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Shep. Thompson

E S S A Y S

ON THE

Spirit of Legislation,

IN THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF
**AGRICULTURE, POPULATION,
MANUFACTURES, AND
COMMERCE.**

CONTAINING

OBSERVATIONS on the **POLITICAL SYSTEMS**
at present pursued in various Countries of
EUROPE, for the Advancement of
those essential Interests.

Interpersed with various **REMARKS** on

THE PRACTICE OF AGRICULTURE.
SOCIETIES OF AGRICULTURE.
REWARDS.
BOUNTIES.
THE POLICE.
LUXURY.

INDUSTRY.
MACHINES.
EXPORTATION.
TAXES.
INOCULATION.
MARRIAGE.
NATURALIZATION, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH,
Which gained the **PREMIUMS** offered by the
SOCIETY of BERNE in Switzerland, for the
best Compositions on this Subject.

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THE
TRANSLATOR'S
P R E F A C E.

THE Original Essays, of which a Translation is now offered to the Public, were published in the Memoirs collected by the Oeconomical Society at *Berne*; but they have been received with such Avidity throughout *Europe*, as to be published at several Places distinct from the other Memoirs; besides being translated into almost every *European* Language. The Merit of the Works is too great to make a Panegyric necessary here: They abound with original and spirited Observations, sufficient in themselves to recommend them. That they will prove particularly

iv TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

particularly agreeable to the *English* Reader cannot be doubted, from the numerous Instances and Illustrations of the Arguments, drawn from the Conduct and State of this Kingdom, as well as from the noble Spirit of Liberty diffused throughout them.

CONTENTS.

C O N T E N T S.

E S S A Y I.

On the Spirit of Legislation, for encouraging Agriculture, and favouring that essential Object, relatively to Population, Manufactures, and Commerce.

INTRODUCTION,	The Spirit of Legislation,	5
Importance of Agriculture, p. 3	Object of this Memoir,	6
Attention of the Government, 4	General Idea of Legislation, ib.	
Occasion of this Essay, ib.	Sources of the Variety of	
Duties of a Citizen, ib.	Laws,	7
Difference of Laws,		5

C H A P. I.

Obstacles which Legislation ought to endeavour to remove.

Obstacles to Agriculture, p. 8	Civil Obstacles,	9
Moral Obstacles, ib.	Domestic Obstacles,	ib.
Physical Obstacles, ib.	Feudal Obstacles,	ib.

C H A P. II.

General Reflections on the Means of removing these Obstacles.

Knowledge of them necessary,	Registers ; their Effect,	ib.
p. 10	Correction of Privileges,	ib.
Obstacles must be attacked in	Indemnifications,	14
their Origin, ib.	Temporary Laws,	ib.
Inspire the People with Con-	Profit by the Prejudices of a	
fidence, 11	People,	ib.
Harmony of Regulations, ib.	Watch the Education of Chil-	
Consult the Nature of the	dren,	15
Country, 12	Oppose the Vices of the Cli-	
Avoid great Changes, ib.	mate,	ib.
Spare the Prejudices of the	Consult the People before you	
People, 13	enact,	16

Inquiet Spirits censured, p. 16	Harmony between the Laws, Judgments, and Rescripts,	19
Not to sacrifice the future to the present, ib.		
Nature and Sanction of the Laws, 18	The general Cry indicates the Necessity of a Reformation,	ib.
Excessive Punishments, ib.		
Pecuniary Assistance, ib.		

C H A P. III.

The Means of encouraging Agriculture.

National Moderation and Simplicity, p. 21	Reduction of great Estates, ib.	
Personal Liberty, ib.	Instruction of the People,	26
Territorial Liberty, 22	Ease of the People,	27
Imposts, 23	Favour the Productions of each District,	28
Liberty of exporting Commodities, ib.	The Study of Agriculture,	ib.
Honours due to Agriculture, 24	A good Market for Salt,	29
Recompences to Husbandmen, ib.	Expedition in the legal Procefses,	ib.
Example of Superiors, 25	Societies of Agriculture,	30
	Veterinean Schools,	31

C H A P. IV.

Legislation considered relatively to Population.

The Connection of Agriculture and Population, p. 32	Luxury,	39
Attention to the Climate, ib.	Sumptuary Laws. Education of the Sex for Housekeeping,	40
Particular Means, 33	Libertinism repressed,	ib.
Constitution of the Government, ib.	Publick Censors,	41
Resources, ib.	Prevent Misery and Begging,	42
Preservation of Privileges, 34	Abuses of rich Hospitals,	43
Police, ib.	Regulate the Distribution of Alms,	ib.
Division of Commons, 35	Times of Scarcity,	ib.
Slavery contrary to Population, ib.	Polygamy contrary to Population,	44
Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, 36	Popular or epidemical Disorders,	ib.
General Welfare, 37	Inoculation of the Small Pox,	47
Give to Marriage the Consideration which it merits, ib.	Wars and military Service,	48
Furnish Occupations, 38	Convents and Celibacy,	ib.
Correct and remove Impediments, 39		

CONTENTS.

vii

Attract and receive Strangers,	p. 49	a Country is preferable to naturalizing Strangers, ib.
Refugees,	50	Precautions,
Corporation Rights of Citizens,	51	55
Refusal of Naturalization,	53	The Love of our Country attaches and brings back the Citizens, ib.
There is no Country fully peopled,	54	The Means of inspiring People with the Love of their Country,
Increasing the Inhabitants of		56

C H A P. V.

The Spirit of Legislation, in respect of Arts, Fabricks, and Manufactures, relative to Agriculture.

Connections of the Arts with Agriculture,	p. 59	8. Taxes are fatal to Manufactures,	65
Particular Arts which flourish in the Country,	60	9. The Legislator ought to choose, direct, and protect Abilities,	ib.
Cartwrights,	ib.	Table of Arts and Manufactures,	ib.
Smiths,	ib.	The Fossile,	ib.
Veterinarian Art,	ib.	The Vegetable,	67
Encouragement of the Arts,	61	The Animal,	70
Manufactures,	62	Inconveniencies of Freedoms and exclusive Privileges,	71
General Observations,	ib.	The Danger of Freedoms,	72
1. No Manufacture ought to be established at the Expence of Agriculture,	ib.	Freedoms in the Arts of Luxury,	73
2. No Country can support all Sorts of Manufacturers,	ib.	Encouragements,	74
3. We must support those Manufactures that are established,	63	Recompences and Honours,	ib.
4. Give the greatest Attention to those most necessary,	ib.	Precautions to be taken with Enterprizers,	75
5. Attend to the producing in the Country the raw Materials,	ib.	Qualities of Enterprizers. Probity,	ib.
6. Manufactures are proper for rich grazing Countries,	64	Intelligence,	ib.
7. They are not proper where the Culture is very good,	ib.	Code of Regulations,	76
		Interior Police of Manufactures,	77
		Manners,	ib.
		Security of Apprentices,	ib.
		Sciences,	78
		Machines,	ib.

CHAPTER VI.

The Spirit of Laws, with respect to Commerce,
relatively to Agriculture.

Object of Commerce, p. 80	Danger of Prohibitions and contraband Commerce, 87
Attention to the Regulations of Commerce, ib.	Facilitate the carrying Trade, ib.
Consultations of skilful In- spectors, ib.	Moderate Tolls, ib.
Maintain Confidence, 81	Restitution, 88
Establish safe Roads, ib.	Favour the Importation of Necessaries, ib.
Reduce Weights to the same Standard, 82	Of raw Products, ib.
Maintain Peace, ib.	Obstruct the Importation of Articles of Luxury, 89
Fix the Price of the Specie, 83	Also such Articles as are fur- nished by the Country, ib.
Tontines are prejudicial to Commerce, ib.	All Commerce of Exportation ought to be favoured in pre- ference, ib.
Preservation of the precious Metals, ib.	Raw Materials, ib.
Loans are necessary, and In- terest is just, 84	Superabundant Products, 90
Facilitate the understanding Book-keeping, ib.	The Commerce in Corn, free and regular, ib.
Facilitate the studying Ma- chines and Drawing, ib.	Inconveniencies of particular Permissions, 91
Observations on the Tolls and Customs, 85	Salt, 92
Various Species of Commerce, ib.	Wine, ib.
Freedom of the interior Com- merce of Consumption, ib.	General Conclusion, 93
	How a Legislator ought to form himself, 94

II.

MEMOIR, which many Members of the Society
judged to carry the Prize.

Introduction, p. 101

PART I.

In which is explained the Spirit of Legislation, for
encouraging Agriculture.

CONSIDERATION I.

The Education of the young
Countrymen, 110

CONSIDERATION II.

The best Culture of the best
Plants, 120

CONTENTS. ix

<p>CONSIDERATION III. Choice of Seeds, p. 129</p> <p>CONSIDERATION IV. The best Instruments of Tillage, 134</p> <p>CONSIDERATION V. Preservation of the Welfare and Fortune of the Farmers, 137</p> <p>First Consideration, Reprefs Vice, ib.</p> <p>Drunkenness, 138</p> <p>Luxury, 142</p> <p>Begging, 148</p> <p>Law, 153</p> <p>Debts, 156</p> <p>Taxes and Imposts, 163</p> <p>Personal Services, 166</p> <p>Savage Animals, 167</p> <p>Oppression, 168</p> <p>CONSIDERATION VI. A certain Market for Products, 171</p> <p>CONSIDERATION VII. Domestic Animals, 175</p> <p>Abuses of Carriages which ruin the Draft, 176</p> <p>Remedies prompt and efficacious, 177</p> <p>Veterinarian School, ib.</p> <p>Precautions in epidemical Distempers, 178</p>	<p>Introduction of new Species, 179</p> <p>Facilitate the Maintenance of Cattle, 185</p> <p>CONSIDERATION VIII. Liberty of Inclosure, 187</p> <p>CONSIDERATION IX. Reunion of particular Estates, 191</p> <p>CONSIDERATION X. Estates too large, 194</p> <p>CONSIDERATION XI. Vines, 201</p> <p>CONSIDERATION XII. Woods and Forests, 205</p> <p>CONSIDERATION XIII. Uncultivated Land, 213</p> <p>CONSIDERATION XIV. Marshes, Rivers, and Canals for Watering, 217</p> <p>CONSIDERATION XV. The necessary Proportion between the Class of Agriculture and the other Orders of the State, 223</p> <p>CONSIDERATION XVI. Honours and Consideration excellent Means for spreading an Emulation amongst the Countrymen, 231</p>
---	---

PART II,

In which is explained the Spirit of Legislation for favouring Population.

<p>CONSIDERATION I. Preserve the Citizens, 243</p> <p>1. Peace, ib.</p> <p>2. Preventing Famines, 246</p> <p>3. Inundations and Earthquakes, 248</p> <p>4. Distempers, 259</p>	<p>5. Regulate the Manners of Cultivators, 262</p> <p>6. Bad Manners the Inconveniencies of great Cities, ib.</p> <p>CONSIDERATION II. Retain the Inhabitants in the Country, 267</p>
---	--

CONTENTS.

CONSIDERATION III.

- Facilitate Marriages, 273
1. Means. Liberty and Welfare, 275
 2. Limit the number of Domestics, 280
 3. Retain the Inhabitants in the Country, 282
 4. Curb Debauchery and Inconjuncture, 283
 5. Augment Subsistence, 285
 6. Abolish Customs which

- prevent the Fecundity of Women, 286
7. Prejudices, Maxims, and Laws, in favour of Marriage, ib.
 8. Age proper for Marriage, 289

CONSIDERATION IV.

- Attract Strangers, 292
Conclusion of the Second Part, 298

PART III.

In which is developed the Spirit of Legislation for favouring the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, relatively to Population and Agriculture.

I. ARTS AND MANUFACTURES. 305

CONSIDERATION I.

Work up the Productions of the Country; and turn the Industry of the People to the useful and necessary Arts, 312

Preparation of raw Materials, ib.

2. Machines, 328
3. An Academy composed of Men versed in the Sciences, useful to the Arts, 330
4. Divers Means of gaining a Part of the Knowledge of Foreigners, and of sustaining the first Undertakings, 334

CONSIDERATION II.

Distribute Manufactures conveniently through a Country, 321

CONSIDERATION III.

The Protection and necessary Assistance on the Part of the Government, 326

CONSIDERATION IV.
Inspection and Encouragement, 338

CONSIDERATION V.

1. Good Instructions upon the

Education of Artists, 344

II. COMMERCE. 349

CONSIDERATION I.

Transportation less expensive, more easy, and more prompt, 353

CONSIDERATION II.

Freedom of Commerce, 360

CONSIDERATION III.

Moderate and well laid Duties, 374

C O N T E N T S. xi

CONSIDERATION IV.	Labour, and Economy,
Establish Confidence, 375	which supports Commerce,
CONSIDERATION V.	380
Maintain the Spirit of Order,	

E S S A Y III.

By M. Seigneux de Correvon, Honorary Member of the Economical Society of Berne, and President of the Corresponding Society at Laufanne.

P A R T I.

That Agriculture ought to be encouraged and favoured on its own Account,	393
--	-----

P A R T II.

Of Population relative to Agriculture,	413
--	-----

P A R T III.

Of the Arts relative to Agriculture,	447
--------------------------------------	-----

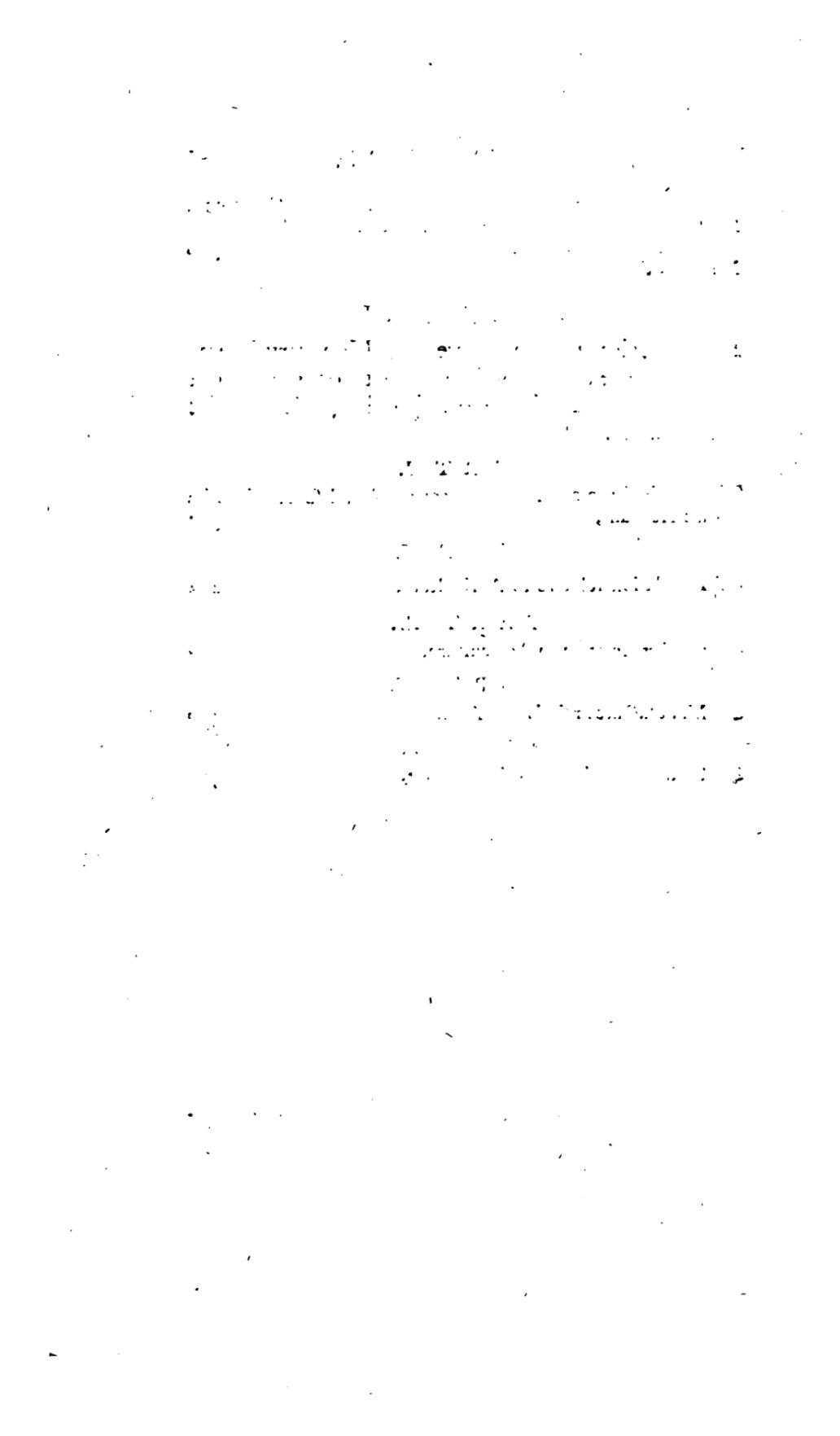
P A R T IV.

Of Manufactures relative to Agriculture,	459
--	-----

P A R T V.

Of Commerce relative to Agriculture,	468
--------------------------------------	-----

E S S A Y



ESSAY I.

ON THE

SPIRIT OF LEGISLATION,
for encouraging AGRICULTURE, and
favouring that essential Object, relatively
to POPULATION, MANUFACTURES, and
COMMERCE.

MEMOIR, crowned by the
OECONOMICAL SOCIETY of BERNE.

B



INTRODUCTION.

Importance of Agriculture.

