution in Catholicism. The Protestant peoples are gathered under the principle of the individual conscience. That is almost all that they are willing to accept from Christianity. They have denied all the successive developments that the Church added to the faith of the apostles. They have even rejected a part of what Christ proclaimed concerning Jewish theology. Among the Protestants, the Yankees are those who have pushed it the furthest, to the point of reversal. With very little difference, they have become Jews and returned to the Law of Moses. It is the formulas of the Old Testament that they prefer to invoke; they borrow from them for their names, and among the peculiarities that strikes a Frenchman, in New England, the strangest is this multitude of Jewish names, such as Phineas, Ebenezer, Judah, Hiram, Odariah, Ezra, etc., etc., that one sees in writings and on posters.

Since the religion of peoples is the regulator of their sentiments, the Yankees have returned to Judaism and have found themselves to have, like the Jews, the exclusive sentiment of race that was already inherent in their insular origin. The fact is that their religious faith perfectly accommodates the abasement of the blacks. To them the black appears to be an extremely inferior product of creation. The idea of assimilation, even imperfect, between the white and the black revolts his entire being. The mixture of the two races, which they qualify as *amalgamation*, appears to them to be an abominable scandal, a sacrilege that merits being punished as once was punished the weaknesses of the Hebrews with the daughters of Moab.

The freeing of the black comprehends here two measures: one is material, that is the master's manumission. This would be easy if one offered a sufficient indemnity to the proprietors, and the land was wealthy enough to pay it. The other measure is entirely moral, consisting of the real recognition of the rights of the black, in his graduated

⁴⁴⁹ See Note 102,

⁴⁵⁰ It is for that reason that the French nation has never felt alive except when mingled actively in the affairs of civilization, and that it was never satisfied in its heart until it had played a great role externally.

⁴⁵¹ This is the reason that the English-style representative regime cannot succeed with the Spanish. It is too prosaic, too positive for a people to whom grand sentiments and enthusiasm are as necessary as the air it breathes, and which, once deprived, falls into a lethargy interrupted by convulsions.

admission to the personal privileges of the white, will encounter insurmountable obstacles in the North, as in the South, and will perhaps encounter more repugnance in the North than in the South.

The principal obstacle to the freeing of the blacks is also of the moral order insofar as it concerns the slave. To be admitted to liberty, it is necessary that he be initiated into the dignity and the duties of a man, that he work to pay his tribute to society and to maintain his existence and that of his own honorably, that he pledge to obey other than under the threat of the whip. It is necessary that he bear in himself the sentiments constitutive of personality and, above all, of family. It is necessary that he wish and know how to be a son, husband and father. There are no irrevocable rights to liberty but those that are measured to be practiced with profit for the society and for himself. Slavery, as odious as it can be, is still a form of social order. It must be conserved there where every other social form is impossible; it must disappear there where the inferior is ripe for a more favorable condition.

Concerning the proletarians of Europe, the difficulty is of the same variety as those who seem to see the emancipation of the American slaves as forever impossible. It is only a lesser curse, and it is already half conquered. For the proletariat to rise, it is necessary that the superior classes be ready to treat it as something pertaining to the same nature as themselves, and it is necessary for the proletariat to acquire the sentiments of a more elevated order than that of its present condition. It is necessary that it have the desire to be not only happier, but also better. So far as other relationships being established between the bourgeois and the proletarians, it is necessary that both parties wish it with that firm will that ideas and habits reconfirm.

The question of the bettering of the lot of proletarians is therefore essentially of a moral order. A moral revival of society is its precondition. Because whoever says "moral" in the largest sense of the word, is saying "religion." Philanthropy and philosophy do not have the force to act through human morality except when they borrow from religion. Philanthropy is the shadow of religion that has departed; philosophy is not so much moralizing as it is the dawn of a religion that his being reborn. It is to religion alone that it is given to touch so profoundly the heart of all classes and to illuminate spirits so vividly, so that the rich and the poor conceive new ties among themselves and determine to observe them.

History shows us that civilization, in its successive phases, has gradually bettered the lot of the inferior classes; it also attests that each of these great changes operating among the masses was preceded by a moral revolution consummated or prepared by religion, and accompanied by a transformation in religion itself. It was religion that caused the irons to fall from the slaves; it was religion that, bit by bit, disengaged the serfs from the glebe. The principal emancipators of the French Revolution were only the precepts of Christianity practiced by those who were not Christians, and the revolutionaries recognized in Christ the epithet, glorious in their eyes, of *sans-culotte*.

Thus, in order for the efforts of the bourgeoisie in favor of the people to be energetic and sustained, it was necessary that it be directed by a religious inspiration. In order for the proletarians to be surely delivered of their inferiority, it is necessary that religion had solidly posed them at this level to which we have often seen them raised for an instant, by a sublime élan. For the bourgeoisie is not believing. If in the superior ranks of this class the anti-religious philosophy of the eighteenth century loses its

proselytes today, it will win double that in the lower ranks. Incredulity has lowered by a notch: its troop has lost quality but increased in quantity. Irreligion infiltrates the proletarians of the towns, disposing them to revolt and rendering them incapable of supporting liberty regularly. When we have the routes, when the schools teach everyone to read, which will be soon, you will see, if you do not look out, irreligion invade our countryside and infest it.

Christianity, or at least Catholicism, seems about to test us with a general desertion. And still how far we are from losing Christian principles that one thinks have been eliminated, all the time reaffirming the elements of liberty and well-being for the masses! We French are a very-Christian people in the sense that we believe in the unity of the human family, and we witness this by our benevolence toward all nations, but it seems that we expel outward all the heat that Christianity has developed in our souls. We, the apostles of the fraternity of the peoples, we have not yet caused to penetrate into the relations of class to class the principle of the fraternity of humanity. We, bourgeois, sons of freedmen, we believe that the proletarians, sons of slaves, are different from us. We still have at the bottom of our hearts a remnant of the old pagan yeast. We do not profess any more, as Aristotle did, that there are two distinct natures, free and slave, but we act as if we were nourished with that very doctrine. We are now neither the fathers nor the elder brothers of the peasants and workers. In the whole of our relations with them, we are always their *masters*, and their severe masters.

And unhappily, as society blunders toward the adventure, and, running along the edges without a compass, is exposed to catastrophes that a religious direction would alone have the power to prevent, religion does nothing to retake its empire and seize again the rudder. In the midst of peoples who charge ahead at all costs, Catholicism holds itself immobile, silently enveloped in its robes, arms crossed and eyes fixed on the heavens. The Church supported with heroic resignation all the anguishes of revolutionary torment: it allowed itself to be whipped with rods like [Saint] Justus; it was put on the cross as was he, and from there it did not open its mouth to but to pray to God for its executioner. But the sufferings of Justus saved the weak and changed the world; no sign indicates now that recent sufferings of Catholicism will save anything. We do not see that any thought of reorganization for the humanity that thirsts for it has been reported from the tomb in which it was thrown, believing it dead.

The Roman Church is what it has been for four hundred years, but in the meantime the world has become quite different — it is worth more in virtue, and it has broken with the past with a will and does not wish to return. If civilization must be constituted in a new form, as everything announces its preparation, religion, which is the commencement and the end of society, the basis of the edifice and the key to the vault, religion must also renew itself. Will this be the first time that Christianity will have to bend its forms and rule to the instincts and tendencies of the peoples it had to moralize?

Certainly, we will never rally, we French, around any of the varieties of Protestantism; it is too dry and too cold for our passionate hearts, too straightened for our expansive souls. I do not ask more than to admit that our separation from Catholicism is only a family quarrel that will end in plain embarrassment; but, in order to have a rapprochement, it is necessary for it to come at least half way. It will not be the Catholicism of the Council of Trent that will have the gift to move us and to turn our intelligences. It is necessary that *a new branch arise from the stem of Jesse*, and that the

sovereign Pontiff, taking in hand the divine bough as a sign of reconciliation, advance toward the world, surrounded by the Sacred College. It is necessary that in the presence of the world, he, the representative of a dynasty of eighteen centuries, extend to the new powers against which the thunderbolts of the Vatican have gone searing in thunder, and which today defy him and insult him, science and the press. It is necessary that he recognize the rights of industry, against which he has thrown the anathema to this day against the matter. It is necessary that he proclaim that the peoples have reached adulthood, and that he is offering a charter that will constitute a larger Catholicity, a Church truly universal, and that consecrates the rights that the human personality is on measure to practice today. It is necessary that he shake off this eternal envelope of lugubrious austerity with which Catholicism must cover itself in times of misery and sadness, before work multiplied the joys of this world and did not legitimize pleasure. Finally, it is necessary this mysterious oath that the world awaits, which will consecrate the union of the Occident and the Orient, and the harmony of the two natures. For this price, the human race, crying *God wills it!* will fall on its knees before the successor of Saint Peter and demand his benediction. For this price, Catholicism will become again this colossus of authority that it was in the past, since in this way it will become again what it was in the days when our fathers recognized in it the benefactor of humanity.

Here, religion has presided over the exaltation of the lower classes. The democratic movement of the United States has its point of departure in Puritanism. The Puritans came to America, not to search for gold, not to conquer provinces, but to found a Church on the principle of primitive equality. They were the new Jews, as I have already said. They wanted to govern themselves according to the Law of Moses. In the beginning, they completely absorbed the city into the Church. They divided themselves into religious congregations, where all the heads of family were equal, conforming to the Mosaic law, presided over by *elders* and by *saints*, and where all earthly distinctions were, some abolished, others counted as nothing. One of their first concerns was to found, under the inspiration of their beliefs, schools where all children were pupils together and in the same manner. However unequal the riches, they all adopted the same life. The material work to which they were obligated to devote themselves to defend themselves from hunger and from savages, would fortify their habits and their sentiments of equality. For it is New England, exclusively inhabited by the sons of the Puritans, and where their traditions and their faith are preserved intact, that was and is the foundation of American democracy.

Thus American democracy came to constitute itself. In contrast, in 1793, all our efforts to establish one in France were in vain, even if we had been proper to live democratically, since we wanted to found it on the absence of every religious sentiment, on the hatred of religion.

The sentiment and the mores must prepare and inspire the measures of social betterment; the laws must formulate them and prescribe them. Politics and religion must, therefore, join hands in this difficult work. Politics, as much as religion, must transform itself for the progress of civilization, for the salvation of the world.

I admire the results that the political regime of the United States has produced in America. It appears to me, however, that the institutions by means of which popular betterment has been realized here, can come to acclimatize itself among us. There exist natural conditions of harmony between politics and religion that suit one people.

Protestantism is republican. Puritanism is absolute *self government* in religion; it engenders the same in politics. The United Provinces were Protestant; the United States is Protestant. Catholicism is essentially monarchical; in those lands that are Catholic, at least by memory, by habits and by education, if not by faith, a regular democracy is impracticable. The anarchy of the former Spanish colonies proves sufficiently the bitter regrets to which Catholic peoples expose themselves when they want to apply to themselves the political forms of Protestant populations.

Making an abstraction of the necessities of our national character fashioned by Catholicism, it would be foolish to believe that one could expand the domain of liberty in France, and that one could create a popular government by extending the prerogative of the electoral body and the assemblies that derive from election, or even by expanding the circle of electors. The electoral body, such as it is and such as it will be for a long time yet, represents only part of the nation, the bourgeoisie. The immense national majority is not represented; our peasants and our workers do not vote and cannot vote. To adopt universal suffrage would be to lower the electoral dignity to their level, which is today very low, and not to elevate them. Already many impartial people recognize that electors with 200 francs do not form a more liberal body, more disposed to real progress, than was the situation of the electors with a hundred écus. They state that the communes are not better administered today than when the municipal councils were chosen by the king or by delegates.

In augmenting the powers of the electoral body and those of the chamber that is its product, one would be enfeoffing France to the bourgeoisie, that is, a class with what I recognize are solid qualities, but which has the default of generous inspirations in favor of the masses. The bourgeoisie, entirely like the aristocracy, has the exclusive spirit of a caste, but more calculating and more mean. It has less political foresight than the aristocracy, which sees explosions and storms arising from concessions made on purpose.

We in France, in the interest of all, need a supreme arbitrating power between the bourgeoisie and the popular classes. Without the intervention of royalty, the bourgeoisie would perhaps indefinitely improve over the situation of the masses, pushing them to revolt. It is to the royalty that must go the honor of raising the working classes to a better situation, after having filled its perilous mission of containing them in order. Was it not the one that recently enfranchised the communes? Without royalty, the masses would finish by conquering the bourgeoisie and placing it under their feet. Remove the royalty and its lieutenants in Paris on 6 June, and in Lyon in the April days, and tell me to whom would remain the victory? In our land of Europe, where there are great cities, all the bourgeoisie that comes to lack the support of a king or of an aristocracy would be exposed to a destiny worse than that of the American bourgeoisie.⁴⁵²

If we have an aristocracy alongside or above the bourgeoisie, one could hope that the balancing of these two classes and their rivalry would furnish popular interests an occasion to make a sally, exactly as the struggle between the royalty and the barons finished in the institution of a parliament with a House of Commons, that is, by the emancipation of the bourgeoisie.

⁴⁵² And, for example, if the English bourgeoisie move to reinforce royal power with all that it appears to want to take from the aristocracy, it would have paid dearly for the pleasure of having humiliated this proud nobility.

If we should become fervent Catholics again, it would be permitted to hope that the intervention of the spiritual power would obtain, partly by grace, partly by force, the consent of the bourgeoisie and other powers to everything necessary to free the masses from their brutalization, from their misery and their ignorance.

We no longer have an aristocracy; the spiritual power has been tossed aside; nothing else remains as a power to which to confer the cause of the numerical majority: it is the royalty. There is no more royalty possible in France but that demanded as a firm and devoted control over the people. There was loud exclamation when, in response to some oaths by Josephine to the legislative body, Napoléon had the *Moniteur* publish that members of that body did not represent the people, that the people had only one representative, the emperor. I do not pretend at all that what Napoléon said was true, but I do not hesitate to affirm that what he said was how it should be.

The bourgeoisie is represented today by the chamber of deputies, and in the large cities and the départements by various elective councils. Royalty must represent the inferior classes. If all the classes were and could be represented in the deliberating assemblies, which we have made proper for *self-government*, and which, in the bitter struggle of diverse interests, we tolerate a moderating power strongly organized, I comprehend that the royal power would be constrained, since the king does not represent in times of peace anything but only the police in the streets. But all those who cannot vote in the collectives can only be represented by royalty, and if the disenfranchised classes have just complaints to sound, long reclamations to assert, striking retribution to expect, it is indispensable that the prerogative of royalty be strong over against the electoral body and the large or small assemblies that derive from it.

It appears that today, whenever I declare in favor of the royal power, I am preaching the cause of despotism. It is the fault of royalty, particularly in the lands of southern Europe, including France. The spectacle of the scandalous abuses revealed in the shadow of royalty in France and Spain, makes us forget their past services and inspired in the philosophers of the eighteenth century a violent hatred that was easily imparted to the oppressed peoples. The French Revolution was the fruit of this hatred.

The excesses of the Revolution are far behind us, but the doctrine of the Revolution remains almost intact in what it works as a universal solvent. We have retained a disorganizing principle, which an honorable philanthropist naively formulated in these words, "that government is an ulcer." The best spirits are saturated with this, and give in to it unawares. They insert it without doubting even into the administration of public affairs. The persons most involved in conservation are that only by reflection and in the second act; in the first instance we are all revolutionaries. Our first instinct is that the government is an ulcer.

The July crisis in France was a coup aimed at the royal power that was stupidly provoked; it placed authority in the hands of persons who, in their hate against the culpable tendencies of the Restoration, have propagated over fifteen years the theory of *government = ulcer*. It had as its immediate effect the placing of this theory provisionally in fashion. The Chamber of Deputies' majority is formed of students of these ideas, who had not been able, in four or five years, to win influence. Then, since 7 August, it had reason to consider itself the first power of the state. It spied with a jealous and suspicious eye every step of the government and tended to retrace the path along which movement was permitted. The deputies most devoted to sustain royalty against

anarchy multiplied under the steps of the majority's agents, the regulatory dispositions and formalities created by men who were strangers to the practice of affairs, with the intention of warding off the violations of inept and malevolent power (or supposed as such). Authority, forced every day into tighter and tighter limits, will finish, if one continues to press in this way, by being wrapped like an Egyptian mummy in their bandages.

The Chamber of Deputies is not alone in struggling to put the central power into a straightjacket: it is perhaps the one working the hardest to do that. The government, first of all, works by itself with candid resignation to apply the political doctrines of the last century. One will say that they accept the designation of *ulcer*. The government is ready to reduce itself and efface itself, always when it is a question of its most precious prerogatives, those that touch the most vital interests of the country, to positive and direct betterments that cover it with the blessings of the people. It is full of defiance to itself. In difficult cases, it shrinks before a decision, regarding itself fortunate to leave responsibility to the legislative authority: in fact, it convenes the Chambers to administer what it cannot intervene within the administration.

The great governmental institutions, such as the Council of State, the Court of Cassation and the Court of Accounts, today make it a point of honor to contribute for their part to multiply what one supposes to be guarantees and controls, but which are actually limits on the free action of the government. These great bodies struggle in full loyalty to prune ministerial prerogatives, without fear of harassing with delays and embarrassment the march of private and public business. They apply to the government this principle of the constitution of the United States, that all the powers not expressly accorded to an authority by law will not be recognized by them, while in France it is indispensable to proceed according to the contrary principle, that all the powers not formally withdrawn from authority pertain to it in full.

Without doubt the royal authority, by ministers and delegates, will be capable of seizing the right to pronounce on all and intervene everywhere, to leap over the prescribed forms by salutary regulations: but there are still many cases where it abstains where it has a right and a need, or when it cheapens the prerogative that is conferred on it. Abnegation is a virtue that sits well with a monk in the desert: it is not so in politics, particularly with us. On the part of the authority, suicide is an act as reprehensible, as utterly criminal as the most flagrant violence against liberty.⁴⁵³ The French people will never settle for a fake government. It wants to be well governed, but it has a need to be thoroughly governed. Weakness is what they will support the least in their chiefs. Mediocre men who, in their foolish vanity, dare aspire to preside over the destiny of 33 million people, and who, once arrived, remove the power from their backs and let it go, do they not merit, among us, to be accused of an assault on the social order as surely as mad revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries gone insane? Just as they, are they not undercutting the foundations of prosperity and the security of the fatherland?

This is not the place to become immoderately alarmed over the extreme diffusion in France of revolutionary principles and their absolute empire over many eminent people, nor over the present abasement of royal authority. It is impossible that we should not be impregnated with revolutionary ideas as a consequence of a long struggle against a

⁴⁵³ See Note 103.

royalty that was in permanent conspiracy against the national liberties. It was inevitable that the new royalty, inaugurated on the debris of an incorrigible royalty, was immediately wrapped in a narrow prerogative. The people, in its rage, had thrown the scepter and the royal sash into the gutter. How could these august symbols not show the marks? But today that liberty may show a definitive triumph because it has not been soiled with any excess, and that the cry of blood is no longer raised against it, revolutionary passions must be calmed, the ideas of excessive defiance against power must dissipate and give place to those of an enlightened control and a cordial discourse. The cause has vanished, so the effect must also vanish. Already a mass of good spirits begin to say to themselves that by desiring to make authority incapable of doing evil, one renders it incapable of doing good: that the affairs of a great people passionate for unity cannot tolerate a supreme direction impressed with what one called the government, with reason and intention. Royalty has immediate need to be reassured and encouraged to continue, so that the well constituted power of the peoples today not be allowed to a man of some sense, prince or minister, to dream in France of a government of violence, without publicity or control. They feel that some day the scandalous abuse that in other times some princes have done from their authority has become impossible, that after the severe lessons royalty has received and the chalices of bitterness they were made to drink to the last lees, the return of Charles IX and of Louis XV is no more to be feared than that of Robespierre and Marat.

How many regnant families exist who have been visited by assassination or exile? Who is the sovereign to whom the memory of the *Place de la Révolution*, of the palace of Paul I, of Holyrood and Saint Helena, of Ghent and Cadiz, have not given nightmares? Royal responsibility is no longer a vain word; let the kings take their chances.

Monarchical authority rehabilitates itself through its acts. All impartial people are struck by the improvements made by certain governments of Germany that we used to call absolutist, and to regard as the fruits of subjection and obscurantism. The republican principle has produced the United States, but it has also spawned these miserable republics of Hispanic America. If the exclusive principle of royal centralization has created modern Spain and Portugal, it is also what has produced modern Prussia, whose intellectual and material developments may almost bear comparison with those of the American Union.

With us, who are mixed in our origin and by the geographic situation of our France, who participate by our character in the most opposed natures, a tempered monarchy, where the role of royalty will be large, allows us to enjoy the advantages of the one and the other regime, and we will be preserved from the bad chances to which those are exposed who are located at the extremes. Royal power, made wise by the solemn education of Providence, reminds the sentiments to their duties toward the people by the demonstrated wrath of the risen people, regenerated in its blood by the enthronement of another dynasty that holds to the past by its traditions and to the future by its interests, and, finally, stimulated by the double incentive of publicity and control, must be in measure with us to interpret social reform. The new royalty, born from the need for conciliation, can accomplish this reform without destroying lives, by a method a little slower perhaps, but more surely and irrevocably. It is its mission to provoke improvements already realizable,⁴⁵⁴ and to meditate or mature the others and put them

⁴⁵⁴ See letter XXVIII.

into practice when the progress of public morality has prepared the spirits. The royalty is admirably placed to revive and develop all the germs of good institutions strewn in our legislation and in our administrative regulations,⁴⁵⁵ to retouch our laws⁴⁵⁶ with a prudent and firm hand, to direct from the side of progress the mass of public forces, to tune as one the vast and powerful machine of centralization, to call to the great work the support of all superior people, to coordinate and sustain the efforts that good citizens are ready to do and who will in the end attain this goal.⁴⁵⁷

If one admits that such is the mission of the royal power in France, it necessarily follows that we modify our practice of the representative system. Every year, throughout the six months most favorable to the work of the cabinet, the king's ministers are held to their defendant's chair by the Chamber of Deputies. All their time is absorbed in preparing and delivering speeches, or conferring with counsel over incidents of parliamentary polemics. Not a minute is left them for administration, and since the Chamber does not administer, and the country does not administrate itself, the progress of business remains suspended and all the interests of the country are in suspension. In England, long sessions are not inconvenient because the counselors of the Crown do not administer the realm: administration is left to localities or is confided to independent commissions, or finally it resides in the Houses, which clear regularly, at predictable hours, whether for plenary sessions or for special committees. Among our neighbors, parliamentary debates form in effect an accessory of the system. Men who shine there are not the most useful or the most active members of Parliament: they appear on occasion to draw the attention of the public while others do business. Among us, the Chamber of Deputies has nothing else to occupy them, pleasing themselves in discussions where grand orators fight hand to hand. They play scenes of parliamentary boxing matches between able and vigorous athletes. These are dramatic representations for which the public is no more avid than the Chamber itself, but which, if they distract the country, render it neither better nor more enlightened, nor richer, consuming without profit the efforts and intelligence of superior men.