SOVEREIGNS cannot with efficacy attempt to promote the prosperity of their people, but by favouring agriculture, arts, and commerce. In the present state of things, provinces without commerce languish; without manufactures the country is poor; and without agriculture, which is the base of the prosperity and power of the state, there can be neither commerce nor manufactures. It is to agriculture that we ought ever to attend, as the most important point. She furnishes nourishment, fuel, clothing, and the first materials for every thing. Commerce exports superfluities; and confers ease to the people with necessaries. Manufactures employ an infinity of hands, and population is created by agriculture, which furnishes subsistence to all without exception, to the farmer and the workman as well as to the merchant.

Attention of the Government.

It therefore imports much that those who by their birth or their talents, are called to share in the affairs of government, should be well instructed in the connection between agriculture and the general welfare of the nation; and that they be persuaded, that favouring population, encouraging the arts, protecting manufactures and commerce, as far as they are concerned in the perfection of agriculture, is to augment the real and absolute power of a State.

Occasion of this Essay.

On reading the advice inserted in the œconomical collection by *M. le Comte Meniszech*, upon the question announced at the head of this Essay, I have supposed that I was consulted by a nobleman already much instructed in the subject, who in comparing his ideas with those of others, sought for yet further information, for rendering himself more worthy of filling with distinction, the eminent posts to which his merit and abilities, more than his birth had already called him.

Duties of a Citizen.

It is without doubt the duty of every citizen to obey the laws; but he is permitted to reflect

INTRODUCTION. 5

on the spirit which ought to animate legislators, provided it is ever in a manner that respects the authority from whence the laws issue.

I erect not myself into a legislator. There will be found in this memoir neither laws nor rules. It is equally out of my sphere, and the question.

Difference of laws.

The laws ought to vary with the country, and form in their assemblage a system adapted to the circumstances of the times, places, and persons. It is the code of national rules, which ought to be relative to the diversity of soil, climate, productions, character of the inhabitants, nature of the government, to various relations of the state with its neighbours, the extent of the territory, and more or less to the facility of transportation, whether interior or exterior.

The Spirit of Legislation.

By the SPIRIT of LEGISLATION, on which is demanded these enquiries, I understand the *sentiments*, the *principles*, the *views*, which may direct the attention given by Legislators, Princes, or their Ministers, (or all those, in a word, who, from their employments, have, directly or

6 INTRODUCTION.

indirectly, a part in the formation of laws, or their execution, and who propose to themselves the procuring the greatest good of those who are submitted to their authority) — to the favouring population, the arts, manufactures, and commerce, as far as they are connected with agriculture.

Object of this Memoir.

To point out the most simple ordonnances which would include all these various objects, and employ the best means for arriving at that end, would be the most interesting problem in interior politicks; and I shall attempt to lead to it in this memoir.

General Idea of Legislation.

Legislation is the art of studying the genius and constitution of a people, for making them give, to necessary laws, an advantageous, but mild obedience. It embraces the whole system of politicks in a state; to the end that all resources should tend to the profit of individuals of every order; and that the talents of individuals should tend in their turn to the advantage, the power, and the glory of the society. It is to reign in men, and over men.

INTRODUCTION. 7

Sources of the Variety of Laws.

All circumstances, *physical* and *moral*; *necessary* and *relative*; *passing* and *permanent*, which concern a nation, should enlighten a legislator, and be displayed in his ordonnances. It is in all these circumstances exactly weighed, and ably combined, that we ought to find the reason of laws; and all those reasons united form the *Spirit of Legislation* favourable to agriculture. One circumstance omitted, the whole system is broken. After these general ideas, I enter on the matter. I will not pretend that there shall not in this essay be some repetitions. Truth is uniform; revolving the same principles, one must necessarily hazard their repetition in the detail.

CHAPTER I.

Obstacles which Legislation ought to endeavour to remove.

Obstacles to Agriculture.

THE wise legislator sees the obstacles which oppose themselves to the perfection of agriculture, that he may remove them :

Moral Obstacles.

Some of these obstacles arise from the manners of the people, from their character, their prejudices, or their vices. These are the *moral* obstacles.

Physical Obstacles.

Others proceed from the soil, the climate, inundations, torrents, from the facility or difficulty of carriage by land or water, the situation of habitations, and villages; from the greatness and number of cities; from the too minute division of estates, or their being united into too large ones; from too considerable portions being in mortmain; and from there not being a due
pro-

proportion between the grass and arable lands. These are the *physical* obstacles.

Civil Obstacles.

Great numbers of obstacles have their source in the civil establishments and customs of the police. The rights of citizens; the rights of commonage; the open fields; commons; the distance of tribunals and judges; the formalities of the law; the power of redemption: all these form the *civil* obstacles.

Domestic Obstacles.

Custom, *routine*, education, personal interests, are examples which will give the hint of a great number of other *domestic* ones.

Feudal Obstacles.

In fine, some of these obstacles may be found in the rights of the sovereign, or in the manner of exercising them; in the nature of the publick revenues, or in the manner of gathering them. The arbitrary imposts are always pernicious. The rights of the lords of fiefs; the *laods*; the works performed by the vassals for their lords; the fee-farms; the militia, and divers servitudes, are shackles difficult to break through. All these form the class of *feudal* obstacles, which have sprung from the dominion and the pretensions of the *Goths*.

C H A P. II.

General Reflections on the Means of removing these Obstacles,

Knowledge of them necessary.

FOR removing these obstructions, I shall consider them under their most general circumstances.

At first a well-meaning legislator should apply himself to the knowledge of the impediments which he has to encounter. For how can a remedy be discovered, or applied with efficacy, while the nature of the evil is hidden? It oftentimes is only necessary to know the mischief in order to cure it.

Obstacles must be attacked in their Origin.

He should above all things be instructed in the first principle of the disorder. Without this, he may multiply his laws, but, however well intentioned to remedy the old evil, will only produce new ones. It is in Legislation, as in medicine, the maladies of the state ought to be attacked in their origin; palliatives are not for pressing ills. As the physician, so the legislator

gislator changes not his well combined and studied principles, on account of some inconveniences in the detail. It must sometimes be by a sort of conquest or revolution, that we remove great obstacles, and correct great abuses.

Inspire the People with Confidence.

But it is often necessary in correcting abuses, and reviving a purity of manners, for the people themselves to perceive that the government occupies itself for their welfare. The success of the administration of SULLY, was greatly owing to an exact observance of these two rules.

Harmony of Regulations.

In seeking to remove an obstacle, we ought to take care that the plans do not counteract each other: so that in favouring arts, or commerce, we do no detriment to agriculture; which ought always to be our principal object. That in protecting the citizen we do not burthen the countryman: that in favouring the capitals, it is not at the expence of the provinces: and thereby, for a temporary interest, occasion evils of an age. All these regulations ought to be harmonious.

Consult the Nature of the Country.

To expect favour, either to agriculture, the arts, or commerce, by regulations in opposition to the nature of the country, is chimerical. Attach yourselves to perfecting natural advantages, and to draw from them the greatest possible advantages: this is an object of the attention of a wise Legislator.

Avoid great Changes.

It is generally very dangerous to prescribe on a sudden considerable changes. All sudden revolutions are destructive of industry and œconomy. The establishments the most useful ought to be husbanded; to be drawn forth by little and little; without violence; and systematically. If it is proposed, for example, to abolish commons; we begin by abolishing the common rights on grafs; and in succession, the open fields. We after this inclose the fields for great cattle; we farm the woods; and in fine, divide the common pastures. Such is the route that might be pursued for operating so desirable a change. I may venture to assert, that it is not always proper for a legislator, immediately to display the detail of a plan which he has formed; which should oftentimes be made known to the parties, only according to circumstances; and in the degree which the necessity requires.

Spare the Prejudices of the People.

He ought, for the same reason, carefully to avoid wounding the prejudices of a people; or of corporations. He ought to move so softly to the end proposed, that it shall not at once be perceived. Opinion oftentimes ranks the wisest institutions with acts of despotism; especially if they oppose common prejudices, and the manner of thinking in a nation. Who knows not the empire of opinion among mankind? It is best to engage the bodies, or communities themselves, to change their customs which are contrary to the publick good, and to abandon voluntarily their destructive privileges; by gradually making them comprehend the inconveniences of those customs and privileges. Cultivators know that means slow, but well attended, are the only efficacious.

Registers, their Effect.

Sometimes simple records made by a Legislator, produce greater effects than the most precise laws.

Correction of Privileges.

It is often necessary to correct the abuses which may have glided into the exercise of rights or privileges.

Indemnifications.

Individuals, or bodies of men, may on many occasions be indemnified for the suppression or limitation of their rights. What better use can be made of the publick revenues than to employ them for the advantage of the whole nation? In this case the sovereign sows, to reap an abundant harvest.

Temporary Laws.

Prudence generally demands, that some laws be temporary for trials: the method is above all convenient in complicated cases, whether in making new concessions, or limiting certain customs, whereof the possessors are jealous.

Profit by the Prejudices of a People.

It is a great art in Legislation, to know how to apply the prejudices of a nation to its greatest advantage. The parliament of *England* has abolished most of the common fields by acts of authority; it prescribes the exchanges to be made for a division of the property, and without any opposition*. The *English*, like all other people,

* This is not a clear account: parliament never exerts this act of power, without being applied to by the majority of the proprietors; and the division is always left to the Commissioners.

love their antient customs; and fear the strokes of authority more than any other people; but they are always disposed to submit to the decisions of their parliaments, if the king is not supposed to have interfered: well meaning men profit by this national principle.

Watch the Education of Children.

A Legislator occupied like the father of his country, with the happiness of his people, will watch national education, to the end that children may suck in with the milk, the principles and maxims which may contribute to the publick good, and the prosperity of individuals. Upon this principle, I do not comprehend how we can abandon the publick education to masters that depend not on the government, or are little connected with the state.

Oppose the Vices of the Climate.

MONTESQUIEU calls on Legislators, to oppose themselves to the vices of the climate, and direct their laws in consequence. In hot countries, we should combat indolence; repose, and inaction. "What," says he, "more insensible than the Legislation of *Fobi*, who prescribes quietude? "What more wise than the Legislation of "the *Chinese*, who have made all their laws "practical? Agriculture, arts, manufactures,
" and

“ and commerce, excite a people to be sober,
 “ laborious, vigilant, assiduous, and active.”

Consult the People before you enact.

Improve on the whole the method employed by certain able ministers. They demand memoirs, consult the provinces, the villages, the cities, and the communities, upon the slightest changes in agriculture; and they decree upon the given explanations. We have seen in the fifty years that their excellencies of *Berne* have followed with success this route, for abolishing the rights of commonage and open fields. But they did not equally succeed, when they, some years ago, consulted the communities, to know if they would receive certain industrious strangers, who had been forced to abandon their country. As they added nothing to the question, the communities answered nothing; but therein expressed every thing.

Inquiet Spirits censured.

Legislators ought to guard against certain inquiet spirits, and innovators. They are discontent with every thing that is; and love nothing but what does not exist.

Not to sacrifice the future to the present.

In removing an obstacle we must take care not to give birth to greater evils. The views of a
 Legislator

Legislator are not bounded by the present ; by a particular set of persons, or by certain places.

He foresees all the effects which may result from the proposed change, or the grant demanded. His foresight, which extends itself to every thing, enables him to decide with certainty, that which is most beneficial to the nation at present and in future. He may speak much, for example, on the inconveniencés of a too minute division of lands ; but it does not therefore follow, that they are all below the strength of a countryman : and it is demonstrable, that a moderate domaine yields more in proportion than a large one!

Collected villages are prejudicial, it is true ; but the scattered barns are more inconvenient still. Diminish the lands added to the open fields, for augmenting the commons, it is substituting a great evil in the place of a less. Abolish the commons, and carry the product of the sale to the publick treasury, or divide them with allowance of alienation ; it is depriving the poor of a permanent resource for subsistence ; as if the future race was not a part of the community, and ought not to be supposed as durable as the world. Examples of parallel mistakes are frequent ; but prudence ought to consider, to combine, to compare every thing.

Nature and Sanction of the Laws.

The laws ought to be clear, fixed, small in number, and their violation unpardonable. Indulgence or partiality mixing with them, throw the whole into disorder. The people or the tribunals, allowing themselves to limit or restrain the law, tends to anarchy; and if there is any hope of favour, the law is null. Only, care should be taken, that the punishment by the laws, be proportioned to the nature of the protection they confer. A Legislator in agriculture ought never to be terrible: it belongs to the *Japomese* to punish slight faults like great crimes.

Excessive Punishments.

It seems nevertheless that certain *European* monarchs have fallen into this excess. When I read, that in *Spain* they condemn a nobleman who has smuggled some snuff, to lose his nobility and be exiled into *Africa*; or if a plebeian, to be hanged: I say to myself, Is the honour or life of a man worth so little?

Pecuniary Assistance.

The prince may oftentimes, by employing sums of money, or lending them judiciously, correct certain vices of the soil. He may, by advances

advances or gratifications; contribute to drain marshes; to give a new course to rivers; to construct banks; to break the impetuosity of torrents, by dividing the waters; to erect bridges; and to break up uncultivated lands. He may furnish engineers, and inspectors of all such works. These means of pointing out the end, and yielding assistance, are a thousand times more efficacious than ordonnances.

Harmony between the Laws, Judgments, and Rescripts.

He must never confound the laws with the judgments; nor with the rescripts. Judgments decide the affairs of individuals: rescripts determine upon proposed circumstances: instead of which laws enact generally: nevertheless princes in their rescripts, and judges in their awards, ought never to lose sight of the great importance of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce.

The general Cry indicates the Necessity of a Reformation.

To conclude, when affairs are come to that pass, that the general cry of the nation demands a reformation, it is to be concluded that there is some essential vice in the constitution, for

which it is time to provide a remedy. Is it not, for example, the case at present in *France*, relative to the finances and financiers? Content with these few maxims, rather indicated than developed; I cannot say all that I would propose for removing the obstacles to the progress of agriculture; but it is easy in every place to discover those obstacles, and it is indispensable to labour at removing them. Such ought to be the Spirit of Legislation in this respect; nor is it difficult to form it.

C H A P. III.

The Means of encouraging Agriculture.

THE obstacles removed, the encouragement is easy to be imagined.

National Moderation and Simplicity.

In a cultivated country, moderation, frugality, and simplicity of manners must be maintained by every possible means; and every thing banished that breeds luxury. When the countryman sees the farmers pass their days in dissipation, recreations and pleasure; it is impossible but they must feel too strongly the hard and painful labour to which they are subject.

Personal Liberty.

It is not only necessary to assign the labourers and countrymen of all sorts their liberty. It must be *personal* liberty. All servitude degrades humanity, extinguishes genius, arrests activity. Such has been the wisdom of the Canton of *Berne*, who in the last age ordained to all the nobility, &c. to free the vassals of estates in mortmain. From the same principle of humanity, the king of *Denmark* has franchised the

since that state has granted bounties to the merchants for exporting corn. But we shall have further occasion to speak of this subject when we come to mention commerce.

Honours due to Agriculture.

In giving honour to husbandry, some consideration should be paid to the labourer, in assuring him encouragement. The relations which have been given of *Cbina*, speak of the ceremony of the emperor opening the earth every year. Many *Indian* kings have something parallel to this. Among the antient *Persians*, on the eighth day of the month named *Chorremruz*, the kings quitted their pomp to eat with the labourers. These are the institutions which *M. de Montesquieu* regards as admirable for encouraging agriculture.

Recompences to Husbandmen.

Give exemptions, premiums, prizes, and medals to able cultivators; and distinctions to the industrious among the husbandmen. In *Cbina* the emperor is every year informed, what farmer is the most distinguished in his profession, and he makes him a mandarine of the ninth order. For the countryman is as capable of the love of glory as the grand Signior. We find in *Europe* that by means of small privileges granted to those who work in

mines, they are sure to procure a sufficiency of workmen; though before such regulations, it was supposed impossible to work them except by slaves or criminals.

Example of Superiors.

The manners, the knowledge, and the taste of those who command insinuate themselves into the inferior classes. Every person therefore who holds any rank in a country of cultivation, ought to set an example. Writers in giving true ideas of farmers and their occupations; and magistrates in directing them in favour of the country, demand the protection of government. The rich may aid by small assistances the best labourers; and the nobility find in the œconomy of their estates, and the attention they give to the lands of their vassals, a salutary exercise, an augmentation of revenue, and an amusement useful and agreeable. We know the railleries which the good King HENRY IV. threw upon the gentlemen who quitted their estates to shine at court.

Reduction of great Estates.

It would certainly be favourable to agriculture, if we could divide the great domains into smaller parts; to the end that every single family might be secure in a possession, and cultivate it to the greatest

greatest advantage. If they are larger, many families must necessarily want land; and consequently cannot have that attachment to their native country, which such property ever renders so flattering.

Instruction of the people.

I have an idea that the education of the country people ought to be favoured by every means that are in the hands of a sovereign; and that all the classes of citizens should have a publick education, with instructions relative to their condition. This is the advice of M. de *Vattel*, of the Baron de *Bilefeld*, and of M. de la *Chalotais*, and of divers other celebrated writers who have defended the privileges of humanity: they condemn the maxims of those who would hold the countrymen in ignorance.

I am persuaded also that the ignorance of the people, always throws an indolence on the persons of an order more elevated: and that the intelligence of the labourer necessarily excites the emulation of the noblesse. It has been supposed apparently, that more docility and submission are found from subjects that are ignorant, than from those that are more enlightened. But is not this an error? I see, at least in our temperate or cold countries, that the most ignorant are the most brutal and the worst to discipline.

The

The darkest ages have always been the most fruitful in rebellions and civil wars. Ignorance and servitude ought to be banished with timidity from the country, or there will reign a frightful despotism. It is certain that a labourer executes easily and exactly all his works in proportion to his knowledge. In a word, ignorance is good for nothing.

Ease of the People.

I know not but there may be in some barbarous region, a maxim, that to make the people labour you must keep them poor. From all that passes under my eyes, I see on the contrary that ease animates the labourer to his work; and that misery depresses and discourages. Otherwise, they are the same thing.

“ You will never find it difficult to decide
“ that a province is poor when you see many
“ idle persons. But it cannot always be said
“ that idleness is the cause of this misery; for
“ in the cantons of those provinces, where the
“ countryman can acquire a little substance and
“ ease, we see him animated in the field, and
“ giving his heart to labour.” This is a reflection
of the author of *Observations on divers means of
sustaining and encouraging Agriculture*, 1756.

Favour the Productions of each District.

Favour by encouragements, examples, privileges, recompenses, and by the establishment of great roads, the sale of the peculiar products of each district; and also a due proportion between the grass and arable lands. All which is easy to a sovereign legislator.

Favour in the same manner the breed of horses, cows, and beasts, in the places where the transportation of forage is difficult. In other places the culture of hemp, flax, turnips, madder, tobacco, saffron, hops, woad, and white mulberries. If grain is abundant, for making beer, starch, powder, &c, protect the necessary establishments for them: when they are solid, and the cultivation in a good train, and in a state to support themselves, the exemptions may be removed or restrained.

The Study of Agriculture.

Professors in the academies and universities ought to be appointed to give lessons relative to agriculture, and the students in theology be obliged to assist at them. In *Sweden* they teach the principles of agriculture to those who are destined to be curates in the country. There is nothing in that study which is not adapted to give assistance to the greatest prelates. If the labourers

labourers are in want of a direction in the country, they are more in want of protection in the city.

A good Market for Salt.

In cultivated countries, and particularly those which abound with cattle, it is necessary that there be a good market of salt; that the countryman and cow-keeper may ordinarily give it to their horned cattle. Salt excites their appetites and preserves them from many maladies; above all, in the provinces distant from the sea, where the herbage abounds less with saline particles. SULLY, in many passages of his Memoirs, expresses himself against the extreme hardship of selling to the poor so dear, a commodity so common and so necessary.

Expedition in the legal Process.

It is also important in a country of husbandry, that the process of all law proceedings be expedited with celerity—that the tribunals before whom it is carried, and the magistrates, be accessible. A labourer has neither time nor money to lose; he cannot support the high airs of the great, nor the rebuffs of their lacquies.

Societies of Agriculture.

The establishment of societies of agriculture, and the protection which the sovereign may grant them, cannot but be very useful. Notwithstanding what frivolous and disorderly men may assert, these societies well directed, serve always to maintain the true principles of culture among persons of birth, from them they necessarily spread to the labourers, raising an emulation among the farmers, rendering general the best methods, and making known the vicious practices.

The members of these societies try new articles of culture, naturalize exotic plants, and procure elementary instructions in agriculture for the countrymen. They exercise, through the love of their country, functions which have a singularity with the office *Censores agrarii* established among the *Romans*, who often forced the idle to labour by their chastisements. The *Greeks* pursued the same politics. Fear nothing for your liberty, ye nation of farmers, while your masters become elevated in the respect that is due to your labours! If *Rome* fell into slavery, it was not by the regulations of their rural censors, but by the tyranny of the ambitious who abolished them.

LEGISLATION. 31

Veterinean Schools.

The Legislator likewise favours agriculture, by the establishment of Veterinean schools, upon the plan of that at *Lyons*. By attending them, the societies of agriculture might procure for the countryman some elementary book upon a subject of so great consequence.

I have been but little diffusive upon these first rules of Legislation, because agriculture is an art of the first necessity, and carried the *Romans* and many other people to great power, without the assistance of manufactures, or of commerce: but without agriculture, no state that we know of has flourished.

But in vain would we endeavour to perfect agriculture; if we seek not to favour population; since for cultivating the land, there must be labourers; and there must be a great number, if we would add manufactures and commerce.

 CH A P. IV.

 Legislation considered relatively to Population.

The Connection of Agriculture and Population.

THE abundance of commodities and the facility of subsistence, are as favourable to population, as population so augmented is favourable in its turn to the increase of commodities and plenty of the earth's products. The number of inhabitants, with plenty of necessaries, alike constitute the real and permanent force, and the direct and relative power of a state. The welfare, security, and riches of a people, of the publick, and of individuals, are always proportioned to the number of inhabitants. This article therefore demands all attention from the Legislator.

Attention to the Climate.

In general the Spirit of laws with respect to population, ought to depend on the climate, and on the resources whether exterior or interior. In most countries nature has done all. There are but a small number in which we must aid her in order to display

display her design. Legislators are intelligent enough to understand this if they please.

Particular Means.

There are some particular methods proper for favouring population.

Constitution of the Government.

The first and principal actor is the constitution of a state. Every government which reigns in mildness, justice, security, and liberty, must necessarily be populous.

We love to inhabit a country, where the laws protect, constantly, generally, and without impartiality, the honour, the possessions, and the life of all the subjects without distinction: and where the magistrates repress, without exception of persons, all violence, chicanery, tyranny and oppression. These advantages may be found in a well regulated monarchy, as well as in a republick; for all republicks possess them not. "In Poland," says *M. Suffmilch*, "nine tenths are slaves, and the other tenth are nobles, who enjoy a liberty prejudicial to the state, and to population."

Resources.

It belongs to the foresight of government, that the sovereign attention is given to procure to all

the citizens occupations according to their talents, and resources from their industry. A country where the lands are wisely distributed; where manufactures and commerce flourish; and where the arts and sciences prosper; may furnish occupations to every one: and the more population increases, the greater plenty of resources will there be for every individual; so much are the occupations of mankind susceptible of variety and increase.

Preservation of Privileges.

The continued attention of the prince, and of all those who have the execution of regulations, to maintain to the people the benefit of charters, capitulations, concessions, and privileges, much contributes to people a country. If abuses creep in they must be corrected. Nothing is more disgusting to a body, a community, or a people, than to be continually wrestling against the enterprises of intendants, who want to undermining their rights.

Police.

It is also requisite that the police, secure to people the possession of their property. The idea of property secure, and the charms of enjoyment uninterrupted, excite emulation, and animate industry. If a proprietor has only a precarious

possession,

possession; if imposts are exorbitant, or arbitrary, if the tax-gatherers are guilty of excesses, if all the lands belong to the prince, or to the nobility; if estates are let at too high rents; if even a great part of the soil is in the hands of the great, or in mortmain, the farmers, &c. which make the body of the nation, must be either slaves or workmen: not being attached to their country by property or interest, they retire and emigrate.

Division of Commons.

Every one knows the agrarian laws of the *Romans*. But it is not our business here to follow the spirit of those laws, which divided a part of the commons among the tenants, fixed them in their hands, and so rendered them inalienable: when the produce was considered but as the subsistence of the poor, how could it be seized by a creditor?

Slavery contrary to Population.

Slavery is as directly opposite to population, as despotism: and if in enslaved countries we find a certain number of inhabitants, it must be owing to the humanity of the masters, softening the extraordinary horrors of slavery. I have been surprized to see that M. MELON, otherwise so sensible, should plead in favour of the re-estab-

blishment of a certain kind of slavery in *Europe*. I have examined the regulations he prescribes for slavery; they are admirable, if their observation was possible. But seeing every day the abuse of the best things, is it possible not to tremble at the abuse of the worst?

In reading the eulogium which the *Voyageur Philosophe* † has given of despotism, I see an orator who tries to palliate a paradox; a sophist, who shews that he would equally attempt the panegyric of a plague or an assassin: but you, oh illustrious MONTESQUIEU, 'tis you that are respectable in my eyes! You undertake the defence of humanity, in shewing that despotism has but one work, which is to destroy.

Toleration and Liberty of Conscience.

To the end that a state by a government mild, just, moderate, may augment her population, she ought to tolerate and encourage a full liberty of conscience. *Holland*, who offers a certain refuge to all that are oppressed and persecuted, is the country of all *Europe* the best peopled. They reckon in the seventeen provinces five millions of inhabitants, and the single province of *Holland* to possess the half.

Turn to the feasts and fasts of kingdoms; and they shew you the inquisition, military exe-

† *M. de Ligonni, Tom. II. ch. v. p. 85. &c.*

cutions,

cutions, dragoonades, dungeons, the carrying off of children, religious wars, and religious butchers employed against those called hereticks — these are what have cost the lives of millions in most of the countries of *Europe*.

General Welfare.

It remains therefore true, that the more a government distinguishes itself by mildness, justice, security, and both civil and ecclesiastical liberty, the more proper it becomes for drawing strangers, retaining the old inhabitants, and increasing in population.

A man who is well off never thinks of changing his place, *Cibi bene sta non si muove.*

Give to Marriage the Consideration which it merits.

In the second place, marriage being without contradiction, the means the most assured; and the most proper for producing, and raising children that are useful to the state, we cannot more efficaciously favour population, than by preserving and rendering to marriage the consideration which it merits. Having regard in the distribution of publick employments to persons of merit who have children, becomes an encouragement to marriage and virtue. What countries are those where they give the magistracies and military

employments to eunuchs? What prerogatives did the *Romans*, those great masters of Legislation, assign to married people, that had many children? They had a particular place at the theatre. They were preferred to employments. The Consul who had most children took the first of the fasces; and had the choice of the provinces. The Senator who had most children was the first who spoke in that assembly. They could arrive at the magistracies before the legal age, because each child dispensed with a year*.

Furnish Occupations.

The Legislator may likewise greatly favour marriage, by furnishing occupations to all the citizens, and in granting honours to all the subjects that are found worthy of them †. And with

* At *Berne* they cannot have a Bailiff that has not been married. *M. de Montesquieu*, from whom I draw these facts, in his *Spirit of Laws*, mentions several other instances and regulations on this subject, B. xxiii. ch. 21.

† In *Holland* they reckon, that to every 64 persons there is a marriage: In *Sweden* one to 126. In *Brandenburgh* and *Finland* one to 108. At *Berlin* one to 110. In *England* one to 98. 115. 118. And in general one marriage gives four children.

In *Holland* an infant is born to every 23½ persons, In *Brandenburgh* one to 30. In the small towns of that electorate

With what satisfaction must we approve of those magistrates and landlords in *France*, who on the occasion of publick rejoicings, give considerable sums for dowers to a great number of girls; to marry them to young men of their own condition:

Correct and remove Impediments,

It is also the duty of a Legislator, who proposes to form a numerous people, to correct or to prevent all that obstructs marriage in the one or the other sex.

Luxury.

Luxury immediately presents itself. Marriage necessarily opens to expences, and the embarrassments which luxury, softness, and a love of ease, are desirous of escaping. We see that in celibacy there is no fear of children. With women living in frivolousness, in dissipation, in play, with a taste for gewgaws, there can be no hope of marriages, nor of vigorous infants, nor consequently, of population. This is demonstrated by the tables of *London*, of *Stockholm*, of *Breslaw*, of *Berlin*, and of *Vienna*, where, of 100 persons who die

electorate one to 24 $\frac{4}{6}$. In *England* one to 29 $\frac{1}{2}$. In *Sweden* one to 28 $\frac{1}{2}$. At *Berlin* one to 28. At *Rome*, and other cities in that state, one to 31. In the towns around *Paris*, one to 22 $\frac{1}{6}$. Süssmilch.

in these great cities, 30 are infants, and in some more, who are not a year old: instead of which, in the country there die but 20 in 100, of that age. There dies also more in great cities than in small ones; the proportion is 43 to 25.

Sumptuary Laws. Education of the Sex for Housekeeping.

Sumptuary laws are without doubt necessary, for repressing excesses of this sort; nevertheless they are always unsuccessful, when they do not give to the sex, in whose hands is the interior regulation of the house, a suitable education. This is a capital point. Without this, what hope of their not being dazzled at the sumptuous shew of all that is collected from fashion, luxury, riches, baggabelle, which presents itself to their greedy eyes at the fair of *St. Germain's*!

Libertinism repressed.

What are we to say to fornication, libertinism, and incontinence, vices which oppose in an infinite variety of ways, the fecundity of the species; which attack the principles themselves of life; which enervate the body, which shorten life, which bring contempt on marriage, and throw a ridicule on the most respectable connections of humanity? Legislation ought not to regard with indifference, excesses which sap, at
the

the same time, the foundations of population, arts, commerce, industry, activity, and religion. "A sovereign," says *Suffmilch*, "who punishes not libertinism, destroys himself." And it is manifest from attending to the population of certain cities, as *Leipsick*, for instance, that one infant in six is a bastard.

Publick Censors.

It does not appear impossible to me to repress these abuses; or at least to prevent the vice from increasing. The antient legislators, *Lycurgus* in particular; brought about changes of the most difficult kind; if princes sincerely wished to render their people better, they might effect it.

It would often be sufficient if they procured a good education for children; if they granted their favour, and honourable employments to persons whose manners were commendable; if they testified their approbation of industrious men; and their indignation of those who trample under feet the regulation of discipline; in fine, if they protected those whose manners as citizens fulfilled the duties of their station. "Able legislators in forming a state, have never failed of establishing a magistracy, or a body of magistrates, destined to censure manners; in prevention of those which are capable of changing for the worse; and in restoring in
" some

" some manner those which are beginning to
 " corrupt. This was the office of censors at
 " Rome; of the *Areopagus* at Athens; and the
 " ephori at Lacedæmon: there were tribunals of
 " reformation established in many modern re-
 " publicks; such as pastors and consistories.
 " Certainly if any amendment was wished for
 " in a depraved state, it must be from such
 " inspectors. Unhappily, experience teaches us
 " that when corruption is arrived at a certain
 " point, such magistrates cannot fulfill their
 " duty, or they must fulfill it uselessly." These
 are the reflections of the author (*M. Roustan*)
 of a Discourse upon the question, *What are the*
means of drawing a people from corruption? &c.
 p. 180.

Prevent Misery and Begging.

For favouring marriage and preventing the
 corruption of manners, we ought to prevent
 misery and begging, by preserving the necessaries
 of life at a moderate price; by moderate taxes;
 by softening the manner of collecting them; by
 repressing the abuse of spirituous liquors and
 idleness; by taking the administration of the
 estates of spendthrifts; by establishing work-
 houses; by furnishing assistance to those who
 cannot gain a living, particularly the means of
 tilling, where the soil is cultivated by those who
 are

are in a state of working. Portions of commons distributed with discernment, would prove on such a plan highly advantageous.

Abuses of rich Hospitals.

When wealthy hospitals augment the evil they were intended to remedy; when they become the cause of idleness, as is too often the case; the estates of these foundations ought to be applied to easing the poor of the charge of bringing up their children.

Regulate the distribution of Alms.

It is impossible that a man without property, who has more than three children, can furnish their maintenance by the single labour of his hands, supposing even that all enjoy a good state of health, and that his wife is industrious*. This is the most certain rule for determining the distribution of public charities,

Times of Scarcity.

In extraordinary cases, good princes furnish grain for their people. We have seen this the

* This is a very extraordinary fact, and shews that labour relative to provisions is very cheap in Switzerland: thousands of such men in England live well without assistance.

case, more than ölice, with their excellencies of *Berne* opening their magazines, and selling corn under the high prices, in order to prevent famine, which is capable of throwing the people into despair, and in the greatest excesses.

Polygamy. contrary to Population.

If it is demanded whether polygamy be favourable to population, I answer in the negative; because in all countries, the number of males and females that are born, are almost equal. In the births, the males are to the females as twenty-one to twenty: and boys of a tender age, die in rather a greater proportion than girls. In fifteen or twenty years, the number of males and females is very near equal. If, therefore, one man had many wives, or one woman many husbands, it must certainly be to the prejudice of others obliged to live in celibacy. Therefore, in countries where polygamy is allowed, eunuchs must be made.

Popular or epidemical Disorders.

In the third place, it belongs to the wisdom and foresight of a legislator, to be careful of the diseases of the poor. The ancient *Egyptians* made regulations concerning the leprosy: *Moses* did the same; and when the crusades brought

that disorder into *Europe*, many very wise ordinances were made to stop its progress.

With what success has most of the states on this continent, taken measures to place bounds to the plague, by forming lines of troops around the infected country, to prevent all communication.

These are the observations made by M. de *Montesquieu*, who complained that in his time,
“ So few precautions had been taken against
“ that malady, unknown but two centuries ago,
“ which passing from the new world, came
“ hither to attack human nature in the source
“ of life and pleasure. We have seen, he adds,
“ most part of the great families of *Europe* perish
“ by a disorder which is become too common to
“ be shameful; but which cannot be more fatal.
“ As it is the wisdom of legislators to guard
“ the health of their citizens; had they been
“ sensible, they would have stopped this com-
“ munication on the plan of the *Mosaical* laws.”

In general, legislation ought to provide for the health of the people. In all principal places there ought to be salaries for physicians, surgeons, and midwives, who know the manner of living, the jargon, the common accidents, the distempers, and the temperament of the inhabitants of their district. Professions so necessary to the preservation of the human race, ought to

be

be encouraged; to the end, that men who have talents, being avowed, may totally proscribe the mountebanks; and empiricks, who destroy all that are weak enough to confide in their promises. The countrymen who are at a distance from succour, would find in the work of M. TISSOT (*Avis au Peuple*) excellent instructions, by attending to which they may become physicians for themselves.