Under the Restoration, these habits matched a need for opinionated resistance to a royalty that misunderstood the rights of the nation. Henceforth they will not serve any more except to a need for teasing, which is less lively in the country itself. If they offer some satisfaction to the passion for liberty, this cannot be anything but a negative and impotent liberty. Active liberty, fruitful liberty, is what France reclaims today, having nothing to expect from a regime that consecrates itself on the side of government to power constituted purely and simply to frustrate, and which places the state in the position so dear to sculptors, which is dragged in two directions by vigorous teams of horses. This liberty organizes itself with us as everywhere else by the gradual development of local and municipal institutions, and not elsewhere: entirely like the principle of authority, which is the other half of the political life of the peoples, will not

⁴⁵⁵ See note 104.

⁴⁵⁶ See note 105.

⁴⁵⁷ Savings unions, the halls of refuge, the agricultural colleges, etc., were created by the particular friends of a good public. A recent law has raised the savings banks to the rank of public institutions, without depriving them of the zeal of the citizens. (See Note 106) The agricultural colleges and model farms also receive the encouragement of the central or départemental authority. The industrial societies, on the model of those in Nantes and Mulhouse, will deserve to excite the solicitude of the government and localities. (See Note 107).

spread over France the benefits that one is supposed to hope from it until one has in the center of the country a more ample and more independent existence.

Under the influence of Protestantism and of the republic, social progress operated through the process of subdivision carried to its extreme limit, individualism: for Protestantism, republicanism and subdivision are all one. Individuals are separated one from another, each isolated in his personality to reinforce it. Or if one is associated, one is not constituted except in restrained associations without any ties among them.

The republic of the United States is indefinitely subdivided into independent republics of diverse orders. The states are republics within the federation, towns are republics within the state, a farm is a republic within the county. Companies of banks, of canals, of railroads, are also distinct republics. The family within the town is an inviolable republic; each individual is, to himself alone, a little republic within the family. The sole militia that will be effective is composed of companies of volunteers that have no relations between them. The religious organization of the country resembles its political and civil organization. The various sects are independent one from another, and most of them tend to decompose indefinitely into entirely isolated factions.

Our national genius wishes in contrast that in France one acts principally under the invocation of principles of association and of unity, which are the characteristics of Catholicism and monarchy.⁴⁵⁸ France is the finest political and administrative unity that exists in the world. Our individual existences have a need to be intermingled, each one with all the others. We love independence, but we do not feel we are living until we become part of a whole. Solitude crushes us. The personality of the Englishman or the American can sustain himself by himself: ours has the need to be bound in a bundle. For the French, a people eminently sociable, which way of association will be the best? But it is necessary that this association be hierarchical. With us, republican association degenerates into anarchy.⁴⁵⁹

I conclude: if I must define the most favorable conditions for progress in France, I would say that it consists in interpreting under religious inspiration, to confer the accomplishment, in most cases, to the constituted authorities, central and local, and above all, to the royalty. To operate principally by means of institutions imprinted with the double character of unity and hierarchical association, immediately comprised in the lap of the grand association, which is the state, or in the shadow of powerful secondary associations that, themselves, will be attached to the state. The more we approach normal conditions, the more success will be achieved, and the sooner we have the pleasure of seeing this dear France prosper within, it will resume the high position it must occupy.

⁴⁵⁸ It is thus that, when one wished seriously to organize savings unions, one tied all of them together with the treasury: they were made an entirely perfect *one*, without paying any attention to their individual independence.

⁴⁵⁹ See Note 108.

Note 101 [Vol. 2, Note 48, 1836 edition]

The Civil Status of Men of Color

In Massachusetts and in most of the states of New England, the black and the man of color are reputed citizens, and, as such, theoretically possess the right to vote. At this moment, they do not exercise this right, whether they are prevented to, or whether they decline on purpose to enter the list of the *poll tax*, which in some states forms the electoral list. The present constitution of Connecticut (1818) excludes them from the electorate. The constitution of the state of New York, dating from 1821, does not place men of color among electors unless they possess real property worth \$250, and that they pay a tax in consequence. The constitution of Pennsylvania indiscriminately makes electors of all free men on the list of taxpayers of the state or the county. Those states of the West that do not recognize slavery admit only whites as electors. One assumes it is the same in the states of the South. North Carolina makes exception to that rule: the convention that met to rewrite the constitution has withdrawn the right to vote from blacks and free men of color. In reaction, they have accorded it to Jews, who previously had been deprived of the rights of citizenship, and who are already citizens in many other states.

Note 102 [Vol. 2, Note 49, 1836 edition]

On the True Notion of Liberty

Envisioning the human species from one point of view, two distinct natures are to be found. From the point of view of liberty, you recognize two deeply marked physiognomies, the one being active, the other passive. In the presence of violence, the first movement of the former is to resist vigorously, and of the other is to resign oneself and abstain. They have an obligation, the one to be restrained and contained, the other to be protected, encouraged and excited. Left to themselves, between themselves, the first, endowed with great external energy, will inevitably oppress the second.

In order for there be no tyranny, it is necessary that the social order recognize a power that interposes itself between these two types and, treating each according to his temperament, employs a bridle for one and a spur for the other.

The *philosophes* and publicists who were writing fifty years ago on liberty or who composed constitutions have almost always lost sight of this distinction of the two types. They supposed that there was only one human type, that all men were equally inclined not to use their elbows freely to the detriment of their neighbors, and that they were equally apt to repel attacks from others without any exterior help, in other words, that they were capable of *self government*. They were as a result too ready to conclude that no moderating power was necessary, eliminating any directing power.

In this they were deceived. The existence of an authority that intervenes between the two types is indispensable, as a general thesis, for the enjoyment of liberty. Without it, there will be license for some, sacrifice for the others, and liberty for no one.

All peoples do not participate equally in these two natures. It seems to me, for example, that among the Americans there is a stronger proportion of the active type than otherwise, which, together with the sentiment of respect for law, permitted them to live in *self government*. Among the peoples of southern Europe, there is a stronger proportion of the passive type, and also a larger inequality of abilities and organization, a circumstance that makes the intervention of a strong power destined to represent and sustain the weak indispensable.

Note 103 [Vol. 2, Note 50, 1836 edition]

On Various Useful Institutions

Among the institutions currently in existence in France that are capable of being extended and multiplied, one may point out:

1. Councils of Wise Men [*Prud'hommes*]: there are only 68 [48 in the 1836 edition] of these in France.⁴⁶⁰ Up to the present day they are reserved for manufacturing centers and special factories. It would not at all be inconvenient to create them in all towns where there is industrial activity with any importance and a worker population adequately large, even when there is no manufacturing, such as is the case with ports.

Here was the result of the work of the council of Wise Men in all of France in five consecutive years 1830-31-32-33-34:

Number of cases brought before the councils	60,555
Cases resolved	58,330
Cases not resolved	2,159
Judgments rendered in the last resort	1,035
Judgments rendered in the first resort	654
Judgments appealed	56

2. Societies of Mutual Help;

3. Savings funds and industrial societies, which will be dealt with later (Notes 104 and 105).

4. Life insurance covering a multitude of combinations of personal and familial situations. It is found extensively in England, seldom in France. The government has the means of having its advantages appreciated by the working classes and other classes who would wisely make use of it. It could even be organized on an individual's account.

5. Loan fund. In Lyon there is a loan fund with an endowment of 190,000 francs that was established since 1831. In times of crisis, it makes advances to head of shops on their tools, permitting them to use them: in other times, they would have pledged them to usurers. The rate of interest collected by the loan fund of Lyon is from 5 to 6 %. The *Monts de Piété* (public pawn shops) take

⁴⁶⁰ Here is a list of towns where they exist, in alphabetical order: Abbeville, Amiens, Alençon, Armentières, Aubusson, Amplepuis, Alais, Avignon, Bapaume, Bédarieux, Bar-le-Duc, Bolbec, Choliet, Caen, Cambrai, Calais, Clermont, Châlons-sur-Marne, Castres, Carcassone, Douai, Elbeuf, Laval, Louviers, Lille, Limoges, Limoux, Lodève, Lyon, Marseille, Mamers, Mulhouse, Metz, Nîmes, Niort, Nancy, Orange, Orléans, Péronne, Roubaix, Réthel, Rheims, Rouen, Saint-Quentin, Strasbourg, Saint-Marie-aux-Mines, Saint-Étienne, Saint-Chamonds, Sedan, Thanne, Turcoing, Tarare, Tours, Troyes, Thiers, Vire, Vienne, Villefranche. [The 48 communes of the 1836 edition do not include Amiens, Alençon, Amplepuis, Alais, Avignon, Beedarieux, Cambrai, Clermont, Carcasone, Louviers, Lodève, Niort, Roubaix, Saint-Quentin, Strasbourg, Saint-Chamonds, Sedan, Tarare, and Troyes, but has Condé sur Noireau and Valenciennes.]

from 9 to 12 %. Monsieur Émile Bères⁴⁶¹ cites the *Monts de Piété* of Metz as taking a rate of 5 to 6 %.

6. The halls of refuge for children.
7. The scientific course for adults and even young boys, benevolent acts by associations or even by individuals. The efforts of Monsieur Charles Dupin have led to the establishment of a large number, although only a few survive today. There was no encouragement for them by the authorities. At Metz, teaching has produced quite remarkable results, thanks to the enlightened support of the municipal authority and to the zeal of some officers of engineers and of artillery, including Messieurs Bergery and Poncelet with distinction. For some [p. 244] time, these courses have attracted the attention of the government. Those given at Paris by the Ignorantin brothers and by the Polytechnic Association merit mention.

The city of Lyon possesses an establishment of this type whose organization is very good and that surpasses all existing analogue institutions in all the towns of France. This is the *École de la Martinière*, founded on a legacy by Major Martin. It cannot fail to supply Lyon with capable foremen. One is rendering a great service to national industry by creating analogue schools in our principal manufacturing towns. This would effectively protect French factories that lack a capable and qualified working population, and it would protect them at comparably little cost.

To give an idea of the utility of the councils of experts, I could do no better than to reproduce verbatim a note that I owe to Monsieur Arlès-Dufour of Lyon, one of the most men who give the most honor to French commerce by their patriotism and intelligence.

Note on the Council of Wise Men of Lyon

The council of Wise Men of Lyon consists of:

Silk section:	5 manufacturers of silk goods (businessmen) 4 heads of shops
Goldsmithing section	2 drawers of gold 2 heads of shops
Cap-making section	2 manufacturers 2 heads of shops
Millinery section	1 manufacturer of hats 1 retail merchant ⁴⁶²

These 19 members hold titles to seats.

There are, besides, 12 additional experts, of which there are eight in the first section and four in the three others. The total number of experts is therefore 31.

⁴⁶¹ *Les classes ouvrières*, 1836, page 76.

⁴⁶² There were no workers owning shops; all workers are employed with manufacturers, by the piece or by the day.

The law requires that the president of the council should be chosen among the businessmen of the first section. That is the sole advantage the manufacturers have.

The experts who are *heads of shops* receive 700 francs a year from the municipal administration to compensate for time lost, which is very considerable, and is worth at least this sum.

The sessions of the tribunal are divided into the large council and the small council. The first meets only on Thursdays, the others on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Two businessmen members and two members who are heads of shops compose the small council.

The purpose of the small council is to advise and to avoid adjudication by the large council. It is an admirable mechanism and produces the greatest good. In case of division among the judges, or a refusal of one of the parties to agree to conciliation, the case is referred to the large council.

No case, without exception, arrives at the large council except after the conciliation effort of the small council fails.

The sessions of the two councils are public, and they are held in one of the finest halls of the city hall.

The law requires that the chartered heads of shops should concur in the election, with the chartered manufacturers. Since at Lyon our heads of shops are not chartered, since they are actually workers working at piece rates for the manufacturers and not for their own account. Hence, since the events of November 1831 a very wise ordinance made an exception for the head of shops in Lyon, and currently, every worker having a shop with four crafts is an elector and eligible. The electors who are heads of shops elect their own experts in an assembly presided over by a delegate of the prefect. On their side, and separately, the manufacturers elect their own.

There are 1,119 workers or heads of shops with at least four crafts registered as electors and eligible.

There are 538 manufacturers of silks who are electors of the manufacturing experts.

The council of experts advises, as much as possible, the manufacturers with their heads of shops or workers, but particularly the heads of shops with their journeymen and their apprentices. The cases of this second category are ten times more numerous than those between the manufacturers and the workers or heads of shops.

They agree unanimously to abide by the equity of the council. Since there is no code, a dead letter, since it is the living law, its balance, in case of doubt, always is in favor of the most unfortunate.

No advocate, solicitor or trickster is allowed to speak before the council.

The parties must explain by themselves, except for reason of a physical impairment, in which a case, they are represented by their nearest relative.

This lack of advocates and men of law makes the council a true lay tribunal. Thus, in 1835, of 3,885 cases presented, 3,714 were withdrawn after conciliation. Only 172 pursued the full course of the jurisdiction of the experts and were terminated by 172 judgments, which taken together did not involve more than 700 francs in fines.

How much time and how much money would 3,885 cases have costs before a normal tribunal, with judges, advocates, solicitors, etc.!

At Saint-Étienne in 1835, the council of wise men completed by conciliation 2,022 cases and *judged* only 17.

After 1830 and 1831, the council, as with all that existed in France, submitted to the influence of the revolution. Some experts heads of shops, good speakers, advocates by vocation, persuaded the workers that justice would not be well and equitably rendered to them until there they were judged according to a written code, and that each would be free to have his case argued by anyone he wanted. This is what these bunglers, or if you prefer, these simple people, called the *free defense*. They finished by making the workers fanatics for the *free defense*. Happily for the workers, the administration remained deaf to these ill-considered demands.

Hence as I said, nine tenths of the cases concerned the workers and their apprentices, and there was at the most a tenth that were disputes between the manufacturers and the workers. These figures say how much time and money was lost for the poor workers, if what they demanded had been conceded. Half of the conciliated cases would certainly not have existed.

Since the events of April, the council of experts held sessions pleasantly and proceeded without passion and with the most laudable zeal to the difficult and fastidious obligations the law imposed. Monsieur Riboud, the president, and all the members, both manufacturers and heads of shops, have the right to public recognition.

Certainly the tribunals of experts and those of the justices of the peace, particularly if their jurisdiction were more extensive, would benefit the justice that the grand tribunals often makes accursed, or close to it. When everyone works, the tribunals of experts must acquire great developments. In this institution and in that of trade unions are the good germs of the future.

Note 104 [Vol. 2, Note 51, 1836 edition]

On some laws to change

Among other points of our legislation relative to the working classes that could be changed, I will cite the legislation on the privileges of workers for the payment of their salaries. Article 2101 of the Civil Code does not cite workers among privileged creditors. To be admitted to the privilege, it is necessary to assimilate them to servants or domestics. Most of the royal courts have ruled against this assimilation. The Court of Cassation pronounced (verdict of 10 February 1829) against the privilege of workers. It is time positively to establish this privilege.

The law of coalitions is often extremely harsh. One may see an example in the verdict of the correctional tribunal of Valenciennes against the workers in the mines of Anzin. The tribunal expressed its regrets at having to punish them. A passive coalition should in most cases be punished very lightly or not at all.

Our legislation on apprenticeship is defective and incomplete. Monsieur C.-G. Simon of Nantes⁴⁶³ issued ideas full of justice on this important object. There are no good workers without a good apprenticeship. The English have sensed that and have acted in consequence.

⁴⁶³ *Observations recueillies in Angleterre*, vol. 2, page 51.

Note 105 [Vol. 2, Note 52, 1836 edition]

On Savings Funds

The session of 1834 produced a very fine law on savings funds. One of the principal traits of this law consists in that all the funds are centralized by means of the public treasury, so that a worker may transport his savings with him from one town to another. Before 1834, there were only 26 savings banks. On 1 July 1836 there were 204. Only five départements are deprived of them. On 30 June 1836, the sums deposited in the savings funds in the public treasury amounted to:

For the banks of the départements,	37,965,445.85 francs
For the bank in Paris	<u>45,633,182.23.</u>
	83,598,628.08 francs

There are 17 banks that are not in a running account with the treasury.

From 1 January to 1 July 1836, the balance of the accounts in the running account in the treasury had risen to 21 million.

These useful institutions were subject to some imperfections:

1. One could tie them with the loan funds similar to those that exist at Lyon.⁴⁶⁴
2. It will be convenient, particularly at Paris, to multiply the days of deposit. Currently, payments are only received on Sundays and Mondays.
3. It is time to take certain measures on the subject of reimbursements. It is not prudent to make the treasury liable to an immediate payment of 80 or 100 million. Some persons think that the reimbursements should take the form of *bons de trésor* [treasury bonds] to the bearer or at order, for 100 francs for example, with a year's due date. One could give these to depositors for 97 francs. This would accustom the working classes to paper money. While in Berlin the people desire bills of a Thaler (3.71 francs), and at Vienna bills of a Florin (1.04 francs), these bills for 100 francs will quickly be accepted in Paris.
4. The savings funds could be authorized to sell to depositors, without commission, bearer titles to a rent, which Monsieur Humann, minister of finance, created in 1834, precisely with a view to the laboring classes. These bonds are for 10 francs, or for other values or actions. By these means, one would remedy the inconvenience resulting from the maximum set for the deposits, and to the graver matter of certain enterprises of joint stock companies through small transactions, by means of which immoral speculators pump the savings of poor men in Paris.

It will also be important to protect the working class and that of domestics from the traps that certain foreign governments set through the intermediary of large scale jobbers. Since 1820 the dilapidated, incapable governments that have succeeded one another in Spain have replaced the mines of Mexico with the savings of the artisans of Paris, which has been attracted by the false offer of interest of 12 or 15 %. This scandalous traffic, which necessarily leads to bankruptcy, was not only promoted by opinion but forbidden

⁴⁶⁴ See Note 102 above.

by the authorities. To combat it the negotiation of the foreign funds in coupons of less than 1,000 or 500 francs of rent was forbidden. By that means one permitted to the wealthy the faculty of disposing of their funds as they wished and to ruin themselves if they wished, and one put out of reach the seduction of the interested and numerous classes who are minors, and of whom the government is the natural and legal tutor. There had been coupons of ten piasters (53 francs) of rent in the Spanish funds created after 1820.

Note 106 [Vol. 2, Note 53, 1836 edition]

Industrial Society of Nantes

A society such was founded In Nantes such as every larger town would wish to have, undertaking the difficult duty of creating a population of workers both intelligent and honest, the *Industrial Society*, six years ago, without any other resources than the gifts of its members and moderate appropriations of the government, the general council of the département, and the municipal council of Nantes, to which Monsieur the Duke of Orléans, in his quality as honorary president, generously supported an annual subscription, this society was opened. For the use of the working class, there were courses in handwriting, design, geometry, the French language, calculation, and linen design. It holds a hundred children in apprenticeship, with parental supervision, stipulating with their masters that they should attend their courses, and they give a monthly stipend to the children. The society has instituted a fund for mutual support that, in response to the deposit of five coppers per week, now guarantees to eight hundred workers the assistance of a physician and support for their families. It distributes prizes to the apprentices distinguishing them for their good conduct and ability. It has begun a library of which the books are lent to the apprentices for free. These benefits toward the working class are not the alms-charity that humiliates, it is a higher philanthropy that elevates and honors. Workers cooperate in the administration of the fund of mutual support. All of this takes place with a few thousand francs. While it is true that patriotism, like faith, can accomplish miracles, and that it, too, knows how to multiply loaves!

Mulhouse has had an Industrial Society for a long time.

Angers is in the process of founding one on the model of Nantes.

Note 107 [Vol. 2, Note 54, 1836 edition]

On Association

We often say in France that we lack the spirit of association, but that is an error. We only lack the spirit of association in the English style. Our national genius being different from that of the English, the system of association that suits them could very likely not be applicable to us without anyone having the right to conclude that we are not proper to association. One could go on and remark that the Frenchman involves himself much better in consuming than in producing: the reverse is true for the Englishman. We associate more easily than they do for pleasure, and they associate more easily than we do for work and business. Even in the material of industry, administration and business, we are very likely to be associated, but the republican character that distinguishes English associations must take place for us in a hierarchical character. The tempered regimental form goes better with us than the parliamentary form, I must repeat, in the domain of

business and industry. We must reserve equality for salons, festivals and pleasures, and restrict ourselves as a republic to that of letters.

The process of hierarchical association is employed with us with the greatest success, and must receive new and numerous applications. Our administrative centralization furnishes the means. Our army is a large hierarchical and democratic association at the same time, since every soldier has his marshal's baton in his knapsack. The workers of our ports are organized according to the principles of a hierarchical association. It is foreseen in their education in their youth, in their advancement during their active life, and in their retirement in their elder years. It is to do justice to the French government that most of the establishments that depend on it are constituted on this principle of foresight and paternal justice.

The fund for invalids of the navy, an admirable institution created by Louis XIV and successively improved since him,⁴⁶⁵ is organized according to an idea of association by means of centralization. It is an association entirely for the benefit of the weak and as a result very popular. The officers, administrators and masters, and around 90,000 sailors and workers in the arsenals, composing together the body of the navy, have an interest in this fund, contribute to its resources, and are associated by it. It is at one time a fund for savings and retirement, it is also a family fund, an emergency fund, a legal guardian, and even to a certain point a bank.⁴⁶⁶

The hierarchical association presents itself as before to offer one the surest means of improving the lot of the working classes without relaxing the social lines. It is possible to conceive of a great number of institutions and practices by which this idea takes on physical existence. But a great change before all the others must take place in sentiments. The sentiment of association must exist at the bottom of hearts before the principle of association is consecrated in the form of positive institutions. And in this regard there is much to be done, because, in our irreligious societies, the solidarity of various classes is very feeble. There is an abyss between the bourgeois on the one hand, and the peasant and worker on the other hand. The bourgeois feels nothing in common between himself and the proletarian. He has come to regard the latter as a machine⁴⁶⁷ that one rents, who serves and whom one pays only during the time that one needs him. In the same way, in the eyes of a great number of proletarians, the bourgeois is an enemy of whom one does not accept superiority except because he is the stronger.

Still, the sentiment of association and solidarity between the various classes of society has made certain conquests in recent times. It reveals its existence in France by institutions of philanthropy and foresight in favor of workers. In some industrial establishments, there are physicians, hospitals for the sick, schools for children, and sometimes even rest homes for the elderly. They keep watch over the morality of workers, they maintain this by means of a distributive justice that punishes and

⁴⁶⁵ The decree of 13 August 1810 incorporated this fund in the treasury. The ordinances of 22 and 29 May reestablished the old state of things.

⁴⁶⁶ See the *Revue encyclopédique*, number for January 1833, article by Monsieur P. Gazeaux.

⁴⁶⁷ Monsieur [Jean] de Sismondi [1772-1842, Swiss economist], in a recent work (*Essai sur les Constitutions des peuples libres*, vol. 1, page 293) describes with eloquence the new tyranny that tends to establish itself in the world as a result of the weakening of the moral bond, which has as a result that men who consider themselves strongly honest in most of the acts of life, especially in industry, act not as if they were associated with people but rather as if they were juxtaposed with machines.

compensates. It would be desirable that these dispositions should be, at least in part, prescribed for corporations that are formed for the exploitation of manufacturing industries.

In some establishments, workers form a body, a hierarchy. Administrative positions are reserved by means of a gradual advancement to which those who stand out by their zeal and ability. I could cite in this context, the mines of Litry (Calvados), the thread mill of Gisors, and several other factories and mills.

The association could also be substituted with universal advantages in the place of competition among the entrepreneurs of industry. They could pool their various expenses, coordinate their work, and moderate production to their profit, without organizing as a coalition of monopolists. That is what is happening in the slate quarries of Angers: at the same time that they guarantee their existence, threatened by unrestrained competition, the owners of these works have met their 2,000 workers and resolved:

1. That as much as possible they would cause the usurious sale of bread and meat practiced by subordinate employees that was holding the workers to ransom;
2. That a hall of care would be established for children, as well as a free elementary school. It was even proposed to take measures to subsidize the charge for apprenticeships for sons of the workers;
3. That part of the salaries would be retained to form a fund for emergencies and retirement;
4. That an ambulance be established in the works to receive workers injured by accidents without delay.

These are the germs of association that should develop. The association would be complete and perfect if the industry were organized according to the model of the army; so that in the factories as under the colors, its chiefs had passed through all the ranks. It is clear that the health and morality of shops would gain infinitely if this created the point of industrial honor, and that the chiefs would henceforth be more certain to be obeyed. Incidentally I do not think that this idea that has preoccupied generous men for a long time could be applied at all universally. But, for some special industries, hierarchical organization is quite capable of being realized at once. It exists, for example, in the numerous corps of miners of the Hartz Mountains. The chiefs of this family of workers recently gave a fine example of this: the price of lead, and consequently profits, had fallen sharply, and they decided to carry this reduction on their own salaries and not on the salaries of the workers.

Many enlightened persons think that, in our land of Europe, the struggle between the bourgeois and the workers cannot end except by the putting into practice the principle of association, and that the workers must, in a word, participate in the profits of their masters. The execution of this system seems difficult because of the moments of crisis when factories are losing out. Still, one could observe now that to the extent that industry consolidates, the industrial crises leading to losses become rarer and improve. As a result it is possible to imagine combinations that would permit regularizing the participation of workers in profits, so as to assure them their survival at all times. In this way, this would allow the creation of a reserve. One could then divide the salary into three parts:

1. A fixed minimum;
2. A portion proportional to the decline in price, rising when it returned above a determined level;
3. A part of the net profits of the business.

This third part would, in times of prosperity, be paid half into the hands of the workers, and half into a special fund that would be capitalized so as to supplement salaries in times of crisis and to form a retirement fund.

Association will also remedy in this way the grave problems that result from the extreme subdivision of the soil in agriculture.

Some day it must happen, with the assistance of the hierarchical association, that we would have an industrial organization superior to that of the English and the Americans. As the individual uses the last resort of their system, it would be difficult for them to free themselves from the inconvenience and disorder inherent in a system of competition of master against master, worker against master, and worker against worker. Their law is: each for himself. They leave it to each of them, for example, to prepare for their elderly years. The organization of the factories — I almost said the convents — of Lowell, appears and in reality is, a step taken toward hierarchical association, but Lowell is a peculiarity of New England, it is not at all a general fact in the Union. Even at Lowell, the rules of the manufacturers do not extend beyond certain objects that one is used to consider essential to public order, to public morality. The young girls of Lowell find it a simple matter that they are ordered to attend church, to be chaste and sober. They would revolt if one wished to impose officially on them a deduction from their salary. They go voluntarily to a savings bank, but they put in what they please and when it pleases them, and they do not expect another to do it for them.

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XXX

THE EMPIRE STATE

Albany, New York, 11 September 1835

There are in the United States two well-characterized types, the Yankee and the Virginian,⁴⁶⁸ of which to the present day the balancing has produced the Union. A third arises in the West, which appears to have to be the arbiter and tie-breaker of the two others, if it knows how to conserve its own unity, which will not be very easy, since the West includes slave states and states where slavery is forbidden. Provisionally this high function of moderator is fulfilled by the reunion of so-called *Middle* states or *Center* states, which form geographically the intermediary between the two extremities of the coast of the confederation; it pertains particularly to the state of New York, which is the most important state, not only of the Middle States but of the entire Union.⁴⁶⁹

To serve as the tie between the two types, it is necessary to recall these principal qualities: the state of New York must therefore combine the breadth of views of the South with the spirit of detail of the North. To be, even half way, the personification of unity in the great body of the American confederation, it is indispensable to possess in itself a high degree of the sentiment of unity. To have the gift of centralizing America, even quite imperfectly, it is necessary to be endowed with the genius of centralization. For some time, in effect, one has noticed in the state of New York a character of grandeur, of unity and of centralization that has earned it the appellation of *Empire State*. Although it is the nearest neighbor to the six states of New England, although it touches three of them and has become the residence of many of its children, it has known how to free itself from the extreme subdivision that distinguishes the Yankees or, to say it better, it has known to counter-balance it by the proportional development of the principal of unity.

The opposition has the majority in the legislative councils of this state, and whoever has the humor may try to make fun of populations of centralization that begin to extend a network around themselves. "You are led," it says, "by the *regency*"⁴⁷⁰ of Albany, a half-dozen of the friends of Mr. Van Buren; receiving an order from Governor Marcy, makes you move like marionettes." The opposition exaggerates. It is certain, of course, that the organization of this state, and above all the habits of administration established under the influence of Mr. Van Buren, who will become president in the future, have a mark of centralization of which the partisans of unlimited individual independence have a right to be alarmed, but which wise men must applaud, for it is precisely by that that the state of New York has become superior to the others. It is only by that which it will maintain its superiority. Hence in combination with the force of expansion dominating all other parts of the American Union, a force of sufficient

⁴⁶⁸ See Letter X above.

⁴⁶⁹ In earlier times the state in the middle was Pennsylvania. Congress ordinarily resided in Philadelphia. Philadelphia thus received the appellation of *Keystone State*.

⁴⁷⁰ *Albany regency*: Albany, capital of the state of New York, was founded by the Dutch, and the name of *regency* is employed in the Low Countries to designate the authorities of towns.

cohesion has given to the constitution of this state an elasticity that, for the peoples as for individuals, is the condition for a long and prosperous existence.

The organization of the primary schools and public instruction in general is centralized there. Most of the states of the Union have a fund for primary instruction; in the states of New England, the revenue of this fund is divided among all the communes, which dispose of it according to their judgment without the state having the right to exercise any real control or to impose any condition. The state of New York proceeds more *imperially*: it obliges the various communes to furnish themselves with a sum at least equal to the public subvention or the subvention will not take place.⁴⁷¹ This method, which we are beginning to employ in France in many cases and in many forms, both in the matter of public works and of elementary instruction, is much preferable to that of Connecticut, for example, which distributes annually to localities for the same purpose the same amount as the state of New York (about 500,000 francs), without the state even being able to verify if it was consecrated to elementary education.

In 1834 the primary schools of the state of New York were attended by 541,401 persons: now the number of children from five to sixteen years in the districts of which there are accounts, which comprehends almost the entire state, is 543,085. The complete costs were 7,000,000 francs, of which 4,000,000 francs was used to pay teachers. Among us, four years ago, the sum total furnished for primary instruction by the state, the départements and the communes was 4,000,000 francs. Today, thanks to the efforts of Monsieur [François] Guizot [1787-1874], this sum has risen to about 12 million. It is already triple what is consecrated to the same purpose⁴⁷² by the state of New York, which is 16 times less populated than France. The number of children who attend schools in France is 2,450,000,⁴⁷³ that is a thirteenth of the population, or three times less proportionally than in the state of New York.

All the primary schools of the state of New York, numbering more than ten thousand, depend on a special committee composed principally of the premier functionaries of the state, of which the secretary of state is the most active member.⁴⁷⁴ This committee provides for the instruction of teachers, makes a detailed account of the holding of classes and chooses the elementary textbooks. In this regard, Virginia, Ohio and some other states of the Union are entered in an analogous system,⁴⁷⁵ but the state of New York has something particular that it possesses besides a university council of which the members, called the *regents of the university*, of the number of 24, are named by the legislature, which oversees almost all of the 68 superior schools called *Academies*.

⁴⁷¹ It is even stipulated that the subvention of the state will be employed entirely to pay schoolteachers. The allocation of the communes, which, according to law, must be at least equal to the subvention, receives the same destination; further, well-situated parents, of whom a list is made by a local committee, have to pay the teacher for the months their children attend. The material expenses are entirely the responsibility of the localities. (See note 109).

⁴⁷² Teachers' salaries See Note 110.

⁴⁷³ The state of our schools presents this shocking circumstance that the number of girls who attend is much less than that of the boys. Of the 2,450,000 pupils, only 825,000 are girls. It is a failure that demands a prompt remedy. There is no land in the world where the mother of the family is as important as in France.

⁴⁷⁴ He is the premier active functionary of the state after the governor; all the work of the bureaus repose on him.

⁴⁷⁵ See Note 111.

The state also has seven colleges, of which one is called the University of New York, which corresponds, rather distantly of course, to the universities of England and Germany with their four faculties.

The surveillance that the government of the state of New York exercises over the Academies is quite restricted, up to the present. It amounts to an annual visit by one or more *regents of the university*; but the state could extend its influence when it wishes, by means of the subventions already in use. In 1834, these subventions were raised to the total sum of 64,000 francs. The number of students attending the Academies was, in the same year, a bit more than 5,000 for a population of about 2,100,000, that is, $2\frac{1}{2}$ students for a thousand souls. In France, with a population of 33 million, there are 80,000 students in the colleges, which is also $2\frac{1}{2}$ students per thousand souls. The conclusion of this convergence would be that in the United States, where the need of elementary instruction is universally felt, the desire for an education somewhat higher is proportionally less general than with us, since the number of well-off families is much more considerable in the United States than in France. In this account, we perceive, up to a certain point, in the matter of secondary education, the immense advantage that the Americans, at least those in New York and neighboring states, have over us in the matter of primary education.⁴⁷⁶

The same spirit of unity and centralization has dictated a general regulation for banks, quite remarkable in principle, capable of acquiring a great practical value, and which does not have an analogue in any other state of the Union, not even in any other country in the world.

This regulation, called the *Safety Fund Act*, created a fund designed to subsidize the engagements of banks going into failure. To this effect, on 1 January of every year, each of the banks pays to a special fund a sum equal to $\frac{1}{2}\%$ of its capital, until the total of these payments reach 3 % of the aforementioned capital. When the insurance funds are tapped, it must be returned to its ordinary level by the same procedure. The banks are placed, with this insurance fund, under the surveillance of three commissioners, one named by the governor and the senate, the two others by the banks.⁴⁷⁷ These commissioners visit all the banks of the state three times a year, examining their operations and assuring that each of them has conformed to the clauses of its charter. At each instant, on the demand of three banks, any other bank designated is held to submit to a special examination, and, in case of contravention, that bank must be closed by the *Court of Chancery*.

This law contains diverse clauses combined in such a manner as to help the commissioners in the exercise of their powers and to prevent them from being deceived; the law invests the commissioners with the right to have all books presented and to interrogate all the employees under oath. They receive a salary of \$2,000 from the Safety Fund. The directors and employees of banks that make a false report to the legislature, produce false evidence or alter writings with the intention of misleading the commissioners are punishable by three to ten years in prison. The law reduces to 6 percent the rate of discount for effects for less than 63 days. It also fixes a limit on the issuance of bills, as well as loans and discounts. It is declared by statute that bills in circulation cannot exceed twice the real capital, and also loans and discounts cannot

⁴⁷⁶ See Note 112.

⁴⁷⁷ In the general assembly of banks, each of them has as many votes as it has 5,000 dollars in real capital.

exceed 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ times the same capital. This article has been rigorously observed to the present time.

The number of banks existing in the state of New York is 87, of which only 77 are subject to the requirements of the *Safety Fund Act*: the others were instituted before the 2 April 1829 date of the law. With the exception of a single instance, the Manhattan Bank, which was authorized in perpetuity, all the others here have to renew their charters for ten years, so that all of them soon will be under the empire of the common law of the *Safety Fund Act*. The total capital of the 87 banks of the state amounts to 168,000,000 francs. The positive balance of the insurance fund today approaches three million. The annual total of loans and discounts affected by the banks of the state of New York, supposing them to be four times that of effects in portfolio, would currently be 1,500 million francs, independent of the operations of the three branches of the Bank of the United States that the state has, at New York, at Buffalo, and at Utica. For the city of New York alone, it amounts to 940 million, that is, double the current operations of the Bank of France.

But nothing has so contributed to give the state of New York its *imperial* reputation as has the energy it has deployed to canalize its territory. All the resources of the state are consecrated to it; all the wills of its citizens, gathered in a bundle, converge over eight years to accomplish this grand work. Despite the most sinister predictions, despite protests of the most venerated men in the whole Union, the determination of this young state did not trouble itself for a single moment. The finest success crowned these efforts: begun in 1817, the great canal was completed in 1825.

The state of New York possesses a great number of canals to a length of 247 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, costing 65 million.⁴⁷⁸ They were executed at the cost of the state, which obtained the largest part of the funds by loan. Only one has yet to be completed, the Chenango Canal, which will be completed in the course of 1836.

The central line of these works is the great Erie Canal, from which all the others branch off and which traverses the state in the largest dimension. It departs from Albany and from Troy, at the head of navigation for the Hudson River, terminating at Buffalo on Lake Erie. Among the others, the most remarkable are: the Champlain Canal which, with the lake of the same name and the Richelieu River, completes the communication by water between the Hudson and the Saint Lawrence River, between New York and Québec; the Oswego Canal, which joins the Erie Canal to Lake Ontario, and the Chenango Canal, which is to realize the junction between the Erie Canal and the Susquehanna, chief river of Pennsylvania. The others, quite short, attach to this system many small lakes scattered over the northwest of the state of New York.

The great Erie Canal, the most important of all the works, is generally of a simple construction, neither large nor deep. But if as a work of art it is of little interest, as a commercial artery it is prodigious. To view our canals, on which massive barks are miserably hauled by one man, slowly advancing, one has no idea that this is a great canal of 146 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues length, with a fleet of covered barks, elegant and leisurely, made to speed along by vigorous teams of horses. At each moment the boats are moving, and the boats' horn warns the lock to hold itself ready. The countryside changes with every moment, sometimes crossing a river on an aqueduct, sometimes traversing large cities,

⁴⁷⁸ Including what the completion of the Chenango Canal will cost.

entirely new, beautiful as capitals, all of whose houses, with their columned porticos, have the air of little palaces outside: it is admirable in its animation and variety.⁴⁷⁹

Currently the Erie Canal transports 430,000 tons of various merchandise, and 307,000 tons on the Champlain Canal, with a very modest tariff. The product of the tolls now reaches eight million. In France, all the canals possessed by the state and all our river do not produce more than 3,726,000 francs.⁴⁸⁰

When it began its great canal in 1817, the state of New York counted 1,250,000 inhabitants, disseminated over a surface that is about a quarter of that of France. While grave publicists discussed in France whether it was proper for a government to be an entrepreneur of public works, and while the more powerful governments scrupulously listened to the debate, to discover whether they had the right to enrich the peoples by creative works, those who had never doubted that they had the right to expend billions of money and millions of men to devastate Europe, the modest authorities of this miniature empire resolved the question, never doubting that it could embarrass such grand potentates. The state of New York made itself an entrepreneur of public works, and it worked. After completing them, it exploited them for its own account, and this worked even better. The revenues from the canals have already sufficed, along with some rather modest allocations, nearly to amortize half of the debt contracted for their construction. Thus the brilliant result of the Erie Canal was, in the United States, the signal of larger enterprises of public works on the account of the states. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Virginia and Indiana have followed the example of New York and have decided to open, at their expense, on their territory, communications of every sort, at the risk of incurring the disfavor of the cowardly economists of Europe.

The state of New York has pushed its intervention in public works even further: in all the charters it accords to the railroad companies, it reserves the right to expropriate them after ten years of operation, by means of conditions regulated in the charters themselves, and which, on the part of the state, are truly liberal: it reimburses their costs of building and improvement, and completes all the dividends up to 10 percent, in cases where it has not achieved that figure.⁴⁸¹

Thus the state of New York, in its imperial humor, has placed its hand on public instruction, on the banks and on the routes of communication, to centralize them: it is in fact entirely consumed over public works. It is still far from having affirmed the principle of the unity in the schools, and particularly in the banks, but it advances gradually and with a sure step. As I have already said, centralization has entered into the administrative habits of the legislature: this is a guarantee that the laws of unity will not remain only on paper.

⁴⁷⁹ The voyage by boat on the grand canal would be charming and almost poetic if it had not been for the torments of a long night passed in the company of fifty persons in a chamber ten feet long, six wide and six high, in couchettes 18 inches wide, ranged in three levels, to the top of the chamber.

⁴⁸⁰ See note 113.

⁴⁸¹ Many states have thus expressly reserved the right to acquire the railroads built by the companies. The basis of the expropriation they have posed in this case are almost everywhere less favorable than those of the state of New York. The state of Massachusetts has adopted its own, extending from ten years to twenty years of delay, during which the enjoyment of the work is assured to the company. The state of New Jersey has stipulated that it may acquire diverse works at a price that, it is said, cannot exceed the cost of first establishment.

The lessons of the state of New York profit its neighbors. Like them, they centralize themselves by combining the attributions of the state schools, banks and public works. They see by its example that the spirit of individual enterprise has nothing to suffer when the government submits to its control and authority these three great resources of national prosperity, and even what it takes to operate on its own account. This is because in no part of the United States is the spirit of enterprise as vigorous and forward-looking than in New York. Despite the *Safety Fund Act*, there is nowhere an equal number of orders than in New York. Despite the university laws of the state, no place has state education establishments that multiply as rapidly. No place has more railroads in development. The state of New York counts 32 leagues of canals and 40 of railroads completed by companies. Between 60 and 80 leagues of railroad are under construction, and a company has been organized to construct a railroad from New York to Lake Erie, via the south of the state,⁴⁸² with a length of 190 leagues.⁴⁸³

It would really be too much for a country such as France, where one is raised to value unity and centralization, to be less brave than these little republics born under the principle of individualism, and that we delay longer to take an *imperial* position toward institutions of credit, public works, and industrial education that is indispensable to us.

It is not only to increase the wealth of the country. There are other reasons, of the most elevated nature, that modern governments intervene in institutions of material interest, thus extending their direction to industry.

Progress of civilization consists in the individual relationship in which each becomes increasingly able to bear the weight of his personality. The social order, having thus more and stronger individual guarantees, seems to have less need for legal and public guarantees: in this regard, however, this is the place for an essential distinction.

Civilization gradually strips a person of the gross habits and the brutal inclinations of savage life. There are plenty of bans and proscriptions in Deuteronomy that, in our days, would be perfectly superfluous. Humankind hardly needs to be taught the article of the Ten Commandments, *Thou shalt not kill*. The lictor and the hangman lose their social importance; the constable, the sheriff and the director of the penitentiary are on the edge of being totally replaced, one must hope. The public order has begun, and will continue more and more to decline the assistance of the sword: and, beneath this relation, individual reason fortunately substitutes its voluntary sanction to the imperative sanction of public powers and the use of armed force.