We owe this justice to the present age, that the police has taken care of midwives, so that at present but few women die in child-bed. At *Berlin*, there dies in the delivery 1 in 98
 At *Leipsic*, 1 in 61
 At *Goslar*, 1 in 68
 In *America*, 1 in 1000

In the tables of *London*, we find that the number of women dying in child-bed has diminished as 14 to 8. In six weeks which follow the delivery, there dies more women than in the delivery itself. Thus says M. *Suffmilch*.

It is therefore necessary to establish infirmaries at certain distances. Uniting all in the capital, answers not the end. They are less necessary and more expensive in those places, which already furnish other resources. We must nevertheless, have due regard to the maladies most frequent in great cities, where there dies one in 24, 25, 26, 27, 28; instead of which, in smaller towns

towns and in the country, there dies but one in from 30 to 45. Great cities are most destructive in this respect; the police ought therefore to be very exact.

Inoculation of the Small Pox.

It is here necessary to speak of the small pox, and its inoculation. Political arithmeticians have calculated, that of 100 persons who have the small pox in the natural way, there die 8; whereas of the inoculated ones, there scarcely dies one. This difference is without doubt considerable. But these authors do not say, that all those persons during their malady had been treated with the same care; a difference which is perhaps greater than one to eight. I know at least that our countrymen are sometimes so full of their business that they cannot give to their children the necessary attention. Oftentimes, neighbours by their directions break the course of nature; and physicians themselves are not always agreed in their treatment of this disorder. Lastly, it appears not to be equally fatal in all places and at all times.

However, in attending to inoculation, as it may become a general practice, it is necessary that physicians should publish upon the treatment of this disorder, a short and simple instruction, which might be distributed gratis to all families,

families, by the magistrates. It is not necessary to mention that the remedies ought to be neither difficult nor costly. The publick physician should be specially charged with visiting without distinction, all the disordered of a place attacked by this malady. He ought in his treatment of it to follow the prescribed method, in the directions by authority. He should keep an exact journal of his visits, the observations which he makes, the remarkable symptoms which occur, and the accidents which happen.

Wars and military Service.

Can it be necessary to observe, that war is contrary to population; that it diminishes in a thousand ways the inhabitants of a country, which sometimes would require an age to recruit them. But we shall only speak of soldiers kept in time of peace, and to whom marriage is interdicted.

The author of the work entitled, *Les Interests de la France mal entendus*, says, page 232, "That, supposing in France there are ordinarily kept 150,000 men on foot, the kingdom loses every age 750,000 souls."

Convents and Celibacy.

We may from this calculation form an idea of the loss which Roman catholic countries sustain

sustain by the celibacy of ecclesiastics. At *Rome* and *Bologna*, they reckon a sixteenth of the inhabitants to be ecclesiastic. In *France* they do not reckon more than the thirty-fifth, but that is too much. *M. L'Abbe de St. Pierre* has shewn, that the celibacy of priests is no ecclesiastic institution. I add, that if it was, it was established by men, and ought to be changed by princes, when they find it inconvenient. Why not render more general the law which regulates the minors who apply to embrace the monastic life. No person ought to be permitted to enter a convent before the age of twenty-five years; perhaps not before the age of fifty.

Attract and receive Strangers.

When a country is not sufficiently inhabited, the numbers may be augmented by calling in strangers. And all the countries of *Europe* are in this predicament except *Holland*, according to *M. Sussmilch*. *Spain* and *Portugal* have not ten millions, and they ought to have forty. They estimate seventeen millions of inhabitants in *France*, and they might be double. In the three kingdoms of *Great Britain*, they might have twenty millions; but half could scarcely be found. There are not many more than one million in all *Switzerland*; and there ought to be

two and an half. All *Italy* should contain fifteen millions, and there are not ten. *Denmark* and *Norway* might have thirty-two millions; but they have not two. *Russia* two hundred millions, but there are only twenty or twenty-four. *Poland* and *Lituania*, forty millions, but there are not more than six.

Refugees.

At the end of the last century, we saw all the protestant states enrich themselves with the spoils of *France*. Three millions of inhabitants since the revocation of the edict of *Nants*, left that kingdom, and carried with them their industry, commerce, and immense sums of money to *Holland*, *England*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, by all of whom they were received. In 1725, thirty thousand persecuted families abandoned the archbishoprick of *Saltzburg*. Twenty thousand of those families established themselves in the states of the king of *Prussia*. What would *Geneva* be, who reckons about 28,000 inhabitants within the walls, if the *Frenchmen* had not been received there? But above all, what population has accrued to *Holland* by receiving all that came? Who knows how many millions of *French* would have left their country, had proper establishments been ready in the neighbouring countries,

countries, where they might freely have professed their religion ?

The canton of *Berne* profited much by that astonishing emigration, but not so much as she ought to have done. Twenty thousand families of those *French* refugees entered this country the fifteen or sixteen last years of the past century. Charities were heaped upon them ; there now remains scarcely two thousand, whereof half, after with difficulty purchasing their freedoms and naturalization, are regarded as the second or third generation from strangers. The other half are absolute strangers amongst us, and constrained by a thousand shackles. Oftentimes they are chased from place to place, and even their marriages rendered difficult. What has been the end of this ? These refugees have cost the state and individuals more than eight hundred thousand francs in assistance to the poor ; whereas they would have cost nothing had they been free to have settled, and applied their industry to use, where they pleased.

Corporation Rights of Citizens.

But the rights of citizens here oppose themselves. *Gotbic* establishments that have been many years among us, I shall very freely call them leagues of a few, for stifling all the principles of universal benevolence, and substituting city rights

in their room; but they are rights of evil extent, contrary to the welfare of the state, and fatal to individuals. It appears that we have for many years been disposed to correct these abuses; but ancient prejudices are not easily corrected.

This city spirit is, above all, fatal to a country that thins its inhabitants by a multitude of canals, by foreign service, by ambition or avarice, or by the vanity of going to do for strangers, what they ought to be ashamed to do for themselves.

M. Tiffot, in his preface to his *Advice to the People*, proposes his ideas upon military and mercantile emigration; and M. *Suffmilch*, who quotes, and translates that part of that excellent work into *German*, makes this remark. "Military
 " emigration, such as the state permits, is a
 " striking defect in politicks, and a want of
 " knowledge of the value of a subject. Had
 " the *Swiss* heretofore more inhabitants than
 " they could maintain? If so, it was then ne-
 " cessary to send away a part of them. But
 " at present, while this is not the case, and the
 " country has not the inhabitants it ought, it
 " is evident that foreign service is fatal. The
 " money which a state draws in this manner
 " from foreigners, is quite unequal to the value
 " of the men taken for recruits. By which
 " means such sums are more than balanced to
 " the

“ the state by the loss of strength, and interior
 “ wealth. But emigration and liberty of com-
 “ merce, cannot without difficulty be prohibited
 “ among a free people.”

Refusal of Naturalization.

Refusing, as in *Poland*, and some other coun-
 tries, to naturalize any stranger, is to deprive
 themselves of resources, necessary for repairing
 the losses occasioned by the constitution of the
 government. That republick has only three
 orders of inhabitants; the nobles, who are alone
 possessors of lands and employments; the inha-
 bitants of cities, who can possess no estate except
 in the territory which is their district; and the
 country people, who are all bondsmen, and totally
 without property. It appears to me, that if,
 instead of reserving employments for the nobility
 alone, they granted to the cities municipal rights;
 rendered the countryman free, and granted him
 the power of possession, that every diet natura-
 lized all strangers known; making gentlemen of
 virtuous and industrious citizens——that vast
 country, instead of five or six millions of inha-
 bitants, would in less than an age have double
 the number; the lands would be better culti-
 vated; and arts and commerce infallibly be
 established.

There is no Country fully peopled.

A general truth. There is no country in *Europe* that would not maintain a considerable number of inhabitants more than it possesses at present; in the proportion of a thousand souls to a league square. *Switzerland* is undoubtedly proportionably better peopled than many other countries; but I am well assured that we might have double our present numbers, if all the uncultivated lands were broken up; if those cultivated were made the most of; if all the marshes were drained, and the useless forests extirpated; if the best were thrown into proper management; and due search made for mines of peat and coal. These are the conquests worthy of a wise and humane people.

Increasing the Inhabitants of a Country is preferable to naturalizing Strangers.

It is easy to comprehend, that an increase of inhabitants, who arise from the lands of a country, must always be preferable to a temporary increase by colonies. In effect, there must be some time before the new comers are accustomed to the climate, the air, the diet, and the occupations of their new habitations.

There oftentimes arise jealousies and altercations between the old inhabitants and the new comers;

comers; which, if the number that come at a time be considerable, must occasion many inconveniencies to divers individuals. If it should happen that the colonists surpass in numbers the ancient inhabitants, there would be danger of their attempting to change the form of government; particularly if the emigration was undertaken through lightness of spirit, inquietude, or ambition.

Precautions.

But it is ever very easy for a Legislator to distinguish the reasons and motives of the assylum demanded: and it is not difficult to have inspectors, in whom confidence can be placed, to observe the conduct of the new comers, in order to be secure from all surprize. But emigrations that are made in small numbers, can never incommode a country that is not fully peopled. And it is very probable, that hereafter there will be none such, as princes become every day more interested in preventing considerable ones, by applying themselves more to rendering their people happy.

The Love of our Country attaches and brings back the Citizens.

Sovereign Legislators! You! to whom the

King of kings has entrusted the authority of commanding, and on us has imposed the obligation of obeying, well convinced that the number of happy subjects makes the force the most real, and the glory the most solid of a state! — Feel, that there is a LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY, which in attaching and bringing back all the citizens of the state, must render a people powerful. This love of one's country is a natural instinct, which ties us to the place where we were born; an instinct which, by habit, renders more proper for us the air we breathe, the diet by which we have been nourished, the houses which we have inhabited, the lands which we have cultivated; in one word, all the objects which have struck our senses from infancy; it is also a reflected sentiment, founded on the love we owe to our parents, to our friends, and to our fellow citizens; to the civil state in which Providence has placed us, for living in an union the most intimate.

The Means of inspiring People with the Love of their Country.

You therefore whose rank gives a force to your example, inspire all your subjects with your cares;—that sentiment so active and so fruitful, Yes; this love of our country unites all our hearts,

hearts, becomes the tie the most sacred, and most powerful of your authority, the obedience of the people. This love is an exotic plant in governments where despotism holds the place of reason: it cannot generate, it cannot increase, nor produce those delicious fruits, which it does in more fortunate places, where liberty is constantly defended by law, and the interest of all who govern is so intimately connected with that of the nation governed. Each citizen accustoms himself almost from infancy, to regard the fortune of the state, as his own individual fortune. This social fraternity, which makes all citizens, both great and small, but as one family, interests the whole for the prosperity of their common country. It is a sort of ship, where each finds the post that belongs to him, and cannot be indifferent to those around him. The passenger loves the captain; the soldier the pilot; the seamen who are full of their business, love the ship as they love themselves. But if the citizen receives neither benefit, protection, nor assistance from government; if those, who are the depositaries of some part of the sovereign power, employ it only in augmenting their authority, or their fortune; it is much to be feared that the subject, poorly formed for abstract ideas of patriotism, will no longer be accustomed to regard the fortune of the state as that of a ship, where

where there is not, nor can be no other interests; a ship which moves at the will of its masters, and which can neither be preserved nor wrecked without them. In proportion as this zeal for the publick good extinguishes itself in our hearts, the desire of separate interests will arise. Thus thought and spoke that great magistrate, whom *France* celebrated after his death, and which enlightened her during his long life. Example becomes contagious, and descends by degrees to the lowest ranks. Each in his sphere, makes the same distinction between the interest of the state, and that of himself and his family.

One city, one village forms a league; each family, each individual is no further occupied, than to assure itself the privilege of certain advantages. The publick good is lost to his view; it remains not in a kingdom, or in a republick, where private interests, which by their collision form a kind of civil war, break the ties of the society, and leave nothing to subsist but self-love, which destroys every other principle. The citizen who is not stronger retained by the love of his country, will in other climates seek for establishments and resources which his native land denied him. If he finds them, he will, in the country he has chosen, forget that which heaven assigned him at his birth. The least hope, the least possibility, would have retained him: the least hope, the least possibility, sends him away,

C. H. A. P. V.

The Spirit of Legislation, in respect of Arts, Fabricks, and Manufactures, relative to Agriculture.

Connection of the Arts with Agriculture.

ALL arts and manufactures have some connection with agriculture, at least indirectly, by population and the consumption of products; by the taste which they give for labour; and by the money which they procure; from whence there necessarily results an increase of the value of land. It has been observed in *England*, that the rent of estates in 1600 was six millions; it was after that raised from six to eight, from eight to ten, and from ten to fourteen, at which it remains at present. Thus agriculture augments, in proportion as manufactures and commerce flourish.

We need not however go from *Switzerland*, or from this canton, to prove an increase of the rent of lands, in proportion to the money which manufactures procure. The lands uncultivated, desert, and little known, disappear before riches and population. It is reckoned that a million in unwrought materials, produces from six to ten millions when fabricated.

Particular Arts which flourish in the Country.

But there are many arts which are directly connected with agriculture, and which without it, could not exist. Such are all those employed to facilitate the labours of the countryman: such are all those manufactures, which give the form to natural productions, and which work upon the raw materials, hemp, flax, wool, grain for oil; the vegetables used by painters, and mulberries for silk, &c.

We shall begin with the arts the nearest connected with agriculture.

Cartwrights.

The cartwrights and smiths first present themselves. There is not a village but ought to have one, or at least to be near him. They are employed on the ploughs, harrows, shares, shoeing of horses, carts, &c.

Smiths.

It is necessary that all smiths should be able to cure the distempers incident to the farmer's stock.

Veterinarian Art.

This art is absolutely necessary in a cultivated country. It is to be wished that this was made an art, and a science like medicine, so that we might

might do more honour to a vocation which is at present much despised. The state of *Berne* has already sent some young men to the Veterinarian school at *Lyons*.

Encouragement of the Arts.

The communities ought to facilitate the apprenticeship and instruction of some young men, that are sensible and orderly, who have a taste and talents for some one of these professions, and procure for them, at the same time, some assistance; such as wood, coal, iron, &c. to the end that they might be in a state of applying themselves to perfect their business.

A very little expence would suffice for forming similar establishments, and for perpetuating them. This article, like many others, of which I have spoken in this essay, properly regards the interior police of municipal cities, and it is not to be doubted, that the prince who sees in cities and villages such a good intention, would assist them in it.

These arts have a direct connection with agriculture; but almost all the most common tend to it indirectly, because they mutually depend. The clockmaker himself might throw light upon the unwieldy implements of the labourer, and perfect them.

Manufactures.

I pass to manufactures, which might furnish occupations to the most numerous bodies of labouring people in the dead seasons, and to a great number of persons, who by reason of their age or constitution, are not able to be farming labourers.

General Observations.

I must here make some preliminary observations.

I. *No Manufacture ought to be established at the expence of Agriculture.*

No manufacture ought to be established at the expence of agriculture, and in particular the culture of corn. This principle has been established by invincible arguments in divers passages of the collection of the œconomical society of Berne.

II. *No Country can support all Sorts of Manufactures.*

There is no country where we can establish all sorts of manufactures; the most populous countries cannot supply workmen enough, and the success of many depend on situation, and divers exterior and local circumstances. It is
not

not with manufacturers, as with artizans. A great number of manufacturers embarrass themselves; whereas the artizans mutually aid each other; the one are the tools and machines which the other employ. The one invent, and the other execute. The more artizans there are in a district, the more emulation there will be.

III. *We must support those Manufactures that are established.*

It is always necessary to support the manufactures that are already established, when they do not appear to be inconvenient to the country. It is a spring, which if we attempt to turn, we lose the water.

IV. *Give the greatest Attention to those most necessary.*

In establishing new manufactures, we ought always to have regard to those which are the most indispensable; linen and woollen cloths, leather, hats, caps, stockings, &c. are the species of merchandize of the surest sale, because of the most general use.

V. *Attend to the producing in the Country the raw Materials.*

We ought to give attention to the abundant productions in a country of raw materials, which

may be the easier done, as they are easily procured. Abundance of wool, flax, hemp, wood, hides, where there is a facility of procuring the materials unwrought, are manufactures which the legislator ought particularly to protect.

VI. *Manufactures are proper for rich grazing Countries.*

In countries chiefly applied to pasturage, where the vallies are watered by streams, and enriched without demanding much labour, their fertility favours the establishment of manufactures, which require an assiduity of labour, a delicacy of hands, and an art at the fingers ends. Countries of pasturage and cattle, agree best with manufactures, because the land requires very little culture.

VII. *They are not proper where the Culture is very good.*

We should fall into a very gross mistake, if we thought of establishing manufactures in countries accurately cultivated, above all, in those which abound with vineyards. The labourers and vine-dressers, have indeed some months in winter, which they could dispose of; but it is much, if the women in the dead times can make the small matters necessary for domestic

metic use, and the men bring into proper order their tools, &c.

VIII. *Taxes are fatal to Manufactures.*

The legislator knows that excises or taxes upon the necessaries of life, such as corn, flour, bread, wood, coal, salt, leather, &c. must necessarily raise the price of work, and prevent the exportation of merchandize to other countries.

IX. *The Legislator ought to choose, direct, and protect Abilities.*

We may lastly remark, that there are many works and professions, which require the exercise of every talent and ability. It belongs to the legislator to select them, to direct their undertakings, and to protect their enterprizes, that they may be the more advantageous to the country.