Human understanding cultivates itself, sentiments enlarge and purify themselves: hence, the elementary and primordial passions are always the same. They combine themselves in a different order and apply themselves to other objects, but if they are cooled, it is only on the surface: the base remains as bitter, as burning as it was before.⁴⁸⁴ In politics particularly, jealousy and ambition exist in the same degree among us as with the Romans and the Greeks. They no longer have a sword in hand, it no longer spreads poison, it no longer even makes use of assassins and insects, but they are no less unjust, no less insatiable, no less rabid than in ancient times. They no longer assassinate the

⁴⁸² The canal crosses the north.

⁴⁸³ See letter XXII.

⁴⁸⁴ Madame [Germaine] de Staël [1766-1817] said: "It is the bizarre destiny of the human species, condemned by the passions to return to the same circle, while it continually advances in the career of ideas!"

body, the attack honor, they use calumny instead of a stiletto, and they work as well as the juice of poisonous plants. Civilization furnishes them a thousand new means to be sated. They are livelier and viler than ever; they ferment at the bottom of many more chests; they intrigue as much as in any other epoch and concern themselves to trouble the public peace and to overthrow the state.

I do not know whether Sulla and Marius, Caesar and Pompey, more cordially detested one another than General Jackson, president of the United States, and the president of the Bank of the United States, Mr. Biddle. If one wished to study the types of Cain and Abel among statesmen of modern times, one could produce a list of frightening length.

In opposition to this dissolving force, which grows rather than diminishes due to the growing number of individuals admitted to political influence, it is indispensable to oppose the elements of cohesion endowed with an equal force and intensity. It is for the latter force that in the future, just as in the past, the existence of a society implies a religion. Then even when the religion does not respond to the most delicate and lively fibers of the human heart, even when it does not offer to the imagination a vast field where one might move without danger, even if it is not indispensable to the peace of the conscience and harmony of the family, it will still not be possible to do without it, since it is a political necessity. One had reason to say that if God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him.

A unique institution that does not permit the regulation of the passion at every moment and everywhere, at least when it does not follow men in all their motions, that it does not have control over all their acts, that it does not entwine them in their four members, that is at least so as to be despotic, in the image of the theocracies of the past. It is therefore not to hope that religion never comes alone to our land of liberty to counterbalance human passions and to retain them within the limits where they contribute to social progress, or, at least, if they succeed there in one of the two hemispheres of society, the family, it will always fail in the other, which is the state.

It is for this reason that the Middle Ages posed a salutary principle in distinguishing the temporal from the spiritual power, giving to each a strong and independent existence. Since then all the attempts that have had their goal to confound the two powers, or, as also happens, to impose one over the other, have been without success, in general they have ended in tyranny.⁴⁸⁵

A temporal power supplied with an ample prerogative is therefore still indispensable today, in the interest of liberty itself. From another side, it is impossible

⁴⁸⁵ I have already said that when the Puritans debarked in New England, they wished above everything to establish a religious society. They organized themselves according to the Law of Moses. Political society in fact did not exist, although there was a nominal governor to represent temporal authority, it was absorbed into the Church. The commune was confounded with the congregation. They passed in a short time to a regime that resembled that of the Jesuits in Paraguay, with this sole difference, that each there had his part of tyranny. The *blue laws* of Connecticut have remained as a monument of the extravagance of this order of things, where life was imprisoned in the straightest possible restrictions. The inhabitants of New England were later compelled to renounce their Mosaic government, and without completely separating themselves from the politics of religion, they recognized to each of the two powers a proper existence. They did not constitute political power solidly outside the commune, but they had a communal organization that, precisely because it had as its point of departure a religious organization, and that it distinguished itself only incompletely, was strong and compact sometimes to excess.

not to recognize that the tendency of civilization to strip royalty of its ancient attributes, in totality or in part. In this regard our century has a well-defined will. The resistance of kings to efforts of those who wish to despoil them has even exasperated the spirits to the point that a party has developed, that of the republicans, whose unique object is the complete, radical abolition of royalty, and that the singular doctrine of the non-utility and even the danger of all power has found warm and numerous followers.

The peoples are right to desire that the kings reduce or restrain their old prerogative. Governments descended from conquest must abdicate what in their authority was brutal and violent. It would be premature to say that universal peace will shine on earth. It is not to affirm that war shall not become more of a secondary and accidental fact in the life of the peoples. Industry, that is, the art of creating riches to multiply well-being and to embellish the globe, the home of the human species, will in time pass the art of killing and destruction. The sword ceases to be the premier symbol of power.

But the kings are right in their turn to refuse to allow their power to be reduced to a vain image. Independent of every personal ambition, they see, from the height on which they are placed, that the maintenance of order absolutely requires the presence of a power worthy of this name. What proves that what they see is just is that men of all parties that have arrived at government during our revolutionary crises were of the same view on this question, which had not been their opinion on this before: this is the sole point on which they were unanimous.

It is that in effect at the same time that one takes from governments, it is also necessary to give them something. War is no longer the principal goal of the avowed activity of peoples. The employment of brute force is less and less necessary for the conservation of society, so with a sure hand we successively reduce the prerogatives of authority that give them the exclusive character as a warrior, and which places our life and liberty at the discretion of its armed agents! While industry occupies a larger and larger place in the individual and public existence of nations, we enter more and more into the circle of governmental action, classing among the attributes of government the three areas of the industrial movement, which are the banks, the ways of communication and the schools, on the well-noted condition that the government be in condition to use them for the general good of the new law in which one will invest in exchange for the old law that will be destroyed.

The banks, the routes of communication and the schools are the instruments of government that would be very inconvenient to leave outside the circle of influence of public powers. It will not work to incorporate them partially, so as not to stifle the individual spirit of enterprise.

Public authority will exercise directing functions in conformity with the tendencies of the population. It will preside over the most important deeds of their activity, then genuinely meriting the name of government. It will possess a new mode of coercive and repressive action that is the sole one compatible with the progress of the spirit of liberty. In place of having seized the body and the blood, it would have taken control over the work and the purse of man. A new degree of inviolability will be acquired for the human personality, without which the social order would cease to be sufficiently guaranteed.

In this way, at last, the political advent of industry would be consummated. In place of being a cause of instability, once assured of its rank and affirmed in its place, industry will constantly fulfill a conservative role, to the measure proper to it.

Everything is ready for this political transformation.

Forty years ago, the peoples wanted to advance to progress through the overthrow of the old order. Hatred has ceased to be their principal counselor, their furor for demolition has calmed. They dream much less about lifting the yoke of the *tyrants*, much more about lifting themselves from misery and ignorance. The road of liberty that is preferable for Europe and would be preferred today is that which passes the way of freedom, education, and work. Those who were the temporal and spiritual chiefs of the peoples will soon achieve once more their rank if, dropping their sentiments of alarm they have filled with horrible curses against the last of the kings and the last of the priests, they desire, know and dare to place themselves at the head of a great movement in this direction. For the population will follow them with zeal. Why will they delay now?

I do not know if I am wrong, but it seems to me that the example has to come from France. It is not the one with the most money in the box, it is not the one with the most soldiers under the colors, the most ships in its ports, the most cannons in its fortresses, but it has the most intelligent thinking and its heart is placed highest. It is the one from whom the world is used to receive the word of command. London, with its thousands of vessels, could burn up without the non-Britannic being moved except by a lamentable misfortune that has stricken a stranger, but a simple mutiny in Paris has an echo to the bottom of the universe. The July crisis gave birth to reform, but reform would not have produced July. It is that France is the heart of the world. The affairs of France are the affairs of all; the interests it touts are not those of egoistic ambition, they are those of civilization. When France speaks, people listen, because the sentiments it expresses are not only theirs, they are those of the human species. When it acts, others imitate it because it only does what everyone needs to do.

France was the first to enthrone liberty on the European continent. It is its role to rehabilitate the principle of authority, today that the time for it has come. It has protected the people as it should. It is its obligation to protect kings, not by the force of the sword, although it must not break its own sword, which has accomplished such deeds for the sole profit of civilization: that would be a sacrilege. But rather it will do it by the wisdom and morality of new rules that it will pass in the art of governing, by the productivity of new attributions of which power will invest it.

Note 108 [Vol. 2, Note 55, 1836 edition]

Salary of Teachers

In France, the Law of 28 June 1833 guarantees to every teacher a minimum of 200 francs a year, that is, 16.66 francs per month. I suppose that there are few cases where a teacher receives less than 300 francs. It is the salary of a worker on roads and bridges.

In the state of New York in 1833 the salary of a male teacher was \$12.22 (65.08 francs). The salary of a ditch-digger in the same state at the same time was 3.75 francs a day or 93.75 francs per month of 25 workdays. The female teachers receive half the salary of male teachers.

Note 109 [Vol. 2, Note 56, 1836 edition]

Table of the situation of elementary schools of New York state, from 1815 to 1835

Years	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H ⁴⁸⁶
1814	2,755	2,631	140,160	176,449	14/15	298,000		
1815	3,713	2,873	170,385	198,440	6/7	346,000		
1816	3,264	3,228	183,253	218,969	5/6	389,000		
1817	4,614	3,844	210,316	235,871	8/9	495,000		
1818	5,763	5,118	271,817	302,703	9/10	623,000		
1819	6,332	5,189	304,559	347,633	24/25	778,000		
1820	6,659	5,882	332,979	339,258	42/43	836,000		
1821	7,051	6,255	351,173	357,029	44/45	922,000		
1822	7,382	6,705	377,034	373,208	94/93	975,000		
1823	7,642	6,876	402,940	383,500	101/96	975,000		
1824	7,773	7,177	425,586	395,586	100/93	975,000		
1825	8,114	7,550	431,601	411,256	21/20	986,000		
1826	8,298	7,806	441,856	418,216	96/91	1,188,000		
1827	8,609	8,164	468,205	449,113	25/24	1,236,000		
1828	8,872	8,292	480,041	468,257	40/41	1,145,000	1,583,000	2,728,000
1829	9,063	8,631	499,424	497,503	250/249	1,273,000	1,849,000	3,122,000
1830	9,339	8,841	507,105	509,967	165/166	1,305,000	1,993,000	3,298,000
1831	9,600	8,941	494,959	508,878	36/37	1,630,000	1,956,000	3,586,000
1832	9,690	9,107	512,475	522,618	50/51	1,641,000	2,112,000	3,753,000
1833	9,863	9,392	531,240	534,002	70/71	1,684,000	2,121,000	3,805,000
1834	10,132	9,876	541,401	543,081	309/310	1,665,000	2,240,000	3,905,000

A=Number of school districts in reporting communes; B=Number of school districts making reports; C=Number of children attending schools in these districts; D=Total number of children from 5 to 16 in these districts; E=Proportion of children attending to the total in these districts; F=Total in francs of sum paid by the state for teachers' salaries; G=Total in francs paid individually to teachers; H=Total paid in francs for the salaries of teachers.

Note 110 [Vol. 2, Note 57. 1836 edition]

Condition of Primary Instruction in the various states

Not all the states are as advanced as that of New York. Primary instruction is not very flourishing except for the six states of New England and that of New York. Everyone there knows how to read and write. The young state of Ohio also has a good law on this matter, but the population there is already too widely scattered for the organization of schools to be possible everywhere. In the states of the South, primary education has been rather neglected up to the present, even for whites, while all or almost all states have a special fund for primary education. The Congress has taken care for the young states of the West by disposing in their favor for this special purpose a thirty-sixth of all public lands, one *section* per *township*.⁴⁸⁷ But this donation by the Congress has not yet achieved its purpose.

The state of Pennsylvania is one of those where elementary instruction is the most backward, although it possesses a fund for that use that is almost as considerable as that for New York (\$2 million). In 1834 the legislature of the state passed a law analogous to

⁴⁸⁶ Besides this sum, there is an expense to the amount of 3 million (francs) for pupils' books, maintenance of buildings, heating, and amortizing the expenditure for building schools.

⁴⁸⁷ See Note 102.

that of the state of New York to definitively organize the *common schools*. This law, because of the taxes it established, encountered such an active opposition, particularly in the counties where the German population dominates. In Schuylkill County, for example, the elections at the end of the year took place to cries of *No bank! No schools!* Further, when the vote was counted, of the 200,000 electors in the state, only 32,000 in the special vote for this purpose voted against the law. In 1836 the law was modified. The new bill ruled that a sum of \$200,000 (1,067,000 francs) be contributed by the state to the localities in 1837. The localities had to contribute a sum at least equal to their quota. Of these \$200,000, \$100,000 came from the Bank of the United States. The sum of which the law of 1834 ordered the distribution among localities was only \$75,000 dollars (400,000 francs).

Besides the primary schools, the United States also has Sunday Schools, called that from the sole day they were open. They regularly meet in the halls owned by churches and between the hours of service. The teachers are usually young people of both sexes from prosperous families; the students are children of the poor classes. Instruction there is particularly religious.

In the United States there exists an association called *The American Union of Sunday Schools*, the center of all the Sunday societies, whose object is to spread and generalize the schools and to cause their related writings to be circulated there, by means of a subscription of five dollars a year or a single payment of 30 dollars one becomes a member of the society. According to a report that will be published, it appears that there are 10,722 Sunday schools with 92,872 teachers and 624,534 pupils, and that in the year 1834 there was a growth of 705 schools, 4,667 teachers and 33,847 pupils. The receipts were for 449,620 francs (92,348 dollars) and expenditures were 487,610 francs (91,427 dollars).

Here is a table of the societies for Sunday schools at the end of the same year of 1834.

States	Societies	Schools
Maine	1	929
New Hampshire	2	440
Vermont	7	508
Massachusetts	7	589
Rhode Island	1	142
Connecticut	7	263
New York	64	3,501
New Jersey	76	410
Pennsylvania	309	944
Delaware	26	41
Maryland	17	247
Virginia	124	226
North Carolina	52	152
South Carolina	6	34
Georgia	13	50
Alabama	54	81
Mississippi	15	54
Louisiana	10	19
Tennessee	67	296

Kentucky	96	242
Ohio	175	843
Indiana	37	179
Illinois	9	349
Missouri	3	84
Territory of Michigan	4	63
Territory of Arkansas	3	3
Territory of Florida	8	11
District of Columbia	4	22
General Total	1,197	10,722

The number of societies is in no predictable relation to the number of schools nor with those of pupils that frequent these schools. In the state of Maine, for example, they count 929 schools and 33,655 pupils; Massachusetts has 7 societies and 69,138 pupils, and Louisiana has 10 societies and 963 pupils.

Note 111 [Not in the 1836 edition]

On Secondary Instruction in France before 1789

A little-known fact whose details were communicated to me by persons very worthy of belief is that, since the Revolution of 1789 and the suppression of the religious orders, we have strangely declined in secondary education. It is possible that we have gained in quality, but it is certain that, relative to quantity, we have lost much. Before 1789, the number of pupils attending the colleges was three or four times what it is today. Hence there was a greater number of scholarships in a single province, the Franche Comté, for example, than there is today in the whole of France.⁴⁸⁸ At the same time the number of pupils of primary schools was much less than in our days, perhaps in the same proportion, throughout the countryside. It appears that we have tended, over the last fifty years, to resemble the regime of the United States. Without wishing to slander our century and make me suspect of being partial to the Old Regime, it will be permitted to me to say that today it is harder for a young person, capable but poor, to rise intellectually, at least in the cities. Then, all youth was in the hands of the clergy, whether in confession, catechism, prayer communities, the domestic influence of the priests and the frequency of religious practices that mingled the pastor without cease with his flock. Every child who showed positive inclinations was easily distinguished by the clergy and obtained at least easy free admission to one of the many colleges directed by religious orders. Hence the most liberal creations were burned away in the name of liberty, in the war of extermination that our fathers declared against the past.

The time has come for France when those who want popularity must preoccupy themselves less with the chance of a return of a past that is now far behind us. Let us quit beating the corpse of the Old Regime. Let us rather dream of giving the country other popular institutions in place of those that our predecessors, in their bad, blind haste that was moved by imminent peril, cast into the abyss what they held to be the debris of feudalism, devouring themselves.

⁴⁸⁸ One can estimate the sum total of current scholarships at 1,000,000 francs. There was a total in Franche Comté of 1,100,000 francs.

Note 112 [Vol. 2, Note 58, 1836 edition]

Charges on the canals in America and in France

Here are figures for the charges received on the various canals of the state of New York, by year, from 1820 to 1835:

Years	Charges Francs	Years	Charges Francs
1820	29,000	1828	4,466,000
1821	77,000	1829	4,333,000
1822	341,000	1830	5,629,000
1823	815,000	1831	6,518,000
1824	1,817,000	1832	6,550,000
1825	3,017,000	1833	7,797,000
1826	4,061,000	1834	7,137,000
1827	4,584,000	1835	7,924,000

The profit from charges in the state of New York is thus double what it is in France.

Monsieur Ravinet, in his *Dictionnaire hydrographique*, gives the total length of our navigable rivers as 1,877 leagues, which is reduced to 1,800 if one subtracts rivers recently canalized. Canals or canalized rivers pertaining to the state amount to about 700 leagues. There is therefore a total development of 2,500 leagues of navigation, being ten times the length of the canals of the state of New York, and tolls are collected along almost their entire length. It is true that our canals were not at all constructed with the same rapidity as those of the state of New York, and that some of the principal ones have still not been completed; as a result, they are not fully functional.

The tolls of the canals of the state of New York are very moderate. For food and provisions, for agricultural products and for oil,⁴⁸⁹ the tariff is by ton and by kilometer at

fr. 0.0336

For stone, bricks, plaster, manure, iron ore at

fr. 0.0186

In France, the tariff of the canal from Aire to La Bassée, which has served as the model for most of the state canals, is⁴⁹⁰

For raw ore, at

fr. 0.0300

For fodder and manure, at

fr. 0.0400

For coal, at

fr. 0.0500

For marble, cut stone, bricks, plaster, at

fr. 0.0200

For marle, potter's clay, sand and gravel, at

fr. 0.0012

For diverse agricultural products and merchandise, at

fr. 0,0600 to 0.0800

⁴⁸⁹ This tariff is rather too high for coal, but it does not pass through the canals of the state of New York in notable quantity. In the canals of the state of Pennsylvania, the charge is 0.00225 francs per ton and kilometer.

⁴⁹⁰ The tariff is established according to other bases; the numbers presented here were obtained by converting the measures.

Until 1836, the tolls on our rivers were quite variable and fixed according to standards that were entirely arbitrary. In 1836 a law rendered it reasonable and uniform, and also reduced it. With the exception of the High Seine, by ton and kilometer:

	Objects of the first class	Objects of the second class
On descent	fr. 0.004	fr. 0.002
On ascent	0.005	0.003

On the Upper Seine and its tributaries, it is, on ascent or descent, what it is on the descent elsewhere.

The second class of the tariff includes combustibles and carpentry wood, manure and cinders, marbles and crude or rough-hewn granite, stones or rubble, sandstone, tufa, marle and flints; plaster, sand, limestone, bricks, ore and dirt. The first class is everything else.

The tariffs on our canals are too high, particularly for coal,⁴⁹¹ for which these fine works provide sufficient for our industry. It is to be regretted that the government did not do a little something about reducing it. Then the loans for canals they created the loans that have an eventual right to the profit from tolls. The proper interest of carriers in these shares probably would agree with a reduction of the rates, since the current charges tend to burden circulation. It does not appear that they will be disposed to give way there.

Some years ago, shares for usage were almost without value: they were valued at 60 francs. Their number is around 107,000; one could have bought them back for 6,500,000 francs. Speculative conspiracies have caused them to rise to the figure of 300 francs, which is out of all proportion with their intrinsic value. At this rate, their repurchase would demand a sum of 32,000,000 francs.

It therefore happens that by allowing the companies to intervene in the execution and administration of canals by the creation of usage shares gave them a sovereign right over national industry. This is a great lesson from which France may profit for the execution of communications that remain to be created and cannot be delayed. The concession of great public works to companies could bring with it great troubles. At a time when one resents every authority, it should not be permissible irrevocably to submit the most important interests of the country to the good will of irresponsible associations, placed in the sole point of view of their particular interest with a good or bad intent.

I do not say that it could never happen that great lines of public works be conceded to companies: I only think that it should be preferred that the great lines be executed at the cost of the state, or at least be made easy to return to its domain. In any case where one has conceded something to a company, it should be indispensable to stipulate to the profit of the state a right of repurchase at conditions determined in advance after a delay of fifteen or twenty years of use.

The repurchase of shares of use of canals which, in the current state of things, form a serious obstacle to the progress of national industry, must occupy the government and the Chambers with the least delay.

[First published in the book edition of 1836]

⁴⁹¹ The Law of 1836 on tolls for navigation reduced the toll on oil for the Central Canal, where the government remains in control, to fr. 0.012 per ton and kilometer.

XXXI
SYMPTOMS OF REVOLUTION

Baltimore, 25 September 1835

Two years ago Mr. Clay began a speech in the United States Senate with these words, still celebrated on this side of the Atlantic: "We are in the midst of a revolution." It was at the time when General Jackson came to pose to the Bank a question that his own friends in Congress and his ministers refused to resolve, by an act of authority unheard-of in the annals of the American Union, in a true *coup d'État*. Many others since then have repeated these words. In the last place, after scenes of murder, torture and destruction that have marked the United States in the Slave States and in those where slavery is not recognized, in the countryside and the towns, in Boston, the perfect republican town, as well as in Baltimore, where bloody excesses committed in 1812 on the occasion of the war against England earned it the name of *Mob Town*, the good citizens say among themselves, "We are in the midst of a revolution."

One must recognize that it is an honor to the English race, more than all the others, that it is impregnated with the sentiment of respect for the law. Up to the most recent times, Anglo-Americans have boasted in this, as in so many other things, to be Englishmen intensified. There are peoples who do not understand the law except in its living form, which is to say other than personified in one man. They know how to obey a leader, but they cannot respect a dead letter. With them, the glory and prosperity of the state depends little on the quality of the laws, but much on the quality of the men charged to be its interpreters. For them, power rises and falls depending on whether the sovereign, of whatever title, is a superior man or a mediocre personage. That appears to in general to be the character of Asiatic nations. The Englishman is formed from a different mold entirely. It costs him little to bow before a text; he is ready to bow before a man, only with bad grace. He does not need for a man to come and tell him to observe the law, he knows himself, without effort and by instinct, to conform to it. In one word, the Englishman has the principle of *self-government* in himself. This explains the success that the political system has had in the United States, where the English race has completely developed in keeping with its nature.