Table of Arts and Manufactures.

We shall give here a table of the principal manufactures, which are to be arranged under the three kingdoms :

The Fossile.

We shall begin with the arts which exercise themselves on fossiles.

F

1. Bricks,

1. Bricks, tiles, and potteries. These manufactures are necessary above all, and ought to be established in all places, where there are earth and wood; or turf, coal, and stone. The fabrics of glass and porcellane, are to be ranked in the following order.

2. Glass, bottles, looking-glasses; window glass and common glass are indispensable in all countries, and may be made wherever materials for vitrification and combustion are to be found.

3. Ovens of chalk or plaster are also necessary in all places. The buildings covered with straw, or erected of wood, are exposed to so many accidents, that people ought to be exhorted, encouraged, or even forced to procure, if possible, more durable materials.

4. Colours drawn from fossils, whether earth or mineral. We ought not to neglect these advantages, when nature presents them.

5. The opening mines of all sorts. Those of iron the most necessary. Those of copper, vitriol, sulphur, allum, &c. Of turf, of coals. Quarries of slate and free-stone. The manufacture of salt, if it is the product of the country. Saltpetre might every where be made with more or less advantage; but care should be taken that the regulations for making saltpetre, are not prejudicial to the countrymen.

There are proposed in the *Memoirs of the Society of Berne*, two methods, that are very good, the one by walls of earth, and the other by vaults; and I have read in manuscript, a *Memoir* on a plantation of salt-petre, by means of ditches. It were to be wished that the learned author would make it public.

6. Iron forges, fabrics of steel, and iron work of artillery, fire arms, locks, hard-ware, nails, pins. All are objects of the greatest importance.

7. Forges of copper, brass, bell-metal, wires, &c. Neglecting the advantages which a country offers for these establishments, is very imprudent.

8. If the country does not furnish mines of silver, it ought to have goldsmiths, jewellers, lapidaries, &c. In a considerable state, there must be workmen for laces of silver and gold.

9. In all countries utensils of tin are necessary, and the same may be said of founderies for printing characters.

The Vegetable.

The vegetable kingdom has also many fabrics:

1. Cloths of hemp and flax may be made and perfected, wherever hemp and flax are grown. The same may be said of threads for sowing and making lace; of ribbons, ropes, and all the

works which are made with thread. All these manufactures are the more important, as they favour the agriculture of a country.

2. Wherever there are spinsters, there may be made cotton thread, for mixing with wool, in order to make cloths, muslins, dimitics, &c. Printed and *Indian* linens. It is however better to extend the spinning of that thread which is produced by the country, than such as is brought from others.

3. The thread and cloths made from broom ; stuffs from nettles ; cotton of fallows, the bark of trees, &c. &c. are peculiar to certain countries ; but these plants might be cultivated in many others, where their use is unknown.

4. We might in many places cultivate with success, the plants which are useful to the painters. Woad, madder, &c. This last plant succeeds perfectly in various lands, and I doubt not but some encouragement on the part of the legislature, would at once naturalize a plant, absolutely necessary in all countries, where there are colourists and linen printers. It is certain that madder would do well in numerous places where it has not been tried.

5. The stockings, caps, gowns, and habits of thread and cotton, made by knitting, merit more or less encouragement, according to circumstances.

6. All

6. All sorts of paper works are highly necessary. There must be for these establishments liberty and protection; which are means that ensure success. We know well that monopolies and exclusive privileges are hurtful in this respect, as in all others.

7. Mats of straw, rushes, reeds, and bark of trees, chip hats; all these objects may occupy hands, which might without them be less useful.

8. Oil of nuts, olives, roots, cole-seed, rape, &c. Soap works. The culture of these plants ought to be assigned to places proper for them.

9. Potashes, beech cinders, rosin, pitch, tar. These are the last employments to be made of woods, and they ought to be reserved for countries covered with forests, with which they know not what to do.

10. Works in wood. Turners, cabinet-makers, carpenters, joiners, coopers, &c. &c. All these matters are more or less necessary, according to the species of wood which a country furnishes.

11. Tobacco, of which there is every where a vast consumption. We ought in planting and fabricating it, to take care that we do not injure the culture of corn.

12. Starch, and hair-powder, are necessary every where.

13. Wine, beer, perry, cyder, strong waters, vinegar, should all be perfected in every coun-

try that drinks them, that the importation from foreigners may be diminished.

14. The culture of the white mulberry is practicable in divers countries. It is established in *Sweden*, in *Denmark*, in *Brandenbourg*, and a little in *Switzerland*, where this culture is expected from encouragement to succeed.

15. Colours for thread and cotton. Dyers are workmen extremely necessary.

16. Whiting grounds, &c. for cloths of hemp and flax, and cotton. To perfect these, is an object of very great importance.

The Animal.

Lastly, the animal kingdom furnishes many occupations.

1. Drabs, ratteens, serges, flannels, blankets, caps, stockings, woollen habits. We must attend to the breed of sheep, if we would encourage the manufactures of wool.

2. Peltry, or the manufacture of the skins, and plumage of the animals of a country. It is to neglect the riches of a country not to know how to work up these.

3. Tanners, curriers, saddlers, binders of books, glovers, &c. &c. The preparers of buff-skins, hides, parchments, vellums, &c. All these artists who labour on skins, merit without doubt to be favoured ;

favoured: their works are very lucrative when followed with assiduity and understanding.

4. Works wrought with hair, hats, felts, stuffs of hair, camblets, shag; the works of cows hair, and swines bristles. As these are materials which the country furnishes, they ought to be encouraged.

5. Human hair; perukes; the whitening hair: this secret is not well known; I know one who possesses it, and who ought to publish it.

6. Works of horn and bone should not be neglected.

7. Candles.

8. Honey, white wax, mead, vinegar from honey, spirits from ditto.

9. Breeding the silk worm, stuffs of silk pure and mixed with cotton, flax, wool; taffaties, serges, damasks, sattins, wrought stuffs; velvets, shags, ribbons, flowers, stockings, bonnets, &c. &c. &c. All these manufactures become important to those countries that rear the silk worms.

10. Dies for silk, wool, and the stuffs wrought from them.

Inconveniencies of Freedoms and exclusive Privileges,

In perfecting the arts and manufactures, we may suppose in divers countries freedoms

and exclusive privileges. I find many inconveniencies from these two methods.

Exclusive privileges, arrest the emulation and the competition so necessary for giving activity and industry. They throw the artizan and manufacturer into a languor; and occasion vexations and frauds, oftentimes, without bringing profit to the privileged, but always to the injury of the state.

I see scarcely a single exception to this observation: if the establishment of a manufacture wants great advances, and is at the same time destined to be of great public service, it then becomes the wisdom of the legislature to grant an exclusive privilege. It was thus that the manufactures of the gobelines and glass were established at *Paris*.

The danger of Freedoms.

Nothing can be imagined more destructive of industry, invention, and genius, than freedoms, above all those which are established in a country where the privileges of citizens are in use. They occasion debauchery, idleness, dependancy, tyranny and depopulation. They every day diminish the number of workmen
the

the most necessary ; and produce vagabonds and beggars*.

Freedoms in the Arts of Luxury.

We ought therefore to have no freemen's rights in necessary manufactures. Upon articles of luxury, we may, without much inconvenience, impose singular burthens, and the rather, if the number of workmen be small, that all the sworn tradesmen of the body, working for themselves, may have a certain number of apprentices and workmen to labour for them. But if circumstances change, the freemen's right should also cease. But in abolishing such rights, the legislature should take care to substitute wise regulations for preserving order among the workmen ; decency in the place where they assemble ; and fidelity in relation to the manufactures they work. This is to be understood in an instant.

In fine, the abuses of freemen's rights upon the footing we find them in many places at present, are so great, that it is necessary in remedying them, that all their regulations should flow from a higher police ; that no sentence of a cor-

* In 1559, the Diet of the Empire found itself forced to diminish the privileges of manufacturing bodies, and freedoms, which destroyed industry. It was one of the best constitutions of the reign of the emperor *Ferdinand*.

poration should be executed till it has been confirmed by the magistrate.

Encouragements.

Legislation has other means much more efficacious for encouraging manufactures, and exciting emulation among workmen. We shall mention the principal.

Recompences and Honours.

The first consists in pecuniary recompences, and honourable distinctions: in premiums, and advances made to enterprizers, of sums without interest; and personal titles; the whole in proportion to industry. When a prince determines, he can do great things by very small means. It has been said, that they compose in *France* the legions of *Cæsar* for six-pence a day. (*M. de Lisle*, author of the *Voyageur Philosophe*.)

A slight recompence granted with some apparatus, flatters the vanity of the artist, without being a burthen on the publick treasury. Sometimes it is sufficient, if the prince himself wears a certain stuff, to procure the greatest sale of it. *Lewis XIV*, directed by *Colbert*, employed no other means for stopping one fabrick, and making another flourish.

Precautions to be taken with Enterprizers.

It is however proper, that the Legislator gives not too easily into the projects of undertakers, who are industrious to disguise themselves, and to hide their interest from others, in the proposed establishments. A single failure is capable of discouraging a prince for many years, and preventing his coming into new propositions, however advantageous they may be.

Qualities of Enterprizers. Probity.

Before confidence is placed in one of these undertakers, one ought to be assured that he is a man of probity and order; vigilant, laborious, frugal, prudent, and intelligent. That he is not a gambler, debauched, dissipated, proud, or quarrelsome.

Intelligence.

Such an enterprizer ought to have much experience. He should be an able book-keeper, and have a thorough knowledge of materials and work. It is very necessary to examine his views and designs; to be assured that his situation is convenient for the manufacture, and the sale: if water is necessary for giving full perfection to the work; whether for dying, whitening, &c.— if there is any hope of good workmen; and of being

being able to sell the commodities at a moderate price. In fine, if the associates are of a character that is well adapted to advance the general affair.

Code of Regulations.

The second means which Legislation may employ, is forming a code of regulations for manufacturers. Those of *Colbert* may serve for a model: but it belongs to the police, and not to corporations, to make these regulations, which are as necessary, as it is that the police should discover the deceits and blunders of workmen,

It is necessary in general, to have an eye to the goodness, the variety, and the price. But all this is so various, and depends so much on circumstances, that manufacturers and merchants ought to be consulted. They only know the best markets. They alone can discover the different changes which happen in the taste and ability of purchasers. Some countries require clear stuffs, thin stockings, &c. stuffs little beaten, or more compact; large or narrow. Thus it is they alone that can know the proper part to act, in order to command the greatest trade.

Perhaps it would be proper to have these rules to last but for a time, only a determinate number of years; as fashions change often, and an eye should always be had to new openings, where merchandise may be wanted of a very different quality,

quality. We see every day, that the wisest laws may become very pernicious, from a change of circumstances.

Interior Police of Manufactures.

The interior police of manufactures, merits not less the attention of the Legislature. It is necessary to prevent epidemical diseases, and frauds; to remove difficulties; to preserve the workmen; to regulate apprentices; quickly to terminate litigations; and to discover and punish breaches of rules and orders. The severity of law, which ensures confidence, is more or less necessary, according to the evils being more or less violent.

Manners.

It is much to be wished, that the magistrates would attend particularly to the manners of the workmen, who often give into excesses very fatal. A great number of young men assembled together in one place, easily give into libertinism, if they are not kept under a very exact discipline.

Security of Apprentices.

In the canton of *Berne*, they sought to favour the arts and manufactures, by not permitting those who had enrolled themselves for foreign service, to receive apprentices: *But I do not comprehend*

comprehend why the emoluments should not equally respect our domestics, our labourers, our vint-dressers, and our cow-keepers.

Sciences.

Legislators who propose to favour the manufactures, and encourage mechanics, with the arts and sciences that are connected with them, should reward mechanical discoveries, for perfecting and expediting the manufacturing works. If there is a new discovery, a new machine, that is known to be of a certain utility; the Legislature buys the secret or invention, and communicates it to all the manufacturers. By this genius is excited, industry recompensed, and the state reaps all the advantages of the discovery.

Machines.

It seems that certain speculators have conceived a danger from the introduction of machines which abridge labour. But if they sometimes throw workmen out of work, it is never for a long time. In a manufacturing country, every one can employ himself, and the more a country is peopled, the greater choice will there be of employments. It seems, for example, that the discovery of printing must have starved a number of copiers, and yet there are now more copiers than ever. Besides the printers,

ters, compositors, correctors, booksellers, paper-makers, there are a thousand times more authors now, than there were in the fifteenth century; and how many more workmen yet would be employed, if, like the industrious *Chinese*, we could discover the admirable secret of rewhitening the written paper, whose characters deserved to be obliterated. It is said, that near *Pekin* there is a great town, entirely inhabited by workmen, who revive the old paper. The want of subsistence animates and doubles labour.

C H A P. VI.

The Spirit of Laws, with respect to Commerce, relatively to Agriculture.

Object of Commerce.

COMMERCE by exchanges equally advantageous to a country and the merchants, transports the commodities, or the productions of land and labour, from one province to another, and from one country to another. Maintained and directed by a wise Legislation, it becomes the support of agriculture, and the riches of a state. Let us propose some reflections on this interesting object.

Attention to the Regulations of Commerce.

A Legislator that would have commerce flourish, must take care that the regulations are well considered. If they do no good, they will infallibly do mischief.

Consultations of skilful Inspectors.

Some merchants, and noted manufacturers, ought always to be admitted into councils of commerce. It is not sufficient that you consult
them

them separately. They may easily impose by interested views; but in deliberating officially, they are answerable to the sovereign and to the publick for their advice; and their being open to contradiction from their brethren, would prevent the Legislator from being deceived. I every day hear understanding people, who, in conversation, express maxims, of which they would certainly feel the danger, if they were consulted with ceremony, and in office.

Maintain Confidence.

It imports the Legislator extremely, to provide by just executive laws, every thing that is necessary to maintain confidence, and insure credit: this is the soul of commerce.

Establish safe Roads.

He should, above all things, establish safe and solid roads, construct bridges, increase the ports, open canals, raise banks, and causeways, establish staples and magazines, &c. If the roads are bad, and the rivers are not navigable, besides the inconveniences of a decrease of the carrying trade and customs, there results a decrease of hands and activity in agriculture. Men and beasts are occupied in carriage, instead of cultivating the earth. Since rivers have been rendered navigable in *France*, cultivation has been animated

along the banks of those rivers, not only from carriage being so facilitated, but also from many hands being returned to husbandry. This we see along the *Loire*. If the *Orbe*, the *Tbiel*, and the *Aar* were rendered navigable, the carriage of the Canton of *Berne* would become more easy; merchandise in passing and repassing would take that course, and the people being less occupied in carriage, would attend better to their lands.

Reduce Weights to the same Standard.

It has been many times proposed, to reduce weights and measures to the same standard, a reduction which would be equally useful to merchants and individuals. The police ought at least to guard against frauds.

Maintain Peace.

It is almost useless to remark, that a trading people ought to be pacific. Manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, suffer equally under a military government, and flourish in the shades of peace*.

* This assertion is much too general; war is in *England* more favourable than peace. The *Dutch* arose in war, they decline in peace.

Fix the Price of the Specie.

It is generally agreed, that the raising the value of the specie, and alterations of the coin, are very fatal to commerce.

“ All changes in this,” says M. Thomas, in his eloge on Sully, “ give mortal wounds to commerce; by extinguishing confidence, by runs on the banks, by the embarassments and disadvantages of exchange, and by the overturning of fortunes.”

Tontines are prejudicial to Commerce.

Many judicious writers assert, that circulation is interrupted, industry stifled, commerce fettered, agriculture interrupted, and population prevented by Tontines. They ought to know this matter in France, and it is in France where these complaints are made.

Preservation of the precious Metals:

“ I see that in certain countries they forbid the exportation of gold and silver, under pain of confiscation; but it is not declarations that will retain the precious metal in a country. It is by a wise administration, which determines in favour of a country the balance of trade.” This is also said by the same author of the eloge on SULLY.

Loans are necessary, and Interest is just.

It is without doubt astonishing, that in an enlightened age, any one could deny, or even bring into question, the legality of demanding interest for money borrowed. Nothing appears more legal or proper, since he who receives my money, under a condition of applying it to his own use, during a certain time, undoubtedly ought to pay me interest; the service I do to him, is proportioned to the loss which I sustain myself, by suspending in his favour my right to such sum, from which I could have drawn the advantage, had it remained in my hands. It would be impossible to establish commerce, if we should prevent interest being taken for money lent.

Facilitate the understanding Book-keeping.

For preserving the spirit of commerce, the municipal cities ought to procure good writers, and able book-keepers, to the end that they may in a proper time form their youth. It is not only those who are destined for commerce, that profit by these establishments. Every individual ought to be able to keep his own books in order, and by consequence, his affairs.

Facilitate the studying Mechanics and Drawing.

Those who have a taste and genius for mechanics, and the arts, ought not to want masters to teach them the principles of design.

Observations on the Tolls and Customs.

The customs ought to be regulated with great prudence, and to vary with the nature of the merchandize, and various kinds of commerce.

Various Species of Commerce.

There are an interior commerce of consumption, and a commerce of carriage : a commerce of exportation, and a commerce of importation.

Freedom of the interior Commerce of Consumption.

We begin with the interior commerce of consumption. It acts upon the products of the country, or merchandize imported, or sent from one province to another. There cannot be too much freedom in this respect ; and this entire liberty ought not to be the least shackled or restrained by an high or a middling police. A state is a basin in which the water naturally throws itself on a level ; it is a very great evil, when each city, town, or village, considers itself as a separate body. Never can agriculture or commerce flourish in a country, where there are many divisions of interest between the corporations ; for then the provinces are not connected like the members of one body, and the children of one family. One district furnishes wine to another that yields corn : another abounds

with cattle : this has linen, that has stuffs ; others abound with wood : each ought to have, without restriction, the liberty of transporting its superfluous commodities, from one place to another, through the country. The rights of cities and boroughs, which restrain this freedom, are contrary to the general welfare of the state, and ought to be abolished.

Two districts have wines, and refuse to admit the wine of one into the other. This is a regulation dictated by immediate advantage, which destroys a greater but more distant one, since in making a mixture of these wines, they become perhaps more proper for exportation. How, therefore, say we, is it an immediate advantage ? It is not so in reality ; the benefit is purely imaginary.

What more easy to remove than the chimerical fear, which is not uncommon, of losing the retail of wines in a place ! This is one cause of exclusive privileges. At the same time, by ensuring the monopoly of a certain article in a province, you certainly destroy the general commerce of the rest of the country, or of some other province. It appears to me to be occupying ourselves with *minutiae* in great, and sacrificing the greatest to the least ; a solid interest for an apparent one.

Danger of Prohibitions and contraband Commerce.

In what country is there more of these, than in such as the legislature has multiplied the prohibitions; above all, if on commodities of general use, such as salt, tobacco, &c. When there is a very considerable profit in violating the rule, or where the punishments are, as among the *Japonefe*, vexations, inquisitions, odious formalities, confiscations, ruined families, exorbitant fines, imprisonment, galleys, exile. Thousands of robust countrymen are employed in searches as odious. At the same time, we have seen for a long time, troops of insolent smugglers penetrating into the heart of a powerful kingdom, fighting battles, and committing the greatest excesses.

Facilitate the carrying Trade,

The commerce of transport, and of commission, demands as particular directions.

Moderate Tolls.

If the roads are badly kept, and the tolls disproportioned, commerce must immediately languish. It is therefore favouring it, to increase with care the causeways, and at the same time tax the merchandize with but moderate tolls.

For a little overcharge on the expence of carriage, will drive it to other routes. This ought to be above all attended to by the legislators of a country, where it is easy to escape the road.

Restitution.

If circumstances make it necessary to tax in the same manner, on importation, merchandize to be exported, and merchandize for consumption, in the re-exportation of it, the duties it paid must be refunded.

Favour the Importation of Necessaries.

In the commerce of importation, the legislator should favour that of all necessary commodities, wanted in the country, according to the degree of utility. By advances, recompences, no customs, or very moderate ones. These are the proper means of drawing such commodities.

Of raw Products.

Favour at the same time the importation of raw products for the established manufactures; which is procuring a real benefit to a state.

Facilitate also the importation of every thing, by which a profit may be made on re-exporting it to foreigners; this attention is worthy the legislature.

Obstruct the Importation of articles of Luxury.

Upon the same principle we should obstruct the importation of every thing which administers to luxury, and amusement; all articles of little use. It is upon such articles that the weight of duties ought to fall; it is upon this consumption that we should establish the highest taxes, as in *England*.

Also such Articles as are furnished by the Country.

It is equally wise to render very difficult the importation of manufactures, which rival those of a country.

All Commerce of Exportation ought to be favoured in preference.

In fine, a legislator should be attentive to give the preference to all commerce of exportation. The means are always in his hands.

Raw Materials.

But there are some materials which are of service to foreign manufactures, of which the exportation ought to be heavily loaded, or absolutely interdicted, at least, if the materials are not in the greatest abundance; in which case it may be sufficient to lay on very high duties,
which

which will favour and encourage the national manufactures.

Superabundant Products,

But he should favour very strongly the exportation of superabundant commodities ; vegetable products, animal, mineral or fossil, which admit of no further preparation or labour,

The Commerce in Corn, free and regular.

We have already said, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the exportation of corn ought to be always allowed by a constant and irrevocable law, until it passes a certain price, when it should of itself determine ; which would sustain agriculture by recompensing the cultivator.

The law ought to be perpetual ; without this, no person could dare to undertake this commerce. For it requires funds, magazines, correspondencies, &c. Before all these preparatives are made, there must be both time and experience ; if therefore, there was any fear of revocations, no person would hazard a beginning. It is useless further to extend this subject, after the excellent Memoir which has been inserted in the collection of this illustrious society.

Inconveniencies of particular Permissions.

It is but palliating general evils to grant, according to circumstances, permissions to particular persons. The remedy is often worse than the disease. 1. These permissions are not always granted at the right time. 2. They must be solicited and paid for. 3. They occasion difficulties and monopolies. 4. They prevent a general competition. 5. It is not always the most able merchants who obtain these permissions, but sometimes the most imprudent. From whence the bad success, failures, and frauds. 6. The people who know the prohibition, but are not apprized of the permissions, often traverse the purchaser, who sees himself exposed to the hatred of the populace; whose heated imaginations always bring famines to their view. In one word, these permissions can only occasion a great number of fruitless expences, as is constantly the case in all precipitate enterprizes. What an additional charge is thus brought on the product, and on the sale made by the farmer? *In vain do we multiply books of agriculture, we labour for less alone, to the ruin of the husbandmen, if the administration will not open the market, which lowers the price of all the products of the earth.*

Salt.

Salt is a necessary of life, but if it abounds in a country, it ought to be considered in the same light as a manufacture. Its exportation depends on the low price at which it is preserved.

Wine.

The exportation of wine ought constantly and by all sorts of means to be favoured. There should be no limitation, as it is not an object of the first necessity. It is at the same time necessary to proportion the price to those of the wines common among foreigners. This article merits the more attention from the legislature, as the culture of wine is a species of manufacture, which consisting only of the labour of the country, is total profit to the state. She may double and treble the price of her lands planted with vines; at the same time that she raises the price of corn fields, of grasses, and of woods; at the same time that she increases very considerably, the value of lands naturally sterile; and from which she could draw no such advantage, as the employment of numerous occupations, women, boys, coopers, carriers, &c. &c.

Take care, however, that this culture never becomes an obstacle to that of grain, which

always merits the preference of being favoured, more than manufactures properly so called, or than commerce. If it is therefore complained of in certain provinces, that there are too many vineyards, the exportation of wines must either be burthened, or at least be favoured no further.

In spite of these reasons for favouring vines, I am sensible to many objections, which lessens much the value of their culture. And yet, if we take care to reflect upon the causes of the ease enjoyed by the inhabitants of the *Pais de Vaud*, and upon the expences, which they maintain through luxury, we shall be forced to allow that it is to our vines to which we are in a good measure indebted. In effect, we often send among strangers our money for corn for our hogs, and for a variety of secondary uses; nevertheless, the capital of that part of the canton augments very sensibly, that which could not uniformly happen from the sale of corn independantly of wines. Why, therefore, should we not by the same means export a moderate quantity from the canton?

General Conclusion.

All I have shewn in this Memoir, proves that legislation relative to agriculture, is a science very complicated,

complicated, and that those who are destined to the publick administration, ought to put themselves in a state of fulfilling their respective functions.

How a Legislator ought to form himself.

Birth or ambition lead sometimes to employments, but they give not the qualities necessary for executing them.

These qualities are gained by studying history, and by reflecting on the writings of great ministers of state, who are distinguished in this kind of legislation, SULLY, COLBERT, &c. From the impression made on your hearts by the lives of these heroes, you will know if you were born to imitate them. Be attentive to small details, wherein sometimes are buried those great genius's for restoring order, reanimating industry, recalling antient frugality, encouraging agriculture, peopling countries, breaking up lands; and you will be worthy of governing your country.

May I be permitted to offer some counsel, founded on experience, and dictated by love of the publick good, to you who are destined to the administration of the publick affairs?

Accustom yourself to the antient simplicity of manners: never could the effeminate *Sybarites*, or light and frivolous men conduct a people of cultivators. It is in private life that we form

our taste and inclinations: the insides of our houses are the seminaries of rural virtue.

Love all mankind, they are your brethren. Respect the great principles of religion. It belongs to legislators to command, and to the people to obey. It is to humanity, joined with religion, that we must owe our magistrates and our citizens.

In your travels study mankind, and their characters; seek the reasons of their customs and the spirit of their laws: compare the laws and customs of foreign countries, with the laws and customs of your own. I cannot propose a more illustrious model than PETER THE GREAT. He wanted to see every thing; and he saw every thing: instruments and workmen. He dared to travel himself, and to put his hand to the works the most mechanical.

Nothing more, says *M. Ad. Smith*, in his Theory of Moral Sentiment, nothing contributes more to inspire a zeal for the public good than the study of “ Politicks and the different
 “ systems of government; to examine their
 “ advantages, and their inconveniencies; the
 “ knowledge of the constitution of one’s own
 “ country, its situation, interests, connection
 “ with strangers; its commerce, forces; dif-
 “ advantages which it suffers; dangers to which
 “ it is exposed; of the manner by which it is to
 “ be

“ be delivered from the one, and preserved from
 “ the other. We may assert with respect to poli-
 “ tical works, that they are of all the works of
 “ speculation the most useful. The most mode-
 “ rate, and the worst have their use; none that
 “ may not direct the human passions to the
 “ public good, and animate mankind to find
 “ expedients for rendering society happy.”

Perhaps there never was an age more favourable than this, for perfecting in a young nobleman, the spirit of legislation relative to agriculture. Through all *Europe* are found societies of agriculture, arts and commerce established under the protection of the sovereigns, from which we see the inclination of princes to render their people happy, and to protect the farmer. From all which we see humanity and the spirit of agriculture expanding itself more and more.

Enlightened by these generous principles, you have obtained, I shall suppose, a post or government; but do not then think that your travels are finished. Fly to the province confided to your care; make yourself a master of its state, its population, its soil, by tables, and exact charts for studying its resources, and verifying yourself the information you have received. There is an example which I shall give you again, SULLY. “ His attention extended itself
 “ to every thing,” says M. *Thomas*, in his
 eloge

Blaze on that great man, " he examined the
" climate of each province, the different kinds
" of land, of culture, of productions, the value,
" real or supposed ; their causes, permanent, or
" passing ; the proportion between the expence
" and the revenue ; the quality and the com-
" mon price of the commodities ; the facility
" of consumption, the number of inhabitants,
" their character, the estates of every man in
" the different districts ; the resources of the
" cities, the product of manufactures ; the ex-
" tent and quality of commerce. He observed
" on the spot, what was paid by each province ;
" the nature of the taxes, the resources of
" which was at the same time most extensive,
" and most sure ; those of which the collection
" cost the least and produced the most ; those
" which were best connected with the climate,
" soil, industry of the inhabitants ; and those
" which are a greater charge to the people than
" benefit to the state. He calculated the ge-
" neral amount of wealth, he studied all the
" receipts of a province, as well as its payments :
" some he assisted with money for cutting canals,
" or opening those which had been stopped up :
" some provinces he found where the capitals
" returned not the assistance they received ; and
" where he found the happy circulation between
" the head and the members, which makes the
" life

“ life of the body politic, quite broken, *Sully*,
“ in all these objects, trusted to himself alone,
“ with his own eyes he saw every thing. We
“ know that in a more enlightened age, the
“ Duke of *Burgundy* could not procure an exact
“ knowledge of the provinces from the Inten-
“ dants themselves.

“ You who would understand and remove the
“ evils of a state, leave your palaces. At your
“ voluptuous tables you know not that thou-
“ sands of men are dying of famine. In the
“ court and around the throne the people are
“ all happy, and a kingdom ever flourishing.
“ It is when we see the furrows in the country
“ abandoned, the ploughs broken in pieces; the
“ barns deserted, or fallen in ruin; when noxi-
“ ous herbs cover the solitary streets of cities;
“ when we meet on the great roads, fathers,
“ mothers, and young children, who all toge-
“ ther fly from the mild climate of their own
“ country, to seek support under a happier hea-
“ ven; it is then that humanity is touched,
“ that the heart feels; it is then we begin to
“ perceive that the court is not the state, and
“ that the luxury of some men, makes not the
“ welfare of twenty millions of citizens.”

II.

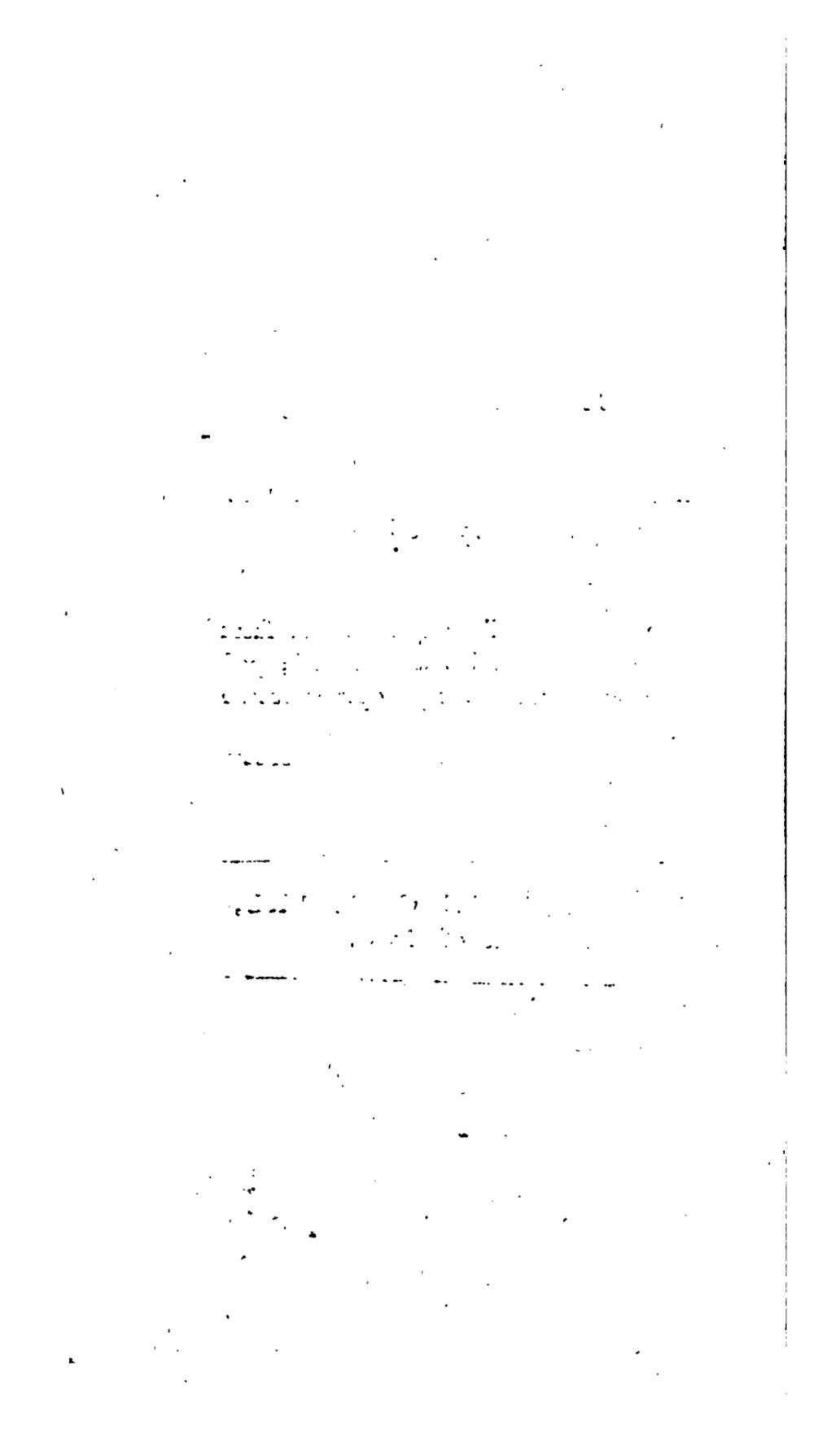
M E M O I R,

Which many MEMBERS of the SOCIETY
judged to carry the Prize:

Scio ego, quam difficile, atque asperum factu
fit, consilium dare regi, aut imperatori; pos-
tremo cuiquam mortali, cujus opes in excelsis
sunt.

SALLUST.

By M. BENJAMIN CARRARD,
MINISTER of ORBE.



INTRODUCTION.

Agriculture, population, arts, manufactures, and commerce, take each other by the hand, and mutually sustain. Agriculture must flourish for the nourishing a great people. There must be hands for cultivating the land, for converting to our own use many productions, and for defending the state. It is also necessary that the consumption of commodities, and the sale of national fabrics, animate the activity of workmen of all sorts. There must therefore be men who can contribute to this end. But what are the men that you want? It is not the idle, who, without honour, without industry, without zeal for the publick, only dream of enjoying peaceably, and with éclat, the inheritance of their fathers. Among whom emulation is extinguished; who spread through all that surround them, a spirit of languor and numbness. We must not only have vigilant labourers, but laborious and able artizans, to work up the raw materials which the cultivator furnishes. If we

confine ourselves to export our rough materials, without working them up ourselves, we give to foreigners the necessaries they want, and pay their workmen. Lastly, We must have active merchants, who, in exporting from the country our superfluous commodities, arts, and manufactures, draw the money of foreigners, and make amends for the immense loss which we sustain at present, by our unlimited importations.