Unhappily, the sentiment for respect for the law appears to be dwindling among Americans. This people, eminently practical in other regards, has done or allowed to violate the theory in politics, even to violate logic. It has not recoiled at any of the consequences of the principle of popular sovereignty as long as the consequences please it. It is as if it had only a single principle in the world, even that of Christian charity, that was liable to be milled infinitely thinner and thinner without becoming in the end an absurdity pure and simple. One has even come to the point in the United States that there is no principle of true justice in itself, and to admit that the current will of the people was necessarily and always right. There they have declared in fact the infallibility of the people at every instant and every matter, and the way is open to the tyranny of a turbulent minority that calls itself the people.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹² It has been remarked that all the disorders committed in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were the work of a small group of men followed by a band of youth similar to this type of premature depravity known in France under the name of the *gamin de Paris*. It is very rare that more than a hundred persons take an active part in these horrors. Often they are not even half of that.

The intervention of this pretended popular justice, practiced *ab irato* by the hands of a few madmen who call themselves the legitimate successors of the courageous men of the *Tea Party* of 1773,⁴⁹³ is a calamity for a land where there is no guarantee of public peace save respect for the law, and where the legislature, assuming order, has taken no measures against disorder. It has the inconvenience of being unjust in most cases. Most men who have been hanged or beaten with rods, or tortured in twenty atrocious fashions⁴⁹⁴ in the South for being *abolitionists*, that is, desiring to raise slaves against their masters, were, by all appearances, nothing but men who were careless of hiding in their conversations the horror that slavery causes them. It is even doubtful that the pretended conspiracies for which they have summarily executed blacks and whites had a real and serious existence. To the present day there is no proof that would be admitted by a court of justice. In Baltimore, in the course of the devastations that took place last month, which went on for four days, this so-called justice was unjust to the point of stupidity. This mob sought to punish the cads who unworthily abused the faith of the poor in the affair of the Bank of Maryland, so they said. It is a matter of rumor in Baltimore that the bankruptcy of this establishment is fraudulent; they said that the day before it suspended payments this bank, to fill its coffers with the worker's savings, offered high interest for deposits, great and small. But it was also a public opinion that the misdeeds of this bank were the fault of a certain Evan Poultney, who owned the entire bank. Instead of avenging the worker's ruin, the robbery of the widow and orphan, from whom did the riot demanded an accounting? From the bankruptcy officers named by the court. It was only on the third day that the riot decided to pay a visit to Poultney. But Poultney, without hesitation, decided to speak by confessing that he was a sinner, that he had been guilty toward his neighbor! He beat his breast as a sign of repentance, and, in Puritan jargon, he accused himself in a louder voice than his attackers. They, abashed by so much piety, like Orgon, made excuses similar to those made to Tartuffe, carefully wiping clean the entrance to his house and the white marble staircase they had thrown down, and went on to sack the house of the mayor, since during the curfew a small detachment of militia, hastily gathered, had fired on them in legitimate self-defense, after having stood its ground for a long time under a rain of stones.

These disorders are shocking for their commonness. They are common because they are likely to happen on any occasion. They are frequent enough that their gravity is hardly felt. They excite little criticism, and they find many reasons to excuse them. One of the faults of democracy is that it forgets the past and has little vision of the future. Hence a riot that would be death to affairs in France prevents no one here from going to the Exchange, to speculate, to bet dollars and make money from trouble. When one meets another of a morning, they ask for or share the news. Here they have hanged a black man, elsewhere they have beaten some whites. In Philadelphia, ten houses were demolished; in Buffalo, in Utica, men of color were thrashed with clubs. Then one passes on to the price of cotton and coffee, to the delivery of flour, lumber or tobacco,

⁴⁹³ This is what they call the Bostonians who undertook to throw into the sea tea arriving at their port, in clear mid-day, under the view of the English governor and the English garrison. This was the start of the American Revolution.

⁴⁹⁴ A newspaper in Virginia reported that an abolitionist, having fallen into the hands of a Vigilance Committee, was stripped, laid flat on his stomach, and that his executioners proceeded to run a cat several times across his naked back, causing it to claw into the flesh of the patient. A New York newspaper reported this deed without any further comment other than pleasantries.

and they pass the rest of the day in calculations. I am astounded to see how the word “legality” falls on its face as soon as a good citizen invokes it. The rule of law appears to be at an end, and we are here under the rule of *expediency*. Farewell to the rules of justice, the great principles of 1776 and ’89! Long live the interests of the moment, interpreted by I have no idea whom, for the success of some petty intrigue or other of politics or business!

Five men, five whites, were hanged in Vicksburg (Mississippi) without any form of trial: they were gamblers, they tell you, the curse of the country. The most *respectable* persons in Vicksburg cooperated in their execution.

- But the law that guarantees to all your fellow citizens judgment by a jury? What of this ancient Saxon equity of which you boast?
- No court could rid us of them; morality and religion pronounce against them. This was the rule, lacking any other that we have executed. It was necessary. *Expediency!*
- In Virginia, travelers coming from Northern States are hauled before self-appointed *Vigilance Committees* on the lightest pretext, for gossip in a carriage, for conversations in a cabaret, then beaten, tarred and feathered.⁴⁹⁵ Others, whose entire crime is to be careless, have in the pockets of their coat papers that could cause some slave-owner to describe them as *abolitionists*, are arrested by fanatics and hanged as emissaries of rebellion. What have you done with the article of the Constitution that guarantees to citizens of one state protection in other states?
- If we insist on these details, we will compromise the union of the North and South. *Expediency!*
- You businessmen of New York, see how the planters of a parish of Louisiana have put a price on the head of one of you⁴⁹⁶ because he is, they say, an *abolitionist*, a *race mixer*. Your national touchiness, so lively in regard to France, does not rise at this last act of audacity?
- Our commerce with the South makes up half the prosperity of New York. *Expediency!*
- You, men of New England; you, citizens of the town that was the cradle of American liberty; you, sons of the Pilgrims that exiled themselves in Holland at first, then to the arid shores of Massachusetts, rather than bend your opinions under the yoke of the Stuarts; you who are so proud of your liberties, how can you abdicate the most precious of these, that of the press, into the hands of a postmaster?⁴⁹⁷
- Always the response, *Expediency!*

It appears that in politics there are no more principles than the good pleasure of passions, and that the laws have no value save when they do not contradict interests. When a state feels injured by a tariff law, it proclaims it null, arms its militia, buys

⁴⁹⁵ This popular form of punishment, much in vogue these days, consists of covering the patient with hot tar and then covering him with feathers.

⁴⁹⁶ Mr. Arthur Tappan.

⁴⁹⁷ See Note 114.

gunpowder and throws down a gauntlet at Congress. When another state, Ohio, is unhappy with the line that it has been assigned as a frontier, it declares war on Michigan, its neighbor, to recover its border by sheer force. When the fanatics of Massachusetts, in their savage intolerance, are offended by the presence of a Catholic convent, where the nuns are vowed to teach girls without distinction of religion, they sack it, set it on fire, and the convent burns in full view of a town of 700,000 souls, without a drop of water being cast to extinguish it, without a jury being called to condemn the authors of this cowardly assault. When a governor of Georgia encounters a brave judge who interposes himself between the greed of the whites and the poor Indians they are impatient to loot, he denounces him to the Legislature and asserts a law that declares the conscientious judge an enemy of the state.⁴⁹⁸ And, I repeat, what is a more dreadful symptom than the acts themselves is that it does not disturb anyone. Here, in New York, the sacking of black churches and schools was a spectacle one stares at, where the city businessmen pass by and find a moment of distraction. They cry out *hurrah* when a section of wall falls with a crash. In Boston, a numerous crowd claps without being disturbed that someone is destroying a home, and ladies are moved to flutter their handkerchiefs in the air.

Other symptoms are even more disturbing! Civil courage, the virtue of Hampden, this glory of the English race, which shone with such purity in the United States, such as lived in the men from whom the Union obtained its independence, appears momentarily weakened. I say momentarily, since there is in the American nation a fund of energy that will one day not fail to reanimate itself and react. The press that, save for a few honorable exceptions, does not possess, and does not merit, the reputation in the United States that surrounds it in France. This is a press that is outrageously violent and brutal against members of Congress that differ from themselves, but is in contrast more reserved toward the masses. The American press is free in the sense that it pays neither a caution deposit nor postage, but it depends on an absolute public opinion, capricious and unenlightened in its despotism. This democratic public opinion fills itself with the passion of the moment, and does not wish anyone commenting on its morality. It is a master that is easy to displease and that shows its displeasure quickly. The American journalist knows that it will leave him with the least show of courage. Since the recent events, this is not the only fear that preoccupies him: he knows that if he attracts envy from one of his enemies and is marked as an *abolitionist*, for example, it would be very easy to mob together thirty Irishmen or others in the port cleaning the street, who will come and pillage and destroy his house, tar and feather and expel his person,⁴⁹⁹ without any authority intervening. The journalist is, as a result, painfully circumspect. In a word, there are currently in the United States the beginnings of terror. Courageous men devoted to the cause of laws have no support in the press, and where authority is inclined to furnish them with one, it will prove insufficient, since the authority is afraid that it will upset the interests of the party, and that it will not have at its disposition the means of material repression. There remains only a small number of good citizens who are very alarmed at the situation of their country, seeking resources to unite in patriotic

⁴⁹⁸ This took place a year ago, under the currently serving governor of Georgia, Mr. Lumpkin.

⁴⁹⁹ A journalist of Boston happened to be chased from the town by a mob a few days ago, for the reason of abolitionism. It was about two months ago that a journalist of New Orleans was hit by the same ostracism for having displeased a militia company.

associations and to form in militia companies, to create a national guard under the form authorized by the laws and the customs of the country. They believe they should, and yet they hesitate, since they fear that they are preparing a civil war. Baltimoreans appear ready to try it.⁵⁰⁰ They also talk about a law that renders the communities responsible for the devastations that have permitted to happen within their boundaries. This law, if it does not prevent disorders completely, since taxes are paid chiefly by the rich, would at least have the advantage of repairing material damages.

The current generation of the United States, nourished in business, living in an atmosphere of interests, even though it is superior to the revolutionary generation in commercial intelligence and industrial daring, is substantially inferior in civil courage and love of public good. This is a deplorable thing to say! Finally, when Baltimore was at the mercy of the spirit of destruction, when the security of the town vainly passed from the mayor to the sheriff and from the sheriff to the commander of the militia; when the prisons had been opened, the mayor and militia members pillaged, when general sentiment had finally rallied to order, no one could be found in this town of a hundred thousand souls who would dare to place himself at the head of the movement. When the most outstanding and interested citizens were gathered in a meeting at the Exchange, this mountain in travail produced nothing but long speeches on the advantages of order, and a grand barrage of resolutions that resolved nothing. What was needed — what an insult! — was an old wreck from independence, an old man of 84 who had retired from Congress to end his long career in peace. He felt his blood half-frosted by old age boil in his veins and rise up, and he rose to reveal his heart to this crowd of young, vigorous men who had allowed their town to submit to the despotism of a band of drunks and thugs. This indignant old man, interrupting the reading of interminable resolutions, cried out:

“*Damn your resolutions!* Give me a sword and thirty men, and I will give you good order!”

“How, General Smith,” one of the irresolute posers of resolutions said. “Would you fire on your fellow citizens?”

“Those who come in contempt of the laws and chase their neighbor from his house, sack it, and reduce his wife and children to misery, those are not my fellow citizens,” General Smith responded.

These words, which everyone thought and no one dared to say, were greeted with thunderous applause. The old senator was named commandant of the public force by acclamation, and a few days later he was elected mayor. Since then Baltimore is peaceful. But when one reflects that order could not be reestablished in a large, flourishing city except when it is recovered by a veteran death has overlooked by accident, and who found in himself the energy to come, one foot in the grave, and teach by his example one last time to his fellow citizens one last time, the traditions of the great days of American liberty, is one not forced to repeat with Mr. Clay, “We are in the midst of a revolution?”

⁵⁰⁰ See note 115.

Mr. Clay is no false prophet, since the events that have taken place since he spoke these words announce that a crisis is imminent. The American system is not functioning regularly anymore. In the North, the unlimited extension of the right of suffrage without the creation of any regulatory political institution, has broken all equilibrium. In the South, the old basis borrowed from institutions from before Jesus Christ, on which they want to raise a new social order in the nineteenth century, is shaking and threatens to overturn a work half-achieved by builders without foresight. In the West, people coming from the land under the rule of circumstances without parallel in the annals of world history, already seem destined to prevail, we would say even to dominate, the North and South. Everywhere the relations established by the old federal pact begins to hit up against incompatibilities. The breaking apart of the Union, the mere idea would have caused one to shudder ten years ago, placed among the infamous things one was not permitted to name, is now said without a thunderbolt falling on one's head for sacrilege. Now it is a common theme of conversation. This is because the breaking apart of the Union, should it happen, would be the most complete of all possible revolutions.

What must be the character of this revolution that we feel coming? For what institutions will the day begin? What will perish in this liquidation? Who will rise in this storm? Who will act to resist the movement of the ages? I do not feel in myself the gift of prophecy, and I will not try to penetrate the mystery of the destinies of the New World. There exists in me, however, one conviction: it is that a people possessing the energy and intelligence with which the Americans are endowed, a people with such a genius for work, who combines perseverance with the spirit of resources, who is essentially methodical and organized, and who, lacking lively beliefs, is at least imbued to the marrow with religious habits, such a people cannot be born yesterday to disappear tomorrow. The American nation, despite its original faults, despite the numerous gaps arising from a sudden growth and a superficial education, is truly great and strong in its ideas, customs and sentiments. For such nations, the most violent storms are salutary tests that strengthen them, solemn lessons that elevate their spirit, elevate their soul and affirm their morality.

Note 113 [Vol. 2, Note 59, 1836 edition]

Censorship Practiced by Postmasters

In August 1835, following efforts made in the South against *abolitionists*, or persons supposed to be such, the postmaster of the city of New York refused to receive certain journals published against slavery. The director general wrote him a letter that was reproduced in all newspapers with the sense that he did not approve this act formally, but also that he did not disapprove. This was, hence, an authorization to continue the practice. At the same time, the postmaster in Charleston had the bag of letters opened by a committee of surveillance that suppressed, at its own discretion, what they believed was written in the abolitionist sense.

The Southern States have even demanded officially or privately of the Northern States that they should ban the publication of writings there in which slavery is attacked. In their inaugural messages to their Legislatures, several Northern governors, including of New York, have recognized the necessity of repressive laws demanded by the South, in situations where abolitionists persist in writing. Almost all have denounced the efforts of the opponents of slavery in the most severe terms. But some, among others Mr.

E[dward] Everett of Massachusetts, and Mr. Wolf of Pennsylvania, have formally refused to bow their heads to the demands of the South. The former, who had long been one of the most distinguished of the House of Representatives in Congress, expressly stated that the penal acts demanded by the South were incompatible with the spirit of national institutions and the attitude of the people.

Note 114 [Not in the 1836 edition]

On the Militia and Paid Troops

In his message of December 1835, the president informed his fellow citizens of disorders that had taken place and sought the means to end them:

A permanent army being incompatible with the spirit of our institutions and the ideas received in the country, it is necessary (he said), that we demand of the militia the force that is lacking to the public authority.

In consequence, he called the attention of the Congress to a reorganization of the militia. He indicated the dispositions so analogous to those of our own law on the Mobile National Guard; he added some ideas on military instruction to be given all the citizens. The constitution authorizes the Congress to make laws on the organization and discipline of the militia. It says (article 8, paragraph 16):

The Congress will see to it that the militia be organized, armed and disciplined, and will dispose of this part of the militia that could find itself in the service of the United States, leaving to the respective states the nomination of officers and the obligation to establish in the militia the discipline prescribed by Congress.

According to the tenor of this paragraph, one could expect that any law made by Congress to establish a more severe discipline and more serious exercises will encounter obstacles from the particular states, jealous of their sovereignty. If, despite the precise text of the constitution on the subject of postal roads, they are inclined to prevent the Congress from digging a shovelful outside of the federal district and to contribute a centime to any communication project, what part could one derive from the redaction of paragraph 16?

At this moment the length of exercises, prescribed by the law, is three days. One could not believe how much irritation these exercises cause, even when so reduced. There was a universal howl against the law of three days: "These are three days of labor that you seize from each head of family," say the businessman, the shopkeeper and the worker. "It is not maneuvering that you are teaching," say the priests and the apostles of societies of temperance, "it is dissipation, debauchery and drunkenness." The number of citizens who expose themselves to fines rather than to go walk the roads, gun on their shoulders, without order or attitude, to the bang of the drum and the cry of the fife, is so considerable that in many places the fine has fallen into disuse. In all the large cities, the opponents of the three days of exercise have imagined better things to do than to come in. Instead, they go in droves, dressed in the most grotesque costumes, armed with wooden swords or of straw brooms. They mingle for good or ill with the movements of the more

zealous militiamen, increasing the confusion, as if this were possible, pouring out on all the curses of a mob. These *invincible Don Quixotes*, as they call themselves, have come to mock the American militia system, which was already unpopular because it diverts the citizens from their affairs, and for Americans their affairs are their whole life. If this is the disposition of their spirits, there could be no doubt about the reception that would greet a law raising the number of days of exercise from three to fifteen, for example.

The creation of a federal army, beyond the knot of six to eight thousand men that exists today, is forbidden by the ruling ideas. One would not obtain anything from a federal law on the reorganization of the militia, because the jealousy of the states would cause it to fall flat, if they did not countermand it openly. It would be possible that local laws, if they did not expire in the face of the hostility of citizens toward military exercises, would have the result of aggravating the disorder by the collision of various companies composed, one of workers, the other of bourgeois. The system that would be the most effective, but to which the legislatures certainly refuse their consent, and which is entirely outside the attributions of the president and Congress, is that of troops paid by each state. The constitution authorizes it with the consent of Congress (article 10, paragraph 2). Already in the South, some towns, such as Richmond and Charleston, form paid troops to police slavery. This plan would have the advantage of being more in conformity with the regnant principle of the independence of the states, although it has the grave inconvenience of facilitating the abuse of this independence, an abuse toward which they are too much inclined. The free companies of militia, however, all considered, offer the least imperfect means and least impractical of stopping the evil that extends over the United States.

A while ago fine spirits discussed in the United States the idea of an armed police: the constable's club and the *posse comitatus* of the sheriff no longer suffice. Apart from the political difficulties, a system of the special economy of the country inclines to adoption. Virginia, for example, is equal in area to two-fifths of France. A gendarmerie of a thousand men, which would be little enough for the task, would demand an annual expenditure of three million francs, and three million is less than we pay on the interest of a loan by means to build a canal or railroad from Richmond to the Ohio (about 160 leagues). One could therefore build the canal and pass on the constabulary. If from time to time some travelers from the North are, in moments of excitement, horsewhipped or hanged as *abolitionists* by a mutiny of slaveholders, they are disturbed for a while, but they soon realize that they are better off having a canal or a railroad of 160 leagues that makes Richmond a rival to New York than to save two or three fanatics from the scourge or the rope. This system is deplorable. I still do not know if we have the right to blame it, for we must recognize that one can show an analogy among us. We, in contrast, demand without hesitation money for funding to make war, to organize public force vigorously, to keep on foot considerable armies and to fill our arsenals with cannon. What have we done to find what is needed for civilizing enterprises, for creations of public utility, for roads, canals, railroads, schools and penitentiaries, to which the United States contributes all its resources exclusively?

[First published in the book edition of 1836]

XXXII

THE MIDDLE CLASS (*BOURGEOISIE*)

Baltimore, 8 October 1835

American society is composed of elements differing from those of European society in general and of France in particular. In analyzing France, one finds here in the first place the shadow of aristocracy, consisting of the debris of the great families of the Old Regime that escaped the revolutionary torment, and the progenitor of the imperial nobility, which also seems separated from their fathers by centuries.

Below this extends a numerous bourgeoisie in two very distinct parts: one, the active bourgeoisie, embraces commerce, industry, the rarer class of agricultural industries or producing proprietors, men of law and the liberal professions. On the other hand, there is another class, sometimes known as the leisured bourgeoisie,⁵⁰¹ formed of inactive owners of the soil, who draw from their lands through farmers or sharecroppers a revenue between 2,000 and 7,000-8,000 francs, on which they live without being able to increase it, and even without managing it seriously. The less considerable class of rentiers is attached here as an appendix.

These two branches of the bourgeoisie differ essentially from one another in that members of the first branch work, while the lives of the second is consumption, and they play their entire lives. The one increases its property and thus manages to hold itself above the flood and maintain a level if not rising. The other, as Monsieur Laffitte says, is successively moved by the social times to the wealth that each day brings, and each day they find themselves relatively poorer and must decline. They differ in their origins: the one is essentially from the Third Estate while the other has pretence to nobility. It is the descendent, or at least the heir and continuation, of the petty nobility of the countryside. Under the Restoration, they differed in political opinion: one group sat chiefly on the Left, the other preferred the Right. Today, the first has accepted the new dynasty without revulsion; the second has more difficulty in fact with the guarantees of order and is quick to protest any violation of its ancient right, still harboring secret inclinations for old legitimacy. So far as religion goes, the former is skeptical, willingly believing that Voltaire's philosophy and the theories of the opposition of fifteen years ago are the ultimate of human understanding. The other group, ensconced in its faith, harbors the sacred flame of religious sentiment, rejects the disturbing concepts of the eighteenth century, and disdains the musings of the liberal publicists of the Restoration. The first is enamored of positivism and is concerned only with material things; the second is concerned for the advantage of the great conservative principles of society, but refuses to recognize the new interests that must share a place with those of the past.