One loves to represent our country hereafter, inhabited by a numerous and industrious people, one part of whom force the earth to produce every thing, of which the soil is capable, and on which they exercise the arts; while the others prepare them at a reasonable rate, and manufacture them, as well for maintaining foreign commerce, and delivering us from the shameful tribute we have paid to the active industry of our neighbours! If ever this happy change takes place in our country, how beneficial will it be to all the orders of the state! What spirit in the interior circulation! Among a people who apply themselves to, and labour at every thing, the countryman is sure of a sale for his products; he sells to the merchants and the citizen; and by the quickness of the return, he is animated to make the most of his lands——of every thing that can produce marketable commodities, or that can become a proper object for industry or
com-

commerce. He is removed from the purchase of foreign commodities, which carry off immense sums. On the other hand, the farmer, &c. buys of the merchant and the manufacturer, all he wants, for living decently and commodiously. In fine, commerce is sustained on unshaken foundations, and prevents those fatal revolutions which infallibly happen to a people that neglects agriculture.

At present, all nations are opening their eyes to their true interests. They are desirous of manufacturing for themselves, and drawing as much as possible the raw materials from their own soil, instead of buying them of strangers: thus hereafter those only will possess an extensive commerce, who have a soil rich and fertile, in different productions, who labour with the most ardour to break up and ameliorate their lands; who seek to introduce every advantageous culture, whereof the climate is susceptible; who nourish a great number of men, able to prepare, with taste and judgment, all the commodities furnished by the soil of the country—and where, in fine, the government encourages commerce, in giving it all the advantages for extending itself, without loading it with any shackles.

All concurs therefore, to shew us, that agriculture, population, arts, manufactures, and commerce, lend each other mutual assistance;

complicated, and that those who are destined to the publick-administration, ought to put themselves in a state of fulfilling their respective functions.

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own country, which the illustrious society has always in view, in all its researches. I shall not affect to advance singular ideas, or to move in a road which no one ever trode before. I shall, on the contrary, adopt without difficulty, the happy ideas which have been already proposed by the different citizens; and which appear to me to be proper, for enlightening the subject which I have undertaken to treat of.

FIRST PART.

In which is explained the SPIRIT OF
LEGISLATION, for encouraging AGRICULTURE.

TO encourage agriculture, is to form a people who love the culture of the earth, who give themselves up with ardour to the end they pursue, and thereby find the means of advancing all the lands of a country to the utmost value of which they are capable. But the Spirit of Legislation, or the general principles which the Legislator, the police, and the government, executing the laws ought to follow, for producing that effect; naturally expand themselves into the following considerations, which teach us to dispose them in the order of their connection.

CONSIDERATION I.

The Education of the young Countrymen.

WHEN a Legislator proposes to himself a certain end, and would turn the minds of men to a particular side, he ought not to regard with indifference the education of youth. There might be an institution directed on different principles from those which have been hitherto followed, which might change entirely the manners of a nation. The kind of life in which we have been reared commonly pleases the best. The knowledge which we have acquired relative to that object, appears the most estimable. We may come to persuade ourselves, that it would be impossible to chuse any thing more advantageous, or more agreeable. It is very easy to bend young minds, that are not subdued by the force of prejudice and passions. But how difficult is it to change men already formed! We must combat their prejudices, their customs, and all the vices that have hold of them, and turn them at our will. Hence all the Legislators that have attempted to reform a nation, have considered the education of youth as meriting a particular

particular attention. *Lycurgus*, who conceived the hardy design of forming a people of heroes, and overcoming human nature herself, regarded the education of youth, as the grand affair of Legislation. He believed that children belonged more to the state than to their fathers; he would not permit their parents to bring them up as they pleased; but ordained that their education should be directed upon constant and invariable rules.

Thus, would you create a people that honours and cherishes agriculture? It is the most indispensable work of Legislation, to do all that can inspire children with an ardour for that labour, which is proper for them to give their powers to. If farmers had more enlightened views, we should not see them blindly following their old courses. An instructed one reflects and observes better. There are considerations of which an ignorant cultivator is incapable. It is this ignorance which is partly the cause, that lands remain waste, which would shew themselves as rich in their productions, as those that have been attended to. It is to this that we ought to attribute that indocility, which is a reproach to countrymen; and which makes them reject, with contempt, all that has not been transmitted to them by their forefathers: for it is impossible they should knowingly value the counsel which

is

is given them, when they are disposed to abandon it, for no other reason, than its being a little explanatory of an art, which they are not able to follow the least rationally. When a man has passed his infancy and youth, without having reflected upon what has presented itself to him, he generally remains in the same state all the rest of his life: he continues to see objects, without observing them well, without making any proper remarks, or drawing any useful consequences: he is never tempted to examine what is proposed to him, or to make any trials. Nevertheless that spirit of curiosity, of research, and observation, is totally necessary to a cultivator, for drawing assistance from experience, to prevent the accidents with which he is menaced, and profiting by every advantage. The wise farmer, of whom the learned M. *Hirzel* has published a history*, furnishes us with a striking proof. Every one knows, with what a spirit of order and reflection he had placed his family, in ease, in spite of many unfavourable circumstances.

For expanding the same spirit throughout our country, by giving birth to new ideas, among a great number of persons, whose example may enlighten the rest of the multitude, government cannot do better, than to invite judicious men

* *Le Socrate Rustique.*

to compose upon rural œconomy, for the use of schools, elementary lessons, thrown into the form which appears most easy, and most clear; and, at the same time, the most agreeable to children. They should attach themselves to objects the most important: we should give them some simple and general ideas, of what favours or obstructs the regulation of plants. They might comprehend the practices which have hitherto appeared the best, in cultivating the fields, whether grass or arable; for breaking up wastes; for taking care of cattle; for preventing their distempers, for the preservation of corn, for establishing artificial grasses, for chusing seed for raising useful plants, which might be introduced into a country. They ought, in particular, to give distinct and complete ideas upon the manures which are drawn from the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms; upon the methods of employing them, according to the diversity of soils; and principally upon the manner of augmenting dungs, preparing them, and rendering them proper for producing the greatest possible effect on the land. In divers works published some time since, we find excellent views in this respect. They merit being united, published in a simple manner, and given to the most intelligent farmers. It is an essential point, that we can with frequent ploughings, and good
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culture, contribute the most to the amelioration of the lands *of our dear country*. The legislator ought to neglect nothing for rendering these parts of knowledge common, and spreading them among the people. And in general, when he has made a discovery which may have a great influence on the prosperity of a country, it is proper so to instruct the publick, that no person should be ignorant of it. Clear precepts presented in a sensible manner, and proportioned to the capacity of children, would imprint themselves insensibly in their minds, on being read in books of rural œconomy, composed for their use.

By the questions which are put to children, and by the answers they receive, or give, the judgment of the young disciples is discovered. It is also necessary that they should be taught to write, and to calculate exactly, to the end that they may be able hereafter to throw their affairs into order, and escape a thousand little pieces of injustice, of which they might otherwise be the victim. By the aid of calculation they can better estimate the produce of their lands, compare the expences they are at in cultivating them, with the revenue they draw from them, and judge by that means if they ought to adopt a practice or reject it. At the same time, it is worthy the ministers of religion, con-
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curing to give success to the plan, watching the schools with care. After having penetrated their parishes with the great maxims of religion, they can never do better than to remove those vices they are called to combat, by inspiring a love of labour, and a noble emulation for the thorough culture of the earth.

If the inhabitants of the country had faith in the more enlightened principles of cultivation, it is natural to believe they would apply themselves with zeal. The progress of vegetation would occupy their mind agreeably. All that passes in the country would pique in a lively manner their curiosity. They would become extremely sensible to the innocent and delicious pleasures which agriculture yields. They would be pleased to study nature on their lands, for applying the principles they had received in modifying the means according to circumstances.

To the end that the cares attached to country works, should not repulse the cultivators, it would be right to accustom children to suffer heat and cold, and to fortify their bodies by various exercises, proportioned to their strength. What did not the *Spartans* practise to harden their children? They obliged them to go bare-footed for increasing fatigue; and to dress in the same habit in winter and summer, for putting them to the proof of heat and cold. Do we not

find among the antients admirable institutions, which tended to accustom children by degrees to support the greatest labours? If human nature seems to have degenerated and become weaker, must not we attribute it in a great measure to the profound oblivion into which they are fallen?

It is not less necessary to preserve them from debauchery, which ever brings on a disgust at labour, and renders them incapable of all good. We want rigorous and well executed laws for the destruction of ale-houses, and other receptacles of low vice. The preservation of manners demands moreover, that the fathers of families should be rewarded, who gave their children more time than is common, in watching their conduct, for engraving in their minds the principles of religion, which will carry them without ceasing to the practice of their duties.

Would you fortify in young men the love of labour, frugality, and virtue? Pique them with honour, and emulation; regulate their ranks and places according to merit; let them conceive no other road for arriving at advantages, &c. to draw the consideration of men and escape their censures and contempt, furnish them with courage for the career of their duties, by teaching them to distinguish themselves in their vocation. Some honorary marks should be distributed publicly by the community in favour of young men,
who

who are the best instructed, the most docile, the most adroit, and who shew the most constancy in labour, and give the greatest hope of improving the inhabitants of a country. What a powerful influence upon the education of youth, would prerogatives be, granted by the legislature to the fathers, who raised their children with care, who watched attentively their manners, and who gave the greatest examples of virtue, moderation, sobriety, and application to work! But what curbs ought to restrain those unhappy fathers, who by a disorderly conduct, and pernicious example, destroyed the happy impressions their children had received from the wise instructions given them? Ought they not to be punished by stinging reproaches, addressed to them in the eyes of the publick; by humiliations, disgraces, and other means, whereof we shall have occasion to speak hereafter?

It is not only the country youth that should be instructed in what belongs to the culture of plants; but also the young men of every order, whatever professions they may have embraced. Often those in authority, of fortune, and education, may be placed in a situation of advancing the progress of agriculture, but have at the same time less capacity than the countrymen themselves, who have no guide for a true route, but their examples and directions. Nevertheless,

these are the enlightened rich who might the better animate this important art. With knowledge, and the necessary abilities for making certain essays, why not open to themselves the whole that concerns rural economy? When those that are at the head of a great domain understand nothing of the culture of land, not only the labour of their domestics is ill directed, but as they know more than their master, they infallibly waste their time, and set aside all subordination. It is therefore with reason, that it has a long time been complained, that most part of our young men leave their colleges and academies, without being instructed in the sciences interesting to human society, which they do not understand to be connected with the figure they are to make on the great theatre of the world. It seems that the knowledge which they acquire would become more useful, if it were accompanied with instructions so relative to their conduct in life, as the principles of vegetation, the culture of plants, natural history, and mechanics, which knowledge furnishes the greatest resources.

All the instructions of which I would speak, appertain in general to the amelioration of lands, and upon what principles those improvements are founded; but as the nature of the soil, and other particular circumstances of each canton, demand

demand variations in the means employed, it is necessary for perfecting the lights of the cultivator, that there should be in each district, if possible; a body charged by the government itself, to make researches concerning all that may contribute to the encouragement and perfection of agriculture in the countries where they reside; and this is the second object of legislation,

CONSIDERATION II.

The best Culture of the best Plants.

THE progress and the perfection of agriculture depend on the manner in which we prepare and cultivate our lands, and on the good application we make of them. From thence, as from their source, flow the true riches and prosperity of a state. All enlightened governments, which would take wise measures in each district for raising useful plants, which would pay the best for cultivating, should go to work in the way the easiest, the most direct, the least costly, and the most applicable to the nature of the soil. A sovereign can undertake nothing more noble, more great, or more advantageous to himself, than always to gain the hearts of his people. By this truly paternal attention, all are employed in the manner the most useful to the nation ; and at the same time they draw from the heart of the earth, the richest productions with the least expence possible, and all the ease that can be desired. Thus, a people industrious and commercial, may come in a little time to possess
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all the riches which can reasonably be wished for in their situation. It shews to what a high degree of opulence it is natural to be permitted to aspire.

An examination into the different parts of the territory, is above all necessary in our country. What varieties in the nature of the land ! What diversity in the temperament of the air, caused by the situation of places, and their greater or less proximity to the mountains ! All this permits us to raise plants of very different species ; for they might, according to their temperament, have divers degrees of heat or cold : others, according to their roots, would penetrate deeper or shallower, searching for different strata of good earth, and at the same time could not but prosper equally. The culture of the plants themselves ought not to vary less than their soil. When, for example, the interior soil is fertile, deep ploughings are infinitely advantageous for renewing the staple : when it is sterile, it is dangerous to the following crops. Many other circumstances combine themselves in a thousand ways, and form a necessity of treating lands in different methods. All this cannot be learned in an instant. The single inspection of the soil, made with the assistance of a borer, is not always sufficient for instruction. A superficial knowledge is too often gained, which occasions dangerous

gerous changes. The frosts, fogs, &c. are more or less pernicious in various places to the operations of agriculture; which according to the heat common in a place, ought to be advanced or retarded, and demanding variations in the culture, that cannot equally be given to all sorts of plants. There are not reiterated experiments for guiding us with certainty, and to assure us, in a new mode, or with new crops, how the soil and temperament of the place will suit.

Researches of this nature are too long breathed, and too important for being abandoned to single individuals, who fear the least expence, and who would in general know all, and execute all in an instant. They would be better directed by societies established in each canton, and composed of persons proper for the business. But how should it be rendered truly useful? It must be by the generosity of citizens, zealous for the public good, under the protection of government, by raising the necessary funds for making the successive experiments. The extreme utility that would be drawn from such a plan, seems to give us some right to hope to see it executed.

By the aid of these funds, or at least by the encouragement of individuals, in various ways of which a government can make use, they should submit to experiments in large, many practices boasted of by the writers of agriculture

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who have perhaps experienced them only from trials *in small*, which are always improper for gaining clear decisions. For nothing is perhaps more defective, than practices uniformly founded on small trials. We may sometimes, without much expence or care, fortunately raise a small number of plants, by certain processes to yield the most striking success. But when we would extend it in the same manner to a great quantity of land, we then find ourselves exposed to too high expences, embarrassment and loss of time. For a method to merit recommendation, it must be applicable to a great extent, without too much expence, care or time, all which ought to be abundantly made good by the return. "It is here," *well observed by M. de Buffon*, "as in all other arts, the model which performs best in small, oftentimes will not execute at all in great *."

Experiments

* There are besides, inconveniences of quite another nature, in trials that are made in small, for discovering the grain of which culture gives the finest crops, and the best bread. I cannot do better here, than give an extract of what is mentioned by *M. du Hamel*, whose authority is so great in these matters. "I have," says he, "formed the design with *M. de la Galissonnière*, of cultivating all sorts of grains, which we had gained from different provinces of the kingdom, and from abroad; for proving which
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Experiments of this nature enlighten a neighbourhood very little. Interest and example immediately engage all cultivators to adopt good methods, or to try the culture of new plants that have already turned out successful. The sovereign ought to give his domain in lease to intelligent farmers, on condition that in certain fields the societies of agriculture should have liberty to make experiments in large, whereof they should give away the profit. That the government should not fail in its design in the foundation of these societies, they should be composed of persons, enlightened, industrious, active, and full of zeal for the publick good: and they should admit the cultivators most distinguished in the places where they reside, who should give proofs of their ability by their success. Their

“ of them would turn out best with culture, or would
 “ yield the best bread; but as I was not able to pro-
 “ cure a large quantity of these seeds, when I sowed
 “ a part of my foreign grains in our province, the
 “ birds eat them up. If, for escaping this incon-
 “ venience, I had sown them along with the corn of
 “ the country, they would have degenerated from the
 “ mixture of the farina. It is therefore necessary, to
 “ sow entire fields with foreign grains, which is be-
 “ yond the power of an individual.”

All concurs therefore to shew us, that the societies of agriculture can never advance the progress of this art, without the generous assistance of the government.

long

long experience would have placed them in a state of furnishing excellent plans, and retain in just bounds the purely speculative minds, who are too much given to all sorts of changes and innovations. In all the arts, those who have exercised them in practice, may discover in new methods inconveniences which have escaped others. For perfecting agriculture, all received customs are not to be rashly rejected. Interest and necessity sometimes excite men the most gross, to make researches. By the force of experience and temptation, they approach sometimes to the real truth. Nevertheless as the practice is in the hands of men, who have not always time enough to reflect, there certainly must remain many defective points; and in several respects, it is good to weigh them well.

Further, on examining into the state of agriculture, the societies might find abuses glided into practice; which, on discovering the source, and applying remedies, they might come in the end to abolish them. They should examine, if there was a just proportion between the grass and arable lands, and vines; and whether the circumstances of the place permitted the establishment of artificial grasses, for supplying any defect found in the other. They should find what is the nature of the distempers which attack the vegetables, in different parts of a province;

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and by what means they may be successfully prevented: what the grains are which produce the most in the territory; or the species of wheat the least tender on their soils. The correspondence diligently maintained between the bodies of agriculture, would aid much in judging, whether it was possible to correct and perfect the methods of a place, by adopting more advantageous ones of another. These societies informed of all the efforts that have been made in the country, for improving the culture of land, should expound them on a set day, discuss the methods which have been employed, and recite the experiments they had made, for assuring themselves of the benefit. They might understand, that in divers parts of a province, means less expensive for breaking up uncultivated lands were in use; and the best applications of the worst soils known. They should give a particular attention to the manner of conducting cattle, for perfecting the breeds of useful animals, and preserving them from maladies: they might point out the pastures which agree best with them. They should endeavour to inspire a lively emulation into the countrymen, by divers means; of which we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. They might search also into markets for the products, how they might be extended and facilitated; and endeavour to prevent ruinous importations.