These two parts of the bourgeoisie are not actually as separate as I indicate here: they mix and mingle with one another. A large portion of the bourgeoisie participates in one and the other, moving alternatively on both sides, in keeping with the times and the circumstances. Still, even when occasionally confounded in one and the same person, the two interests are no less distinct.

⁵⁰¹ I will occasionally make use of this word without any negative connotation. I cannot find another term that better expresses the condition of this class.

The base of the pyramid is occupied by the peasants and workers. It is subdivided into two parts, one having achieved property, the other not having achieved it yet, although it impatiently aspires to it. On the one side is the class of artisans and small cultivators, on the other the proletariat.

Today it is universally recognized that the bourgeoisie rules in France. The aristocracy has been pushed from power or holds itself apart. The artisans and small proprietors begin slowly to raise their heads. The proletarians play no role at all.

In the states of the North of the American Union, society is much less complex than in France. Setting aside the caste of the people of color, there are only two classes: the bourgeoisie and the democrats. The two interests are in conflict with us, and there only one has a public existence, which is that of work.

The bourgeoisie there is composed of industrialists, merchants, lawyers and physicians. In its ranks agriculturists are not in a considerable number, no more than men committed exclusively to the culture of the sciences, letters and arts.

The democracy includes the farmers and mechanics, the cultivators and the artisans. In general, a cultivator is the owner of his own land. In the West, this is a rule that knows no exception. Large-scale territorial property does not exist in the North or the Northwest, at least as a class.⁵⁰²

There is no proletariat, properly so called, although there are day-workers there, and the towns and even the countryside abounds in manual workers deprived of capital. These are truly apprentices, often strangers, who are starting out with an artisan in town, or with a cultivator in the countryside, and who will become artisans and cultivators in their turn, often then becoming rich industrialists and opulent speculators.

Between these two classes, the bourgeoisie and the democracy, there is no further line of division, since the efforts of some groups to establish formal classifications and to install the superiorities of *fashion* hardly are worth noting, and they only have a negative value as timid and often crude protests against the abuses of equality. The bourgeoisie and the democracy have the same domestic habits and the same way of life, voting together and on the same footing, and they do not seriously differ except for their religious affiliation or the bench they occupy in church. One might have an almost precise idea of the habitual relations that exist today in France between the rich bourgeoisie and the remnants of the aristocracy.

Political influence today is almost entirely in the hands of the American democracy, just as they reside among us with the bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie has no opportunity to achieve power except temporarily, due to the momentary divisions within the democracy, by rallying to itself a large portion of the artisans and cultivators, such as happened at the start of 1834 after General Jackson's attacks on the Bank. Just as the aristocracy in France cannot raise its own banner (since it does not have one of its own), save for that of legitimacy, however many outrages the efforts of the government commit, inspiring alarms over public security among the bourgeois classes that it supports with all its might.

⁵⁰² There remain a small number of families of large proprietors living on their domains. In New York State, for example, one finds a certain number of persons owning vast extents of land. There are also some who have bought uncultivated land at a low price to resell at a later date, but these speculations in land are often like speculations on sugar and coffee, and they cannot be considered part of any class of grand proprietors.

In the Southern states, the presence of slavery produces a different society from that of the North. Half of the population there consists of proletarians in every sense of that word, that is, slaves. Slavery calls into being large-scale property, which is actual aristocracy. Large-scale property is maintained in the South, along with the habit of equality, which is reduced in turn.

In the South, between these two extremes, there is a middle class formed, like our bourgeoisie, of two elements, the workers and the leisured, the new interest and the old interest. Commerce, industry and the liberal professions on the one hand, on the other the landed proprietors of the same variety as our middling proprietors of the south and west, living on their lands from the revenues produced by the sweat of their slaves, with no taste for work, unprepared for it by education, participating only indirectly in the ordinary exploitation of their domains. These are men incapable of survival if slavery were abolished, just as is the case with our proprietors, who would be incapable of surviving if their properties were taken from them.

The law of equal inheritance would appear to be fated to multiply this class of non-industrious proprietors. It is numerous in the old states of the South, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia as well as Louisiana. The time of halting that has tested these states, at a time when the North marches on without ceasing, together with the expansion of this class, are two contemporary facts that explain one another. But this is not the case in the new states of the South, which are as much devoured as the North by the passion to acquire, and it has become as industrious as the Yankees. The raising of cotton provides them with a fine career. In Alabama and Mississippi, cotton land can be had, as everywhere in the West, at a very low price. Internal trade provides an abundance of slaves easily financed, thanks to credit, so that no one needs an inheritance as long as he has friends. The sons of the old states of the South, rather than vegetate on the rags of the familial property, liquidate their estates and take a column of slaves, aided by loans sure to be liquidated quickly, and go and establish cotton plantations in the southwest, virtual agrarian factories, some grand, some modest, where they have with greater or lesser activity the cares and hopes of industrial entrepreneurs.

Hence the class of bourgeoisie that does not work or works very little vanishes in the United States. They no longer exist in the states of the West, neither in the South nor in the North. There one may find no one not devoted to agricultural, commercial or manufacturing industry, or to the liberal professions or clerical callings.

The United States differ from us in that they have neither an aristocracy, nor a leisured bourgeoisie, nor a proletariat (at least in the North). It appears not to be demonstrated that the lack of these three classes has a singular significance that covers each case. I have no problem admitting that the proletariat and the leisured bourgeoisie are definitively lacking in American society, but in the case of the aristocracy,⁵⁰³ I think it would be more precise to say that America no longer has one.

Civilization, in passing from one continent to another, is thus stripped of its proletariat and of its leisured bourgeoisie. This double disappearance is not a double phenomenon but a simple fact, or at least two aspects of a unique fact, which is the industrial progress of the human race. It appears inevitable in this regard that the Old

⁵⁰³ By aristocracy, I posit here a constituted group, composed of various social superiors recognized and confirmed according to a certain number of diverse modes, one of which could be birth (see the following letter, XXXIII).

World will follow the example of America. It tends toward this goal by means that are peculiar to it. What we call the force of things, that is to say the providential advance of humanity, will achieve it inevitably.

There is a law superior to all the conventions of societies, all codes and all jurisprudences: it is that when a class has ceased to contribute a part to the social project, its decline is imminent. It is not possible for it to conserve its advantages without the whole civilization stopping and losing its grip, of which the greatest example is that of Rome from Augustus to Constantine. But once the column is on the march, those who do not wish to be soldiers but are incapable of being officers, those who are not capable of serving any function, whether in the ranks or in the staff or in the ambulance or in the food service are abandoned like stragglers and stricken off the rolls.

This law is rigorous and pitiless. No human power can sustain in place those who have been condemned. Only those taking an active role can avoid being removed from the ranks.

This is what explains why, among us, the noble aristocracy has been annihilated. There has been a long series of battles between it and royalty, as also between the English royalty and its aristocracy, but success has differed as much as the two peoples themselves. In France, the monarchic aristocracy triumphed: Louis XI knocked the aristocracy down; Richelieu muzzled it, Louis XIV gave it a collar of domesticity. Thus reduced as a political force, nothing remained to it but the other domain of taste and the arts, and it exploited it for the profit of irreligion and the corruption of morals. In 1789 it was weighed and found wanting; the verdict of destiny was declared, and the revolution executed it with cannibalistic brutality. This unfortunate aristocracy did not recall its nature until it was time to die: it mounted the scaffold nobly.

For the same reason, the leisured bourgeoisie has tended to disappear among us, since it has accomplished no mission that could not be completed without it.

It has not enriched society by its work, although it pretends to be counted among the number of producers, under the pretext of possessing the soil and that it exercises a sort of superintendence of agricultural work. The fact, however, is that it ignores agriculture. It knows its routine operation by tradition, but the peasant knows it as well as does the bourgeoisie and does not need reminding. The proprietor, it is true, is usually paid by the peasant in natural products, and then he sells his grain, but the peasant could easily master this business, and he could do it as well as the bourgeois.

The leisured bourgeoisie no longer represents the intellectuals. In this regard, it possesses nothing more nor less than minor literary instruction that is agreeable but is little in tune with the needs and directions of the age.

Where a nobility survives and maintains its prerogative, as is the case in England, it fulfills a double function. First of all, it dedicates itself to the most difficult art of all, that of governing; it excels at this, whether because it traditionally cultivates it or whether it carefully recruits people who have demonstrated their superiority in knowledge of diverse social interests. This is one reason for existence that it is impossible to assert in favor of our leisured bourgeoisie, which is notoriously alienated from the science of government.

The other function of a nobility that is no less essential than the first for our officious age consists in serving as a model in the art of everyday life, teaching the art of consuming, without which others will gain only imperfect and illusory satisfaction, and to

encourage fine arts. In this aspect, there is nothing to assert in favor our leisured bourgeoisie. It shines neither by its grace, nor its elegance, nor its tact. The importance it has acquired since the destruction of the aristocracy was fatal to the old French politeness, to the exquisite urbanity that marked our fathers. For fifty years, during which the English have grown in this regard, so far as their cold and inelastic humor permits, we ourselves have forgotten much and misunderstood much under the influence of the leisured and even the active bourgeoisie.

So far as the art of consuming and living well, so far as the care of the person that the English call *comfort*, the sole part that it is given them to sense, our bourgeoisie still has lessons to learn. It has no more lessons to give. This is not for a lack of native dispositions. No one has received senses more subtle than ours. Certainly our fiber is more sensitive, our hearing and our taste are much more acute than the English. Our aptitude to consumption and personal care is proved by this fact, that we are in possession of the majority of the crafts related to it. The French have, from one end of the earth to the other, the monopoly of those employed as chefs and hoteliers, of valets and tailors. But to consume, to live well, to surround one's existence with comfort in the English manner and the more refined comfort that we French can conceive, it is necessary to be rich. Yet our bourgeoisie is poor, and, politically, this is one of its great failings. It is getting poorer day by day, whether due to the law of divided inheritance, or due to its laziness that condemns it to a stationary income while the wealth and luxury of the public rapidly grows everywhere.

Hence obliged to live cheaply, it is clear that it cannot encourage fine arts, since this is a patronage whose exercise costs a great deal. It also demands a delicacy of taste that is becoming very rare in France, I repeat, since the disappearance of the aristocracy.

When we analyze the population of the Ottoman Empire, one is surprised to arrive at the result that, in European Turkey, a mere 700,000 Turks are superimposed on nine million people, and one asks himself how the Porte is already finished, and if it is not high time to push the Ottomans back to Asia to give independence to the peoples they are oppressing. I am entirely ready to believe that the Ottoman Empire is at the end of its European existence, and yet I am convinced that if the seven hundred thousand Turks depart without being replaced by any element exterior to the indigenous populations, the upheavals of anarchy will succeed to the pernicious repose in which these fine lands languish. All the nations of diverse origins and faiths will assault and devour one another. It is that the Turks, even if they do not represent order in Albania and Roumelia, at least represent the absence of disorder. One could maintain that the leisured bourgeoisie fills the same negative mission on French territory and that, if they disappear, France itself would fall into horrible convulsions.

But this comparison, which the leisured bourgeoisie cannot find flattering, and which it would not claim the benefit, is absolutely precise. French population is infinitely more homogeneous than that of the Turkish provinces. It is also more advanced. The majority of our urban and rural proletarians are ready for a different existence, and they desire it ardently. It is society that is not ready to give it to them. The proletariat lacks nothing but the benefit of education and an easier access to property, that is, better

conditions and more varied occasions for work, to be in a position to exercise the full rights of a citizen as well as do a large part of the bourgeoisie.⁵⁰⁴

Further, in France it is enough to look around to recognize that, if the leisured bourgeoisie represents the party of order in whole or in part, it is only with the aid and the help of four hundred thousand bayonets, not including bourgeois bayonets, while in the Ottoman Empire a squad of soldiers is enough to hold the respect of the natives and the multitude of believers. This clearly demonstrates that this bourgeoisie no longer conserves its predominance except by opposing the masses with the force of the masses themselves. This is a critical fact that makes one tremble, and that cannot last, since all the bayonets begin to become intelligent.

The leisured bourgeoisie has only one thing to do, which is to pass into the ranks of the bourgeoisie that works, which is to make themselves ready to furnish the people with leaders for their work. Once it wills this, our countryside, which is their special domain, will change its appearance as if by magic, and our peasants, which cannot be mentioned often enough, form the most numerous and poorest class, will be lifted to a better condition, which they deserve. The bourgeoisie is responsible, together with the government, to which the initiative of all great projects of betterment and advancement for twenty-five million agrarian proprietors pertains.

The bourgeoisie has everything to gain from this metamorphosis. In this way it preserves and reaffirms its social rank, since it will recover the confidence of the masses and justify its superiority by a fruitful patronage. It will exchange a threatened existence for a fine ease, or even riches, and the despair of weakness for the satisfaction that an awareness of the good one has done, and of a great duty loyally fulfilled.

Hence this honorable desertion of the flag of leisure for that of work will influence all our days. Let us be happy about it: let us take the pledge that it will generalize and accelerate, since there is no time to lose. Let us continually insist to the government that it should facilitate by all measures needed to develop work by all the means that can increase the progress of agriculture, and to inspire in the young bourgeoisie the desire to consecrate itself to this art, the first of all.

⁵⁰⁴ Many peasants became proprietors during the Revolution, and they have demonstrated that they have no more need of lessons from the bourgeoisie to render the soil productive, to manage a property and to raise a family.

XXXIII
ARISTOCRACY

Philadelphia, 13 October 1835

There is no large society more durable than the authority that is constituted there. One could conceive a case where the authority might be momentarily in shadow, while powerful nations are searching for political and social forms that suit them, passing from test to test, groping and successively returning to themselves in various directions until their isolation from the rest of the world guarantees their independence and frees them from organizing against an attack, it is permitted, it is necessary that they reserve a greater ease of movement and that they reduce the number of their attachments to the point where the system remains all of a piece.

But in fact, a society without a fixed order and without political ties is an anomaly, a transitory phenomenon. The social ties of opinion and religion, the sole ones that subsist here, cannot take the place of political ties, unless they degenerate into tyranny. Further, once there are large cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and a numerous mobile population that opinion and religion cannot oversee at close range, mores and beliefs have an absolute need for the firm support of laws.

The gravity and frequency of the disorders that currently erupt in the American Union show that the time is coming when authority will have to organize itself there. There are alarmed interests in the South, for example, which, in the absence of legal protection, protect themselves brutally, at random, and that must sense the need for a power on which they may rely to defend themselves. In the North, in the cities, among the bourgeoisie, there is a population softened or rather regularized by wealth, which does not have any more taste for that part of *self-government* that consists of the repression of violence by force. And among the democracy, there is an unquiet, indocile, element that only force can contain. These two classes peculiar to the North, growing every day, cannot live closely with one another without the interposition of some power.

Authority has two bases on which it, to be stable, must support itself like a human being, on two feet: unity or centralization and hierarchy. The corresponding bases of liberty are the independence of the locality, the family and the individual, and equality. Unity or centralization is beginning to appear within several of the states of the American Union.⁵⁰⁵

It is not precise to say that Americans have absolutely denied the principle of authority, since they have presumed a principle of sovereignty from the beginning, that of the sovereignty of the people. It is true that they intend it negatively, that is, as a pure and simple reversal of European-style authority, of the military power founded on conquest. But once the doctrine of equality has assured the predominance of democracy over the bourgeoisie, democracy begins to practice this sovereignty bit by bit to the profit of its interests well or badly understood, of its good or bad passions: it has the power in every sense of the word. It is even a dictatorship. This has not been permanent in all affairs, it arises episodically and with intervals. Most of the time it sleeps, leaving the field free to individualism. It does not reveal itself but by large blows, followed again by

⁵⁰⁵ See Letter XXX.

slumber. But whatever the irregularity of its action, an essential fact has been established: it had the power, the legal power, a bold power. It has this more and more.

The states of New England, which are subdivision and individualism incarnate, are those that have done the least in this direction. The old states of the South, while having more centralism in their blood, are also rather timid in this regard. The states that are the most advanced are those of the center, particularly New York. The West, and particularly the Northwest, appears inclined to imitate New York.

This unitary power operating in gusts, and true centralization with eclipses, has two modes of action, one of them negative, the other positive. Negatively, it imposes limits, sometimes strict, to the independence of personal and collective personalities. For example, it has reduced the privileges of corporations in general, and in particular those of railroad companies and banks, or it has even assumed omnipotence toward them: at this moment, in the Northern states, the democracy has imposed a *toll* on all companies. It has made restrictive commercial rules, such as inspection laws for goods being exported.⁵⁰⁶ Actively, it has intervened in transactions from particular to particular, to declare them null or to suspend them: thus it was that in the West there were various retroactive laws permitting debtors to delay payment, or it reversed courts that refused to comply, such as in Kentucky, or it instituted monopolies that were sold to the profit of the state, such as the railroad from Amboy to Camden (from New York to Philadelphia). A few years ago it began to adopt other measures essentially constitutional in nature and of the highest significance. The state required the centralization of schools, of large routes of communication and of banks, that is, the three most capital institutions in a society devoted to industry. Hence there develops in the United States the germs of an effective centralization that embraces no more nor less than the dominant interests of the country. In this view, the North and South, the East and the West, appear to be unanimous in this, save only New England, whose ideal of subdivision places it beyond the new movement.⁵⁰⁷

If there is any obstacle to overcome in the near future in the Northern states, it is not that the power is lacking, it is that there is too much. Just as the democracy of these states distrusts military power, it appears tolerant of the centralization of legislation. It refuses to call on armed force even to repress the most brutal violence, but it will willingly abuse the omnipotence of the delegates of the people. It would not be far removed, if circumstances provoked them, to press all the way to tyranny. Representative government loses its character as a transaction between different social interests and degenerates into an instrument of despotism in the hands of the numeric majority. In America, it began as a charter imposed by the bourgeoisie on the democracy. Now the roles are reversed. The bourgeoisie needs to have a charter issued to it in turn, but it appears it cannot obtain it.

⁵⁰⁶ The restrictive measures adopted against companies respond to resistance. They fear, and not without reason in some cases, that companies become too powerful and endanger public liberties. In New England, the legislators of Massachusetts, for example, have long considered the case, and their principle of atomization has led them to limit, far earlier than other states, the prerogatives of companies. In this state, all the shareholders of a company are individually responsible for all the acts of the company, in other words corporations do not exist, although the companies are described as *incorporated*, which is the term corresponding to our *compagnies anonymes*.

⁵⁰⁷ See Note 65.

In place of the physical tortures of the Inquisition, this despotism, if it is confirmed, will have cruel moral tortures, a bed of Procrustes for intelligences and for fortunes, a leaden rule for genius. Under the pretext of equality, they have instituted the most desperate uniformity. As it is successively exercised by all those who momentarily achieve popular favor, it shall be eminently mobile and capricious, placing everything in question at every moment,⁵⁰⁸ and it will end by paralyzing the spirit of enterprise that has made the prosperity of the country.

In the states of the South, white democracy has one pedestal, slavery. To make itself feel elevated, it does not have any need to continually abuse the bourgeoisie. It exercises its authority downward and thinks seldom of attacking those above it. In the South, the society is divided into masters and slaves; the distinction between the bourgeoisie and the democracy is secondary there, particularly today when the disquieting condition of the blacks compels the whites to remain united. Further, in the South, slavery compels local governments to institute a police and an armed force that, by containing the slaves, prevents a return of the excess by which the United States was soiled in 1835, and keeping away those attacks against property and public order of which the North has frequently been for some time the theater.

Centralization is one half of authority; the other half, hierarchy, is not swift to unfold in the United States, particularly not in the Northern states, where it is necessary that an institution of some sort emerge to give stability to power.

There are two aristocracies, the aristocracy of birth and the aristocracy of ability. I will not speak of the aristocracy of money: this has no chance to affirm itself and possesses no influence except when confounded with one of the two other aristocracies.

All the great societies that have existed until this day have constituted more or less solidly one or the other of these aristocracies, let us even say, both of them. Classification by order of ability even existed among the Egyptians and the Hindus within the limits of caste. Christian society is the first to have instituted classification by order of ability alone, not only within each nation, but in Catholicity as a whole. The clergy of the Roman Church was organized on this principle. It had to be that way: this society believed in the unity of God and the human race. For it, there was only one God, Father of all humanity, before whom all distinctions of birth count for nothing.

Parallel to the hierarchy of ability, all the peoples who have had great political destinies and have founded durable empires have had an aristocracy of birth, a civil and military patriciate.

In some few peoples of antiquity the patriciate was composed of all the free citizens, who were a minority relative to the slaves. Such were the Greek republics, for whom the political fortunes were somewhat mixed. Such were the Arabs, among whom there were, beneath the believers, the Christian and Jewish residents. The nations that have weighed the most in the balance of European civilization were differently constituted. Above the free citizens they had a class of hereditary privileged persons. Such was Rome, such is England: the same Islamic Empire was not stable until a corps of Turks was superimposed on the Arabs as a privileged caste.

It should be remarked that the last of the great societies to have come onto earth, this Christian society that was the first where aristocracy of ability was employed in all

⁵⁰⁸ See Note 116.

its intensity, was also that where aristocracy of birth was best characterized. The group of peoples descended from Japheth who emerged to promote civilization, and make of their muscles his muscles, and of their will his will, brought from the north a profound sentiment of family that it implanted in politics. Hence a nobility was created that was the most hereditary ever yet seen. Until then there was heredity in a caste. The Germans constituted heredity of distinctions and functions in the family with the precise alteration of primogeniture. What had been an exception in favor of royal families was applied to all noble families. This organization lives on today, more or less modified, in most European states. It also appears as vigorous as ever in England. It is true that it has been transformed according to the needs of the times, that it has become elastic and flexible, that it has opened its bosom to the aristocracy of ability, and that it has consecrated its riches and privileges, not to satisfy its caprices, not to still its passions, but to spread about it the network of a vast and beneficial patronage.

Today there is a violent reaction against hereditary distinctions and the aristocracy of birth. At every point occupied by Western civilization, aristocracy of feudal origin has been pounded to pieces, here by democracy, there by the bourgeoisie, elsewhere by royal power. In league against it, the emperor of Russia joins hands with American democracy and the French bourgeoisie, and British democracy, in the person of O'Connell, is allied with the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria.

The doctrine of Christianity on creation that represents God drawing souls as if from a reservoir, without the father or mother communicating any part of their nature in the body of the child implies a reprobation of the aristocracy of birth: for all intelligences, even those in the greatest rebellion against the Christian faith, live without doubting on the fund of ideas that Christianity put in circulation. When modern philosophy teaches us that the chance of birth should not be a title to social distinctions, it is doing nothing but making a logical deduction from the precepts taught by Christ. It continues the ideas of the Fathers of the Church, close to what is called chance, which Christianity calls Providence.

Whatever opinion might be as to the current value of the aristocracy of birth, one is forced to recognize that it has rendered great services to the human race in the past. Not to leave the history of modern peoples, it is clear, for example, that feudal organization stabilized the barbarian hordes. Without the fief system, they would have perpetually swirled around on the soil of Europe, hurling nation against nation, tribe against tribe. Through this system, they took root and constituted a new social order. The most essential difference that it is possible to see between the Germanic peoples or Normans and the bands of Attila, or those who inundated the north of Europe later under the sons of Genghis Khan, is that the first group had an instinct of founding something manifested by their feudal conception that the others lacked. England draws principally from the immense successes of its aristocracy.⁵⁰⁹ I have no regrets about the past, since

⁵⁰⁹ The English aristocracy is open to any superior man. The king can make a commoner into a lord, and he often makes use of this facility. Further, the order of knights, the first degree of nobility, is essentially an aristocracy of talent, merit and personal services. Heredity does not operate there. But if ability has arisen from the terrain of the aristocracy of birth, it becomes part of the aristocracy of ability. This is because, with the constitution of the Anglican clergy, in the absence of monasteries and the numerous free institutions of the past, it is much more difficult today for a pig-herder such as Sixtus V to make his way in the ranks of the Anglican church than it would have been in the Middle Ages to rise to the summit of the Catholic hierarchy.

the role of the glory of France remains great, despite the fact that it was defeated militarily and politically by its rival throughout Europe, in the New World and in old Asia. It should be permitted to me to say that if the French aristocracy had triumphed in its struggle against Richelieu,⁵¹⁰ the destinies of the world would have been completely changed. Perhaps France would have fulfilled the role that has become that of England.

Primogeniture, extended beyond the limits of the aristocracy, has to be considered as something other than unreflecting imitation by a vain bourgeoisie. This usage, very difficult to defend as a matter of *equity*, was still one of the causes for the grandeur of England. It is obvious that it favors the accumulation of capital, for capital is like people: united, they are powerful; divided, they are powerless. Thanks to the law of primogeniture, England has at its disposal a continually refreshed army of cadets avid to transport her industry to the colonies. These cadets are content with their lot, partly because their elder siblings cordially loan their support, and partly because they are full of energy, and they know that through work they will arrive at fortune, partly because they cannot imagine that the world would be arranged any differently. During this time, the elder siblings form a rich metropolitan region that sends ample aid to their distant establishments, and which gains bit by bit supremacy in Europe.

However that may be, it would be foolish to want to reconstruct the feudality, or to dream of copying the English aristocracy, whether in France or in the United States, even with its style of recruiting among social superiors. These are hierarchical forms that have had their day.

But, once more, it is important for all peoples intending to become or remain powerful to have an aristocracy, that is to say, a body, hereditary or not, that conserves and perpetuates traditions, gives a spirit of continuity to politics, and dedicates itself to the most difficult art of all, which everyone believes to know without having understood, which is that of governing. A people without an aristocracy might shine in letters or the arts, but its political glory seems to me to be as ephemeral as a meteor.

I do not know whether I am permitting myself to be dazzled by my admiration for the past, although I do not fool myself that there was no tyranny against the great majority of the human race, but I cannot force myself to believe that heredity, or to use more general terms, the sentiment of the family, should be banned entirely from the aristocratic institution destined to crown the new social order, still mysterious, that tends to establish itself on both shores of the Atlantic. The sentiment of family will not die away. The family, from the origins of historic times to our own, has been modified like all social institutions. In the first times, it was entirely absorbed into the father. Successively, the individualities of the spouse and children were disengaged, but, across all transformations, the sentiment of the family gained more than it lost. If the progressive movement does not suddenly stop, it is inevitable that the institutions on whose path our civilization moves will give to the sentiment of the family a place in politics, and one cannot conceive how it could be thus without a certain dose of heredity.

⁵¹⁰ The French aristocracy that fought against Richelieu was Protestant. It was more enlightened than the English aristocracy of the same epoch. French Protestantism was the elite of Europe in all aspects, even among those in industry and manufactures. It is known that the great advances of English and German factories date from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes that chased ten thousand Frenchmen from their fatherland and dispersed them across all the countries that had liberty of conscience, particularly to Holland, England and Germany.

One could object that, so far as the United States is concerned, that the sentiment of family is a great deal weaker there than in Europe. It is not necessary to confound what is accidental and transitory with what is a progressive gain to civilization. The momentary weakening of family sentiments was one of the necessities of the expansion and individual dispersal through which Americans have proceeded to the colonization of their continent. The effect might cease gradually with the momentary cause that produced it, that is, proportionately as emigration to the west relents. From the moment they began to grow, the Yankees, whose nature today prevails in the Union, abandoned their relatives naturally and without emotion, never to see them again, like the little birds that take wing without returning to the nest where they got their feathers. But the predominance of the Yankees, such as it is today, does not seem to me to be permanent: I do not see them as the definitive type of American.

Among the Yankees themselves, family sentiment preserved solid points of attachment, such as the veneration for the Biblical tradition, the sanctity and restriction of marriage, and the ample powers given to the father to dispose of his fortune.

For three centuries, mobile elements have made enormous growth in western civilization. Industry and printing, organ of philosophy and of profane science, have upset the equilibrium between the force of renovation and the force of conservation that must exist in any society, and which must be balanced so that there will be *order*. These two new powers, which essentially tend to renew everything, have battered the old powers and thrown down the double aristocracy of ability and birth, the clergy and the nobility. Is it necessary to conclude that these two hierarchies are forever dead, or that one of the two is, or should one admit that order, that is, balance between the innovative and conservative tendencies, cannot persist, or at least that power cannot be reconstituted as strong as before, which is not to say that it will have the brutality of its ancient vigor? Is there no reason why hierarchy should not be at least as solidly established as in the past? This does not mean that it should borrow the inelasticity and absolutism of ancient aristocracies: is there a principle of solidarity and stability comparable to hereditary transmission? Doubt on this point is not simply legitimate: I believe it is obligatory.

Very stable hierarchies have been established in the past without heredity. The Catholic hierarchy offers the most perfect example — note the eighteen centuries it has lasted. But to obtain this result it was necessary to destroy the sentiment of family among the members of this hierarchy by compelling celibacy. It was necessary to substitute an entirely artificial principle, an extraordinarily rigorous discipline and the severe rule of passive obedience in the place of the natural principle of stability by hereditary transmission. In a word, one propitiated the conditions of stability by sacrificing liberty.

The two powers of commerce and printing are not so eminently mobile and arousing, since they are unorganized. They are liable to be modified and reduced in their innovative influence, which renders a vigorous reconstitution of the force of conservatism less pressing. Without contradiction, industry would be less hostile to the privileges of a temporal aristocracy if it participated in it, or if it had its special privileges. Science, of which printing is the sword, would have been less hostile to the spiritual hierarchy if it had not been repressed. It is possible that we might be destined to see a sort of industrial nobility, and it is even possible that it might arise, bit by bit to discuss under one form or another the question of a more or less complete monopoly of science and the press. Instead of demolishing the aristocracy, they affirm it, causing science and industry to

come in, defending them rather than attacking them. In this system, aristocracy will be less compact and less exclusive. It will look down from a lower height on the rest of mankind, but it will cover more space, and it will gain in surface what it loses in elevation. It will not see an inch of ground outside their influence. Equality will probably gain, but human independence will be lost.

It would be tiresome to relate the various forms a political or religious hierarchy might take in present or future societies, with or without family sentiment, associated or not with industry and science, or how the principle of the family might associate with the principle of election by the people, or by the leader of the people. It would be equally impossible to enumerate right now the various interests among which society might be divided in the future, or to name the institutions by which it might be personified. Who in the times of Caesar or Pericles, or even under Constantine, could have foretold the bodies of crafts, the universities, the monastic orders and parliaments, let alone the great banks?

A multitude of combinations is possible that no one can foresee. Many will take place successively in the same countries, at the same time among various peoples. Two things still appear certain to me: first, that great social phenomena are about to appear, in America as in Europe. The other is that family sentiment cannot be definitively and absolutely removed from politics.

For us Europeans, any immediate and complete abolition of the hereditary hierarchy appears to me subject to very great difficulties. The peoples of Western Europe have their laws and their traditions from the Germans and the Romans, that is, from two sources saturated with family sentiment. There is not a clot of their soil, a stone of their monuments, a verse of their national hymns that does not reveal this sentiment in recalling this double origin. It seems truly impossible that they would openly enter a regime where the politics would refuse to recognize for it a value and a place.

One may hence consider that the principle of indefinite heredity is blazoned forever. The idea of perpetuity in penalties as well as recompense is displeasing to our century, and it will not suit future centuries either, more than was the case with our fathers in the same space and time. The same number of years therefore represents a greater duration than at other times. Hence there are no pariahs for an eternity, and it will be impossible to have eternal privileges. If aristocratic investiture expires at the end of a small number of generations, aristocracy will not cease to be the most envied of favors and the most stable of institutions, and the jealousy of the non-privileged will support the prerogatives of a nobility that will carry on its forehead: "Remember that you are dust and that to dust you shall return!"

This would not be enough. The aristocracy of birth needs another more vivid spur. To exercise high functions, it is not enough to undergo the pain of birth. There is something monstrous in the privilege of the English peerage, of which all members are legislators by right.⁵¹¹ In the Middle Ages, for one to gird on a knight's sword and bear a banner, it was necessary to have won his spurs. In Rome, the right of birth was enough to make a patrician, not to make senators. Analogous reservations would be useful in all

⁵¹¹ One knows that members of the Irish and Scottish peerage do not participate in this immense privilege. They have the right to be invested in legislative authority by means of election by the Irish and Scottish nobility. The faculty afforded peers of the United Kingdom to vote by procuration is an even more intolerable monstrosity.

lands. With the peoples with the character of the French and Southern Europeans, it would be indispensable.

Without doubt, the human spirit, or at least that portion of public opinion that one is accustomed for the last century to treat as if it had the monopoly of intelligence, rejects all the distinctions founded on the chance of birth these days. Present logic condemns them; the metaphysics of the day revolts against it. But the human spirit is not unchangeable. Sixty years ago it judged hereditary privileges to be legitimate, and today the whole firmament believes them unjust and absurd. Hence, as today, there was a logic and metaphysics for the use of their political faith. Humanity pursues its destiny in keeping with the volleys, sometimes toward liberty, sometimes toward authority, depending on what it needs from one or another. In this maneuvering it sometimes happens that it completely loses sight of the general direction of its progress and mingles with the wake it is leaving behind it. In this case, and whenever it approaches the point where it should steer the other way, it is impossible to define its next move by current tendencies. Besides, philosophy cannot pretend to possess the scepter of the world by itself. Precedents are as valuable as syllogisms. Logic is only half of wisdom, and experience is the other half. Our intelligence must curb its pride in the presence of social necessities. When it is stubborn enough to deny the facts because it does not understand, facts are brutally imposed on it. Besides, is it not well demonstrated that the judgments of philosophy against heredity are well approved by positive science, and that first impressions, the most materialist physiology that is the most revolutionary, grant an irrevocable passport for theories that are opposed to the ancient right of birth?

In France, it is not easy to say where hereditary aristocracy originated, if we really need an origin. It would require a core of ancient families or of military, around which the new elements could group. Then the old French nobility was permitted to degrade unto domesticity under Louis XIV and to debauchery under Louis XV. The ordeal of exile did not help the debris escaping the revolutionary axe: when they returned to us, they had forgotten nothing and learned nothing. The mixture with the military of the Empire did not regenerate them. The retreat to which this ancient nobility has been condemned since 1830, is it an exile that one refers to as a new constitution, through meditation and repentance, or is in fact a tomb that it has closed over itself? Will these new superiorities rise from the soil as the result of earthquakes? Among our peasants do we have forgotten remnants of the adversaries of Caesar or the grandsons of Brennus, who will reveal great deeds to the world? Or will a troop of Tartars emerge from the North, the supply-store of nations, which will put an end to our bourgeois quarrels and install themselves in our palaces, seizing our most fertile lands, marrying our prettiest, noblest, richest heiresses, and telling us all, hand on handle of their saber: "The reign of the lawyers is over, ours is beginning!"

If one admits that the United States is due to organize an aristocracy and inaugurate family sentiment politically, their future would be cloudier than ours. The hereditary element of aristocracies always derives from conquest, or at least constantly supported by alliance or a transaction on the sword of conquerors. How to have a conquest among the Americans? It is possible that they will conquer Mexico, but they will never be conquered by them. It is not permitted to suppose that a red Alexander or Charlemagne, coming from the distant steppes of the West on horseback at the head of ferocious Pawnee warriors, followed by the revolted blacks, will become the founders of

a dynasty and a military aristocracy. If the Union collapses and the rude sons of the West, crossing the Ohio and the Mississippi, conquer the populations of the North, enervated by luxury and anarchy, and those of the South, weakened by a war with slaves, this would with difficulty produce the germ of a hereditary aristocracy: the conquerors and the conquered would soon be of the same family.

See that the Southern States are organized under the principle of a hereditary aristocracy. It is true that the privileged class there is sufficiently numerous to create a privileged group within the privilege, but they are without an aristocracy properly defined. But the fear of an insurrection by the blacks holds the whites there ranked together and forces them to organize themselves strongly and at all costs. The respective situation of whites and blacks does not permit any hesitation.

It is evident that the states without slaves are those where the establishment of a hierarchy endowed with any permanence would be extremely difficult, and that the political inauguration of familiar sentiment under any form would encounter the most energetic opposition there. In the coastal states north of the Potomac, the obstacle appears to be insurmountable. These states have great metropolises, an extended commerce on a grand scale, manufactures in the English style, powerful industrial companies, that is to say, the germs of extreme inequality. But their laws consecrate extreme equality, and the sovereign democracy appears ready to fight to maintain the absolutism of equality at any price. There is a struggle between the two opposing forces, and one could conceive situations where this struggle could take a frightening character. If any incidents tend to suspend the material prosperity of these states, if, by the effect of a separation, each day, bit by bit, that the market of the South is closed to their businessmen and their manufacturers, if the sons of their cultivators and their apprentice workers have no more access to the lands and nascent towns of the West, if, by excess of misfortune, a foreign war blocks their ports, they will be exposed to the most dangerous disturbances. The states of the North must, therefore, remain utterly faithful to the Union and at peace with the European monarchies.

If it were demonstrated that the entire society has an invincible need for a hierarchical structure, and that heredity or familial sentiment must be one of the principles of an elite body, simple or multiple, which is necessary for the crowning of hierarchy, it must be recognized that by any interpretation the future of the North is more obscure and more alarming than that of the South. By reason of the inflexible vigilance toward the slaves, the South can maintain at home the exterior forms of a regular social system. This would be a backward regime, since it would be morally a copy of societies of antiquity before Jesus Christ, armored with the perfected material of modern societies. This would be a form of despotism, an ordered despotism to be sure, which, after all, is a lesser plague than the anarchy that menaces the North.

And yet, whatever happens with aristocracy and the political future of family sentiment, I am absolutely repelled to believe that all that I have seen of force and intelligence in the Northern states of the Anglo-American Union could be swallowed up. No logical induction can oblige me to conclude that there will not exist some day, and soon, in this fine territory that extends from to the east and the west of the Alleghenies, around the waters of the Great Lakes, on the banks of rivers without equal, a society superior to all those that have flourished up to now on the Old Continent. It could not happen that a superior race has transported its sons there only to devour one another. If

one side of American civilization seems exposed to formidable risks, from other points of view it reveals itself with characteristics strong with potential. If great dangers surround its cradle, is that not what happened to Hercules?

Note 115 [Vol. 2, Note 60, 1836 edition]

Plans for Retroactive Laws

In 1834 the legislature of the state of Ohio authorized a financial company under the name of Life and Trust Company, whose powers were quite extensive. In 1835, the company was organized, and, in 1836, a proposition was made in the legislature to the effect of abolishing it, without any other form of procedure. Happily the legislature understood the importance of the state being faithful to its engagements: the motion was rejected, but not without a lively discussion.

Very recently (September 1836) one sees grave men, such as Mr. Dallas of Philadelphia, who had been a senator in the Congress, propose retroactive measures to annul the law by which Pennsylvania authorized the Bank of the United States.

XXXIV
DEMOCRACY

New York, 22 October 1835

Our old European societies have a heavy burden to carry, which is the past. Each century is consolidated with those preceding it and engages solidarity with those succeeding it. We pay a heavy interest for the faults of our fathers. We are paying it now in the form of the national debt, and we also pay it by how much the education of our fine army costs. This is because among the causes that oblige all of Europe to keep the elite of the population armed we must count the hostilities of our fathers. We pay yet again through all the habits of defiance that times of anarchy and despotism have bequeathed us. It is necessary that the accumulated weight of a long past should be a really crushing charge, so that it sank the Roman Empire in Rome, and then in Constantinople, where it was transported to escape, for that empire died from exhaustion more than from the violence of the attack of barbarians or Saracens. All nations that have attained the glory of the world have been reduced to inert dust, like the dust of the tomb, due to having shaken from their shoulders a past that strained them in mores, usages, received ideas, sentiments. Each in his turn has bent under the burden, stumbled and become rot, like fruit dropped from a tree. Shall our Europe share the lot of its predecessors? I hope it will be more fortunate, since it should be more intelligent with their examples before our eyes, and also because it is more flexible in its temperament, more elastic in its forms.

One of my friends traveled a while ago to England, and he visited the vast factories of Mr. Crawsbay in Wales. He was struck that there was a large number of railroads for carts between the foundries and forges at one end, and the mines and canals at the other, all constructed according to an old, very imperfect system, using inlaid grooves. He asked why they had not changed them for raised rails, making the observation that the savings that would result from the cost of locomotion would be sufficient to pay the cost of reconstruction in two or three years at the most. "Nothing would be more proper," the master of forges replied, "but we maintain our old roadway of inlaid grooves, and we will maintain it indefinitely, since to pass from the old system to the new one would demand time, perhaps two or three years, and, in the interval, since our wagons would not be able to travel on both systems at once, we would be obliged to interrupt our production, making our capital unemployed, and leaving fifty thousand workers without work or bread. The difficulty is only in the transition, but up to the present this seems to us insurmountable."

It is the same in social material. It is rather easy to see that a particular system offers decided advantages over another, and that if one could have the society leap from the first to the second system, in an instant, everything would be for the better, but between the two lies an abyss. How to cross it? How to reassure ancient rights to whom nothing on the opposite shore appears guaranteed? How to conquer the resistance of those privileged in the present who stand to lose? How to temper the impatience of the mass, pressing to enjoy the advantages it expects to receive on the other side?

In the case of social betterment, the question is singularly simplified by displacement, that is, by resolving it in a new country. One abandons the old land to old interests, to old ideas. One lands disengaged and disposed, ready to take on anything, in a humor to try anything. One has left behind on the soil of the mother country a thousand preoccupations, a thousand relations, that involves existence to make of it, if one wishes,

the ornament and charm, but also to soften an activity and to render it open to appeals of an innovative spirit. The first of all the innovations is that of the soil. This brings many others in its path. Rights accumulated do not emigrate, they remain impaled on the old soil. It is all they know and that knows them. Privileges, which one respects because time has consecrated them, cannot risk themselves on a new land, or, if they dare to go, too bad for them! They are not made to acclimatize there! A colony resembles a town besieged: each must pay with his person, and nothing counts but present value. In a society that has no past, the past does not count.

One also may remark that the ideas of social progress, conceived in the old societies, where one part is made in the calm labor of thought, generally, in order to receive application and be incarnated in the form of a new society, either to take wing from afar and land in countries previously thought barbarian, to impose itself on indigenous populations, or to create new populations. Civilization has advanced from East to West, growing with each migration, while adventurers, founders of new empires, generally quit an advanced country for another that is barbarous. Hence Italy and Greece, daughters of Asia and Egypt, have surpassed their mothers. Hence Western Europe has eclipsed the fine days of Rome and Greece. Shortly after they had sent into the world new peoples, the old nations all perished violently, or were entombed in darkness worse than death, always due to not having had the will or the power to apply the principles that made the vigor of their progenitor, new principles of order founded on the extension of liberty and the diffusion of privileges.

Providence did well to take the European races and transport them to the other side of the Atlantic, to become great and powerful nations. The Anglo-Americans, the last to depart Europe, that is, after the Spanish had seized the domination of South America and equatorial America, not quitting the Old World until after the intellectual revolution of which Luther was the Mirabeau, and of which, in England, Henry VIII was the Robespierre and the Napoléon. This great event had seeded the human spirit with the germs that following centuries will see hatch. England was already great with habits of work, of method and legality that would make it the first industrial and political nation of the Old World. So they departed with the principle that must assure them the political and industrial supremacy in the New World.

They took ship, at least those of New England, the Pilgrims, fathers of the Yankees, after enduring the tests of water and fire, after having been seven times tried between the hammer of persecution and the anvil of exile. They arrived tired of political quarrels and resolute to apply their energetic will to a peaceful and productive use.

They established themselves on a soil of which the climate differed little from that where they were born. Hence their activity never ran the risk of being enervated under the softening influence of a lukewarm and embalming atmosphere, as that where the boiling ardor of the Castilian race was evaporated. They encountered a soil almost unoccupied. For antagonists and near neighbors they had nothing but poor hordes of redskins, while the Spaniards had to battle and conquer numerous battalions of the brave Aztecs in Mexico, and which the Creoles, their successors, still have to contain, here the Comanches and the *Indios bravos* of the North, there the Araucans of the Andes. If they had encountered an Indian population as numerous as that which Cortez found, they would have to win, and they would have succeeded, but after victory they would have had to hold them in servitude. And the yoke of the English race is harder than that of the

Spanish race. Their social organization would have been founded of the helotism of absolute inferiority in comparison with Europe, since they would returned to the level of ancient societies based on the possession of man by man. They were not entirely exempt, as it happened, when they imported blacks, and today twelve of the twenty-four states are tarnished with slavery. The space that is left to the pure white race is sufficient to receive a great society composed of materials identical with the European nations, but where it was possible to combine them in a better order.

If they had had serious enemies to combat, if they had had to remain with war continually suspended over their heads, then despite instincts of independence and self-government that is in British blood, and of which they are an exaggeration, they would necessarily have inclined to a military aristocracy. Then in all likelihood they would have been nothing but a copy of the English, a copy of less value than the original, in the same way that the Canadians are facsimiles of the French of the Old Regime. They would occasionally have been called to prevent and throw back the attacks from the French established in the Saint Lawrence Basin and in the West. But after England took Québec, they found themselves utterly delivered from the gravest of national cares, which is the defense of territory and the independence of the fatherland. They could dispense with military institutions, concentrate their thoughts and efforts on their own interior and domestic affairs, and devote themselves exclusively to the work of colonization. They would cease to have need of English tutorship and free themselves for better developing themselves at ease and in keeping with their penchants. Finally, left to themselves, they undertook their great democratic experience, from which there already pours forth vivid ideas for the betterment of the lot of the greatest number in all countries. The result of that is an entirely new political and physiological product, a hitherto unknown variety of the human race, inferior to the English and the French type in many ways, particularly in what concerns general ideas, the taste and sentiments of the arts, but superior to the whole rest of the human family by an inconceivable mixture of wisdom, energy and audacity, by an admirable ability for affairs, by an indefatigable love of work, and, before all else, because it was the first to recognize and consecrate the rights of the working classes, hitherto treated as vile matter.

It appears that the Anglo-Americans are called to continue directly, without any exterior intervention, the series of progress that the civilization to which we belong has pursued since it quit the old Orient, its cradle. It is a people that will be a source, and perhaps, what rules there today must soon be eclipsed by another. While the Hispano-Americans seem to be nothing more than a powerless race that will leave no heritage, at least until one of those catastrophes we call conquest, a flood of richer blood, coming from the North or the Levant, will refill their impoverished veins.

An eminent philosopher,⁵¹² one of the glories of the French language, defines the progress of the human race in its slow and majestic pilgrimage around our planet by the word "initiation." According to this thought, North America, at least where slavery is not admitted, is already in advance of us, since, in many ways, what is accessible here only to a small number of elect has fallen in the United States into the public domain and become familiar to the vulgar. The conquests of the human spirit, of which the Reformation was the point of departure and signal, and the grand discoveries of science and industry that

⁵¹² Monsieur [Pierre-Simon] Ballanche [1776-1847].

are hidden in Europe by the blindfold of ignorance and a mist of theories are, in North America, exposed to all eyes and given to be held by all intelligences. Here the vulgar can touch it and go back to their pleasures. Study the population of our countryside, sound the brain of our peasants, and you will see that the source of all his acts result from an informal mixture of Biblical parables with old legends of a gross superstition. Make the same experiment with the American farmer, and you will that the great traditions of the Bible is allied in his head rather harmoniously with the precepts of modern science posed by Bacon and Descartes, with the principles of moral and religious independence promulgated by Luther and with more modern ideas of political independence. He is an initiate. Among us, the great industrial and scientific devices, such as the steam engine, the balloon, the Voltaic battery, the lightning rod, inspire in the greatest number a religious terror. In France you would not find one in a hundred from the most of our provinces who, after viewing their effects, would dare to carry them in their hands. They would fear being struck dead, like the sacrilege of those who touched the Ark of the Lord. On the contrary, these are familiar objects to the American. They all know about them, at least by name, and they feel a right of possession for them. For the French peasant these are mysterious and terrible things, as his fetish is for the Negro, or his Manitou for an Indian. To the American, just as to a member of the *Institut de France*, it is a tool, an instrument of work or experiences; once again, he is an initiate.

There is no *profanum vulgus* in the United States, at least among the white race, and this is not just a question of steam engines or electrical phenomena. The mass of Americans is more liberally initiated than the European mass in whatever concerns the family and the community as a whole. The union of man and woman is more sacred among American workers than among the bourgeois of all the countries of Europe. Although one surrounds the consecration of marriage with fewer formulas and institutions in America than here, and although the conjugal tie is not as indissoluble as in our country,⁵¹³ adultery is extremely rare there. An unfaithful wife would be a lost woman: every man who has seduced a woman or who was known for having an illegitimate attachment would be excommunicated by public clamor. In the United States, even in the working class, the man is more completely initiated into the obligations of his sex toward the weaker sex, which is not the case with the French bourgeoisie. Not only does the American *mechanic* or *farmer* spare his wife as much as possible from all hard work or every difficult occupation, but men who are inclined to a certain culture of spirit and even of a literary education also have an inclination, unknown among us, for all women in general. In the United States, in public places and while traveling, a man of whatever talents and services, is not the object of any attention. He has no prejudice or any special politeness: all men are equal. But a woman, whatever the position or fortune of her husband, is assured to command respect and universal regard.⁵¹⁴

In political life, the American mass has arrived at a state of initiation superior to that of the European mass, since it does not need to be governed. Each man here carries in himself, to a very high degree, the principle of government of himself, and it is more proper there for him to intervene in public affairs. The mass is also more initiated in another order of facts touching directly on politics and on morals, that is, on everything

⁵¹³ See Note 117.

⁵¹⁴ See Note 118.

that touches work. The American *mechanic* knows how to work better, loves to work more than the European worker.⁵¹⁵ The American worker is initiated not only through its pains, but also through its compensations. He is dressed as if he were a senator in Congress. He is pleased to see his wife and daughter dressed like the wife and the daughter of a rich merchant of New York and, like them, to follow the fashions of Paris. His house is well enclosed, warm and proper. His table is almost as abundantly served as that of his most opulent fellow citizens. In this country, consumption is *the first necessity* for a white man, embracing many objects that, for us, are almost luxuries, not just among the working class, but among certain ranks of the bourgeoisie.⁵¹⁶

The American mass is more extensively initiated than the European mass so far as human dignity is concerned, at least the dignity proper to itself. The American worker is full of respect for himself, witnessed not only by his extreme susceptibility, by demands that to us European bourgeois would seem inconceivable,⁵¹⁷ by his repugnance to use the European word of *master*, which he replaces by that of *employer*, but much more by his good humor, exactitude and scruple in his transactions. The American worker is exempt of those vices of the slave, such as lying and theft, which are so frequent among our proletarians, particularly those in towns and factories. The French worker is much more submissive on the outside, but pressed by his misery, he will rarely pass up an opportunity to cheat his *bourgeois* when he believes he can do it with impunity.⁵¹⁸ The worker in Lyon plays a *game of ounces*, and the worker of Reims bickers over linen.⁵¹⁹ Certainly frauds are committed in America. There is more than one *smart fellow* whose conscience is charged with innumerable peccadilloes. How many *Yankee peddlers* have sold housewives coal for indigo and talc stone for white soap! But in the United States, these little fripperies are rare exceptions. The character of the American artisan, considered to be a worker, is very honorable, and he excites the envy of the European who compares what he sees here with what he has left behind in his homeland.⁵²⁰

What I am saying about the worker applies for even more reason to the peasant. The American farmer is not obliged, like the worker, to argue every day with the bourgeois over the price of his labor; he is surrounded by his neighbor cultivators and

⁵¹⁵ See note 119.

⁵¹⁶ The use of ice in the summer is an example.

⁵¹⁷ This is why a glove maker or a tailor refuses to take measurements at homes, and they demand that men and women come to their shops in person.

⁵¹⁸ One finds in Paris, and generally among our large manufacturing towns, the most deplorable habits in the relations of master to worker. A very large number of masters, to recover profits lost through intense competition, stoop to using miserable tricks on their salaried workers. They might move the shop clock forward in the morning and back in the evening. Workers get back at them when they can.

⁵¹⁹ The *piquage des onces*, the theft of silk by workers, is one of the complaints of the Lyons industry. In 1772, the syndics, guardian masters, etc., of the *grande fabrique des étoffes d'or, d'argent et de soie* ("Large factory of cloth of gold, silver and silk") of the city of Lyons, valued it at a million (*Un Mot sur les fabriques étrangères de soierie*, by Monsieur Arlès-Dufour, page 119). It is much more common today: it reaches to four million. At Reims, it is estimated that the theft of cloth costs the manufacturers a million. That is about 2 percent of the value of the products of the Reims industry. The workers of Reims sell the wool they have taken for a quarter of its value. They exchange it in cabarets at the rate of an *échée* of wool for a half-liter (See Note 118).

⁵²⁰ See note 120.

alien to the temptations that residence in towns entails, he possesses the qualities of a worker to at least an equal degree, and his faults are fewer. He is less unjust and less jealous toward the rich and cultivated classes.

So if one examines the American mass in its totality, one finds it superior to the European mass. It is true that it appears almost completely bereft of certain faculties that one finds among European proletarians. There are examples in the brains of the most miserable *lazzarone* of Naples of a hundred times more taste and poetic genius than that of the *mechanic* or of the republican *farmer* of the New World. The *gamins* of Paris have passing flashes of grandeur of soul and chivalry that the American worker can surely never equal. It is because the national character of the Italian is petrified with the love of the fine arts, and that generous sentiments form distinctive traits of our own. The *lazzarone* and the *gamin*, being in the nation, participate in the national character. But this is by no means proper for the mass of the people to be a poet and artist in Italy or chivalric in France. Perfection for him consists in regularly observing his duties toward God, to his country, to his family, toward himself, to work with dedication and conscience, to be a careful citizen, an attentive spouse and good father, to look out for the well-being and morality of his dependents. To compare the most numerous class of American and European societies, one must make generalizations on the surface, since they pertain to all the varieties of civilization and of the human race, and on their degree of development and permanence depends the degree of solidity of empires.

To make the parallel precise and conclusive between the two hemispheres, if is necessary to oppose to the *mechanic* and *farmer* of the United States their analogue among common people, Germanic in origin and religion, that is the English worker or peasant. European civilization, an abstraction created by the Slavs, recently suddenly appeared on the scene, is divided into two branches, that of the North and that of the South. One is Germanic, the other Latin, each prospering by different means, with notable differences in taste and aptitudes. American society, a blossom from one of these branches, is much more comparable to the one branch than to the other. Hence it is easy to confirm the superiority of the *mechanic* and the *farmer* of America to that of England, while it is difficult to determine rigorously how much a class of American society ranks above or below the corresponding class of Spanish, Italian, or French society. It is enough to open one's eyes to recognize that the mass of population in the three latter peoples, in the direction peculiar to them, is far from having attained the point of perfection to which the American mass has advanced along the route that is peculiar to it.

Certainly American democracy has its faults, and I do not believe that one can accuse me of having hidden them. I have hidden neither the rude demands toward the bourgeoisie nor the haughty pretensions toward foreign nations. I even admit that in many ways it is more as a class or on the whole that it recommends itself. This is because the individuals that make it up lack the cordial and affectionate qualities that constitutes the most desirable ornament of personality, and by which our French proletarians will excel, once they are freed from the misery that oppresses them. But here I am judging the American mass as a whole and in its unity.

American democracy is demanding and haughty to the point of disdain for foreign peoples, but isn't it true that in young peoples, like young people, this is a quality more than a fault, assuming that they march forward with energy to some great work? Pride is ridiculous among a soft and weak people; with an enterprising, active, indefatigable

people, it is the conscience of its strength and future. Foreign policy of American democracy is profoundly self-centered. The national ambition is proper to nations that are growing. Cosmopolitanism is generally a sign of decadence in the community of nations, just as religious tolerance is a symptom of the weakening of beliefs. The pretensions of the United States is without limits; they aspire to suzerainty over South America; they covet the provinces of Mexico one by one, but despite moral laws, in the relations of people to people, it is success that makes right. If the United States seizes the provinces of Mexico from the Spanish race, half by Machiavellian method, half by force, they will be responsible before humanity and God for the consequences of this theft, but they will not be alone. If the lands they have taken prosper in their hands, posterity will pardon them for having taken them. On the contrary, posterity will pronounce a severe verdict against the Mexicans if, with similar neighbors at their gates, they remain squatting in passive inertia and stupid security as they do today, and also against the European powers if they have neglected to avert it, helping to support their lethargy.

The Romans were a people of unique arrogance and intolerable haughtiness toward other peoples. They addressed the same arrogant, brutal language that General Jackson threw in the face of a monarchy of fourteen centuries, to the all-powerful kings of the monarchical Orient and the heirs of Alexander the Great. Their policy was one of shameless selfishness. They treated whoever resisted their insatiable thirst for conquest like a slave revolting against the will of the gods. The Punic faith that they imposed like the stigmata on the ruins of their rival was always the only faith they practiced. Posterity called them the greatest people on earth, since they succeeded in founding a durable empire on all the people they conquered, by wise laws. The Anglo-Americans have many similarities to the Romans, both for good and for evil. I do not pretend that they are destined to become the masters of the world, I only intend to say that, along with faults that shock foreign nations, they possess great abilities and precious virtues that must attract our attention. Posterity will judge them for their good qualities more than by their imperfections. It is in their good qualities that they are formidable to other peoples. We oppose the United States less in denouncing their sins to the world than in forcing ourselves to appropriate their virtues and their abilities to develop our own. This is the surest way to preserve our rank in the world despite them and despite all others.

At the same time that American democracy shows itself increasingly fierce externally, within it is hostile against whatever appears to them to reduce its sovereignty. In this they are only imitating the vainest of aristocracies. The system they pursue against the bourgeoisie is dictated to them by the instinct of dialectic, as if they continue the European aristocracy and bourgeoisie, the one in relation to the bourgeois classes, the other in regard to the masses. It intends to surrender nothing it has conquered not by robbing its neighbor, not by destroying its peasants, not by pillaging its provinces, but by the sweat of their brow, by its opinionated labor. Who would dare to throw the first stone at them? I conclude that first of all we, the bourgeois, are revolted by their pretensions, and to see the American bourgeoisie conquered, compromised, wearing the halter of defeat, hits us in our bourgeois guts. We see also that this democracy has conducted the affairs of the New World so as to justify its supremacy and to excuse its jealous humor against all who want to try to take it over. Since the origin of the peoples, it is the first time that the multitude completely enjoys the fruits of its labors, and that it shows itself worthy to wear the toga of manhood. Admirable result! Even though they have obtained

this by means of the momentary humiliation of the classes that our education and habits cause us to sympathize, I say that the duty of every person of good will is to cheer and give thanks to Providence!

Misfortune to tyranny, from wherever it comes! God prevent me from making any apologies for the brutal and sometimes bloody, even ferocious excesses that have recently repeated in most of the large cities of the United States! If they continue their course, American democracy, degraded, will lose forever the high position it occupies. But, as criminal as these acts may be, I cannot impute them to the American mass, nor be moved to pillory the total body of its incomparable workers. Acts of popular violence in all lands are the work of a small minority that the current regime of the United States is incapable of containing. This regime therefore has the need for corrective measures needed to preserve the solid qualities of the population in its purity and which, in effect, must seem to be introduced there, since the exclusive theories of liberty are visibly in decline on the Atlantic coast.

One is in error if what one concludes from what precedes this that American civilization has surpassed ours. The American mass is superior to the European mass, but the bourgeoisie of the New World is inferior to the classes that, in the Old World, are superimposed on the mob, whatever the merits this may be more virtual than real and pertain more to the past than to the present. For today the superior classes in Europe, bourgeoisie and aristocracy, use their intelligence and sociability very feebly to the peoples and themselves. The American bourgeoisie, taken as a whole and with some exceptions, has the position of something overcome: it bears on its forehead the mark of its defeat. How it was forced to remain forever mixed with the crowd in all the conditions of its life, the two classes have naturally borrowed from the other many of their respective habits, ways of being and feeling. This exchange has considerably profited the mass, and it has been less helpful for the bourgeoisie. It is the Trojan's golden buckler exchanged for the valiant Diomedes's buckler of leather. Each of the two continents is thus significant for one of the two great elements of which society is composed, and has the bottom of the other. There is compensation there.⁵²¹

If therefore it is absolutely necessary to draw a conclusion of the superiority of the working classes of the United States relative to the rank reserved in the coming age to the civilizations of Europe and America, the unshakable view would be this: in order for the Anglo-American society to possess preeminence over ours, it will be necessary for it to revive the classes that, without being copies of our bourgeoisie and our aristocracy, would be intrinsically and visibly the same height, with a relationship to the people properly so-called. This is also necessary for our own elevated classes to do, with a similar relationship to a large number of our population. In other words, it depends on us to assure for our social order superiority over that of the United States by moving our rural and urban proletarians from the misery, ignorance and brutalization in which they are submerged, and to develop them in keeping with the national values and the character of our race.

⁵²¹ It is impossible to speak of American democracy without citing the recent work of Monsieur [Alexis] de Tocqueville [1805-1859]. I send to it those who desire to know in detail the attractions and instincts of this democracy, the empire it practices over the bourgeoisie as well as the laws by which it has created and affirmed this empire.

Note 116 [Vol. 2, Note 60b, 1836 edition]

Divorce

Since many states do not have a special law to authorize divorce, it is often the legislatures who pronounce it by virtue of parliamentary omnipotence. Among the fewer than one hundred acts passed by the legislature of New Jersey in the session of 1836, thirty had as their objects the authorization of divorce.

Note 117 [Vol. 2, Note 62, 1836 edition]

Attitudes toward Women

Some details have already been given on this point. Another example of the care of men for women one could cite this fact that, in public cars, the first places are reserved by law for women, whatever is written on them. It is thus again that husbands habitually go to market and often carry the provisions themselves. Nothing is more common than to see, in the streets, men returning home holding a turkey or a goose by the neck, or carrying a basket of fruit. I have also said that the conjugal and social submission of the woman was, in response, greater in the United States than in France. In the eyes of the law, the woman is more completely a minor in the United States than with us. In France, the woman does commerce and is recognized by law as a public seller, once her husband gives his consent. She is even capable of hiring some employees. Nothing of the sort exists among the English or the Americans. Our children of Canada have gone further than we have: they have given women the electoral franchise.

Note 118 [Vol. 2, Note 63, 1836 edition]

English and American Workers

The English worker is very capable. Although we exceed the English in certain branches of production, it seems impossible to me to deny that today the English worker is the premier worker of Europe. For specialized work, he is superior to the American worker: he will finish this or that part of a mechanism better, for example, this or that part of any object, but outside his very special line, and separated from the heavy machinery of English factories, which is excellent, he will be lost. The American worker has a more general aptitude. His circle of work is much more extended, and he can, at will, extend it indefinitely. He produces a quantity of product at least equal to the Englishman, and when he dedicates himself to it over a long period, which is not his habit, he produces something as perfect as can be.

Note 119 [Vol. 2, Note 64, 1836 edition]

Factory Thefts at Reims

Recent studies have set factory thefts at Reims at 3 million [francs]. Here is what one reads on this subject in the 16 September 1836 issue of the *Industriel de la Champagne*.

Public attention is at this moment preoccupied with factory thefts and, to speak the truth, they have achieved for some time a deplorable scale. At the last assizes, the court judged seven cases in which male or female workers were accused of the theft of linen to the prejudice of their masters, and months do not pass without trials of the same nature being

judged by the tribunal of correctional police. Sometimes several are brought before the tribunal in the same week, and the same session sees two or three judged. Earlier, a theft of linen was an unexpected incident for the honest citizens who follow the operations of tribunals with attention, almost as interesting, and particularly as rare as a murder. These sorts of affairs have the privilege of powerfully exciting public curiosity. Today they have become so frequent that one hardly accords them more importance than judgments rendered against offenders of the municipal police rules.

The theft of linen has become acclimatized in the factory, it has attached itself to it, has become a part of its body, so to speak.

We have tried to obtain information on the precise number of the values wasted as a result of the thefts of linen in the factory, and we must say that we have found nothing precise in this regard. The persons we have asked have varied widely in their evaluations from one to four million [francs]. One of the commissioners of police of the town evaluates the losses caused to factory owners by theft committed in the region of Reims to be 3 million francs, and he estimates that the sum realized by the thieves to be no more than 600,000 francs. We even doubt that the last figure is accurate. So far as the first figure, it seemed to us rather exaggerated until we had done the following little calculation, etc.

Note 120 [Vol. 2, Note 65, 1836 edition]

On domestics

Here I am speaking of workers and not of domestics. In the United States domestics almost always earned less than workers. Personal service there is regarded as degrading. In many states, domestics do not accept the title of servant, taking instead that of *help*. This is the case with New England: the domestic is hence an employee who works moderately and, in many homes, takes meals with the family. Through this transaction, one can find in New England servants who are native to the country, who are zealous and intelligent. They tend to be respected by their masters, and they are careful of their rights, but, provided one faithfully observes the conventions arranged with them, they accomplish their duties. In most of the states without slaves, the class of domestics is principally formed of corrupted and idle people of color, or of newly arrived Irish, people naturally clumsy, naturally inclined to a tiresome familiarity, and who, in the intoxication at their new situation, so different from the misery they left behind them, become much more demanding than domestics born in the country.