After having examined fully the production of corn, and other matters, for the consumption of the inhabitants, these societies ought to turn their views upon the more lucrative products of a country, for which it could have a sure sale, and might become an object of industry and commerce. Hemp, flax, mulberries for silkworms; different roots which facilitate the maintenance of beasts; foreign trees which may be naturalized in the country; many plants which serve for dyeing, as madder, woad, &c.; all which should come within the trials we have mentioned above; to discover what sort of culture would be proper for them, in the different parts of the same province. Nor should there be any fear that such new culture should prejudice an abundant production of necessaries. The operations of agriculture being afterwards directed under attentive and enlightened eyes, and each species of plants being applied to land well prepared, and which best agrees with it; the requisite proportion of each would in no respect suffer. When we understand this management of the land, it will suffice for every thing †.

† If, for example, as in *Tuscany*, we could in certain tracts of country, have successively two crops of mulberry-leaves, for raising two different families of worms; without too much multiplying the trees, or covering

In fine, these societies ought to represent to the government with respect, whatever appears to them in each place most proper for reforming abuses, and animating the efforts of good cultivators. For without a singular protection of this sort, all they attempt for the publick good must be without effect; and cause only useless regrets, and discouragement, which is the greatest of all evils that can happen to a state.

The exposition which we are about to make, conformably to the great views of the œconomical society, demands only to be seconded, for effecting the execution of the plan which we have traced: without such assistance, Legislation always becomes exposed to be defective and imperfect, in spite of the most extensive knowledge.

After having discovered what are the best methods of preparing lands, in the divers districts of a country, what will best assist in it; we must, for obtaining success, use such seed as is perfect. We therefore see with what ease the government could furnish the cultivator with the best; and how, at the same time, he might be engaged to profit by it. This is the third consideration for the Legislature, in the encouragement of agriculture.

covering too great an extent of country, it would be gaining much silk, which furnishes an exercise for the national industry. They have sometimes, in *Tuscany*, three crops of leaves for as many broods; if the third crop is not reserved for feeding cattle.

CONSIDERATION III.

Choice of Seeds.

WHEN articles of foreign agriculture are in question, it is not easy for individuals, who have no connections out of their own country, to furnish themselves with good seed; they can gain no assurances when they buy, that are not broken. It is therefore an establishment which does honour to the wisdom of the economical Society, and for which they merit the publick gratitude, in having chosen a man worthy of their confidence, who, by his extensive correspondence, is able to procure it. Without this all the researches they have made, would become useless. This establishment was the more indispensable, as it was found that certain foreign plants being transported, languished and degenerated; they produced seed of little worth, which occasioned the necessity of being constantly renewed, from the country where they flourished in perfection. This is a practice which has been found necessary in *England*, and in *France*, in respect to flax, which they have regularly from the north.

The success of the culture of corn, depends very much on the choice of seed. We should apply to this use, a grain well sifted, carefully separated from bad kernels. It should be fair and weighty, free from burnt and smutty corn: if it is feared that the powder of the smut has infected the good corn, it is requisite to use the lyes and steeps that are known for curing it. It is further proper to change the seed, and useful to have that which comes from a distance. The crops are commonly richer, fewer weeds also are found; and in buying seed, we should chuse that which is neat and pure; or if unhappily some bad seeds are found, it is of the less consequence, not being sown in the same land to which they have been accustomed: in some cases, however, they may perhaps multiply themselves the more.

For engaging indolent farmers to chuse better seed, and prepare it with more care, and for facilitating, on the whole, the necessary measures, the police might make many useful arrangements. We have already proposed some excellent views which merit being considered.

Good order immediately demands, that in the villages, an inspector of integrity should examine the grain designed for seed, to see if they are pure, sifted, and in good order; and, at the same time, to oblige the proprietors, to pass the
corn

corn through a lye, for preventing the smut. The sacks in which the seed is to be brought, should be washed; for they will retain the smutty powder which affects the good grain. This inspector should also take care, that the proprietors renew every year a part of their seed; but they ought to be enabled to make these changes without too great expence. If each community took an exact account of all individuals who changed their seed, and procured the best, they might by some unexpensive means direct a proper quantity of it to be brought for sale to a convenient place.

But which are those tracts, that ought to be preferred, for the gaining seed from? Is it sufficient to import it from distant territories, which furnish excellent grain, where corn prospers particularly, and yields the finest productions? Or ought we to have regard to the nature of the soil, and procure our seed from one totally different from that on which it is to be sown? The world is full of men who think this; but perhaps there are not experiments yet made sufficient to prove it. We know in general, that a change of seed is extremely useful: but as to deciding what places we ought to prefer, relatively to the quality of the land, compared with that of the field we intend to sow, it is a point which we

want some good experiments to determine. It merits the attention of all good cultivators; and of the societies of agriculture. In attending to the greatest lights, it seems without doubt the surest way to have the seed from distant places, and where excellent corn is generally produced. For it is natural to think, that a good sound grain contains a germ more lively, and which will yield more vigorous productions, and become sooner in a state of nourishing the young plant, by pushing the roots boldly into the earth in quest of food.

In the choice of seed we must carefully reject the sprouted grains, which ever yield languishing plants. If the year has been very rainy, and seed cannot be had from other countries, it is better to prefer that of a year old; for in many experiments which have been made with it, great crops have been gained. This however should be tried beforehand, by taking a certain number of grains, sowing them, and seeing how many come up. Sometimes the finest grains of old wheat will not vegetate at all, from the germ having been attacked by insects. This is in general a wise precaution, of trying in this manner the seed that is bought to renew the stock of a village: as the grains succeed, the greater or less quantity of seed should be sown.

Besides gaining good seed, we must, to procure fine crops, not only prepare the land well, and chuse the seed with certain precautions; we must further suppose the cultivator to possess good instruments of tillage. We come next to consider what the police and government can do in this respect; which is the fourth consideration of Legislation.

CONSIDERATION IV.

The best Instruments of Tillage.

INGENIOUS and intelligent cultivators should be immediately invited, to examine if the implements of tillage are good; and constructed in a proper manner, for answering the end proposed. Sometimes these tools ought to be modified, according to the soil they are to cultivate. Thus we may, according to the place, find defects to correct, and essential changes to make. And perhaps it may be found necessary to invent new ones, for surmounting particular difficulties in certain lands.

The manner of sowing is not less important, and has for many years attracted the attention of numerous enlightened citizens. The seed sown broad-cast, as it is ordinarily done, is very badly distributed. In some spots it falls too thick, and consequently, the grains cannot draw nourishment sufficient for vigorous productions: in others it is too thin; and in some none at all. Here it remains upon the surface unburied; and becomes the prey of birds, or is burnt up by the rays of the sun. There it is buried too deep, by which the young plant is likewise destroyed.

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All these inconveniences have given rise to drill ploughs; for sowing with great uniformity, the quantity of seed, and at the distance required. With this instrument the seed is economised, the master can shed it to his mind, according to circumstances. For the more fertile and better prepared the land, the less portion of seed; because the plants tiller much. And after having discovered by experience, the just depth at which seed, according to its species, and for procuring rich crops, ought to be buried, what a satisfaction is it to be able, by the help of a drill plough, to lay in the seed just at the depth desired? All these advantages of the drill plough merit, without doubt, the attention of an enlightened government. Many of them are costly; the purchase much surpassing the power of poor farmers. Some of them are too complicated for being managed without danger by rough hands, which hazard their destruction. It is wanted therefore, to chuse the most simple and least expensive, and to encourage workmen in the construction of similar ones. It is necessary to send models to all the blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, joiners, &c. to the end that countrymen may easily procure them; and that the construction may become common and easy. It will at the same time be necessary to discover the defects of other instruments of tillage, and

to introduce in each place the most perfect. If such measures were taken, the drill plough would soon become less costly. It would be with them, as with watches, which once were sold very dear, but are now at a moderate price, from the numbers of workmen that make them. When matters are come to such a point, would it not be proper, to propose a law, to oblige all cultivators to sow their land with a drill plough? For if all individuals economised their seed by the assistance of this machine, what a prodigious quantity of corn would be saved in the whole country, without reckoning the advantages of the crops being more abundant?

We have here endeavoured to developé this end of good government, whether in expanding a taste for agriculture; augmenting the lights of the inhabitants of the country, on the culture and best employment of their lands; for facilitating the purchase of good seed and good implements of tillage. But all these are not sufficient for animating the cultivators; it is further necessary, to remove all that can throw them into misery and poverty, render them incapable of bringing up their children, and supporting the expences, incurred by improving their lands. This is an essential point, which an enlightened Legislator ought to have in view, in all his operations; and which makes the fifth object.

CONSIDERATION V.

*Preservation of the Welfare and Fortune of the
Farmers.*

HERE present themselves a multitude of considerations, for preserving the welfare of countrymen, and keeping their families from a reverse of fortune. The intimate connection they have with the welfare of our country, demands that we should distinctly explain them. This subject merits all the attention of a wise government.

First Consideration. Repress Vice.

And it should immediately turn the people from those vices which tend to their ruin, and plunge their posterity in misery. There are nations where the force of climate carry them with fury to certain disorders. When that is the case, restricting laws, and an acting vigilance, will bring some remedy. It is the first function of a Legislator, to take the most prudent measures for purging the nation of the vices that are natural to it—to purify the manners, and to expand moderation.

Drunkenness.

All vices debase the mind, diminish the capacity of doing good, and ruin the fortunes of individuals. But there is perhaps no disorder more contrary to the love of labour and agriculture, than a passion for wine, which unhappily infatuates the inhabitants of our country. A moderate use of this liquor would be very useful, if they contented themselves with drinking at their meals only; it might be done without disordering their faculties, and they might return to their labour with more vigour and gaiety; but it is not such moderation which pleases most of our husbandmen. They love the excess and frightful licence which reign in the cabarets. Carried away by their passion for wine, they shamefully dissipate their inheritances, consume all their profits, and often plunge themselves into all the horrors of misery. It is often the sabbath-day, consecrated for rendering homage to God, and for tasting innocent recreations, which is the witness of the greatest excesses. After having assisted at the sacred exercises, and hastened through some acts of devotion, they break into a free career. In the cabarets they lose on that day their money; make ruinous agreements, pay often with their health, for the excesses to which they have abandoned themselves;

selves; and are so weakened, as to be often unable to return for some days to labour. Being thus despoiled of all that should support their families during the week, they reduce their children to the sad necessity of soliciting charity, for that nourishment which is denied them at home. Never will there be an end of these scenes of libertinism and dissipation, until the frequenting cabarets on a Sunday be absolutely interdicted, both in the towns, and in the country. Not being more tempted on that day from a want of employment, they would, by degrees, lose the taste of their brutal debauchery. But it is requisite that the magistrates, charged by the government for executing the laws, should give strict attention to their never being the least relaxed. When the best regulations remain without vigour, there results an irreparable evil. Those who are objects beneath the laws, can be tamed by no other curb. Nothing can be more advantageous, than to abolish in the villages all the cabarets, which are not absolutely necessary for travellers. It is in places where we find most of these houses, that most misery abounds. The countryman is every day tempted to go and lose his time and his money, for satisfying his gross pleasures. Thus, in places where the passage of travellers is too frequent to permit them to be proscribed, the inhabitants of the place ought to
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be severely reprov'd, and the avarice of the cabaret-keepers repress'd, which is excessive in drawing in as many as possible. It is not less necessary to prevent, in the villages where there are no cabarets, the towns-people of the place, under the pretext of possessing some vines, to sell wine for a great part of the year, and draw to themselves the money of the peasants.

In fine, all means must be taken absolutely to break through the extreme debauchery which desolates the country. When a government neglects to banish from the state drunkenness and dissipation, all it attempts to undertake for its prosperity becomes almost useless; the laws lose their force, and there is a continual want of new ones. "The superintendance of manners," says *M. de Mirabeau*, "is the most sacred right of government; and is almost the only part of the laws, of which it ought to reserve to itself the supreme administration." But it may be said, what mound is sufficiently efficacious for opposing all these vices? How will you, not only stop these wicked pursuits, but extract their source by changing the taste and the inclinations of the people? Constraint alone will not suffice; corruption knows well how to elude it. The education of youth must immediately be improved, as we have explained at the beginning of this discourse. The means which we have
propos'd,

propofed, for piquing the young men with emulation; and the great principles of the christian religion strongly imprinted in their minds, would doubtlefs efficaciously break the impetuofity of their paffions, and bring them to moderation in the midft of their ramblings. But that education is always imperfect, which only palliates the vice, or removes a few bad examples. Thofe who by their diforderly lives, continue to neglect their family affairs, and to corrupt the manners of their children by examples of drunkennefs, ought to be excluded from every charge, and from every publick affembly, to be deftituted of every privilege of the community, and at the fame time declared to be incapable of giving evidence. They might be forced to work for certain days gratis for the publick, and be neceffitated to gain, by moft affiduous labour, a fubfiftence of bread and water. There is nothing but the fear of infamy that will conquer the mind of man. The *Lacedemonians*, who knew that in their combats they muft conquer or die, and that they could not take to flight without being expofed to bloody outrages, braved the greateft dangers with the moft heroic intrepidity. Why could we not by fuch means retain in their duty the moft determined drunkards? Why not expofe, as at *Sparta*, vile and defpicable men to the view, mockery, and ridicule.

ridicule of young men, to make them feel the infamy of vice, and that it is highly worthy of hatred.

Luxury.

Luxury is another vice, which is not less contrary to the progress of agriculture, by the ruinous expences into which it throws individuals. It makes them dissipate all their revenues, for shining in the eyes of the publick, and attracting to themselves by a vain eclat, the honours and the consideration, which are due alone to true merit.

Nothing is more contagious or spreads quicker through a nation, than this puerile vanity. Some examples are sufficient to inspire a general desire for distinguishing by ostentation. People will not cede to their equals a pre-eminence of which they think themselves worthy. If with a moderate fortune we cannot equal others in shew, we must at least give to every thing a certain taste of delicacy and elegance; to this we consecrate our industry, our time, and our money. And what is the consequence? It is, that the fathers of families impoverished by their foolish profusion, can neither attend effectually to the welfare of their children, nor cultivate with care their lands. Do they suffer losses from epidemical distempers among their cattle, from frosts or
other

other accidents; or have they indispensable repairs to make on their buildings? They are reduced to borrow money for sustaining the expence, they heap up debts, which in the end bring them to such indigence, that they are not able to improve their farms, but they will at all events continue to live with the same expence.

When luxury is upon the throne, I know what a distaste for labour seizes every mind. It inspires in truth an ardent desire of enriching one's-self; but it is by means which require not care and pains to perform; but permits a quick acquisition for an ostentatious expence. The culture of the earth, which demands great oeconomy, order, and continual care, is despised because it brings not rapid fortunes. This kind of labour cannot but displease effeminate men, whose bodies are enervated with pleasure. They find, at the same time, many things which choak their delicacy. The first *Romans* did not think themselves dishonoured by putting their hand to the plough with their slaves; but when they became masters of the world, they became the prey of luxury, and would no longer be companions in labour. The fields which their ancestors cultivated with so much attention, were carried off by enormous expences, and they came at last to be converted into useless decorations,

tions, and gardens of pleasure, which ruined the proprietors.

Luxury carried infallible desolation to the country. Did they not draw from strangers the bread they eat? All the money was carried off—circulation was interrupted—industry languished—national ease diminished. What an immense quantity of necessary commodities are sacrificed even by the poor for frivolous merchandize! We ought therefore to raise the price of all, that an infinity of indigent families may be preserved in a state of labouring with courage. But for preventing this disorder, fabricate at home the works which serve to nourish luxury, which will prevent your falling into greater inconveniences. It is true it seems, that in the states where there is a great inequality of fortune, the rich have a happy occasion of emptying their coffers, which animates circulation, and enables the poor to live by their labour. But on the other side, is it not to be feared that the frivolous arts, when they are established, being less laborious than agriculture, will draw all to them; so that the necessary manufactures will want hands. Without doubt the poor must find the means of subsistence from the expenditure of the rich; their money is useless if it goes no farther than their houses. But expence ought above all things to advance the improvement of the lands,
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by exciting cultivators to an useful industry. It is a great evil, when the rich fall into a luxury that encourages only the useless arts; and throws the expences of every one beyond his power, in conforming to custom; this dispeoples the country, and discourages the little interest taken in country labours. At length, the workmen instrumental to luxury, gain whatever they will by an easy labour, while the poor farmer languishes and sees no resource. The rich dream not of expences, that do not immediately concern himself; but places his wealth in annuities, for enjoying it in repose, independant on intemperate seasons. Such being the ravages of luxury, what is to be done for retaining it in just bounds?

If in a country the fortunes were perfectly equal, there could be little luxury. Each being in a state of mediocrity, finds the necessity of labouring, and of preserving the spirit of order and œconomy. *Lysurgus* would absolutely extinguish luxury; and in giving to his citizens no other distinctions than arose from merit, he persuaded his countrymen to throw every thing into the common stock, and to make a few divisions. Not only this perfect equality, which he sought to establish, is not found in the republics which subsist at present, but it is also impossible to introduce it by any similar operation;

it would be subject to too many inconveniencies. Nevertheless, for proscribing a luxury ever-fatal, the spirit of laws ought to aim as much as possible at an equality of fortunes, and at preventing many from accumulating on one head. We might abolish, for example, the rights of elder brothers, intails, the power of redemption, the adoptions, and make in the same spirit other laws on marriages, wills, and the dowers of women. These things should be disposed in such a manner, that those who serve the publick may remain in an honest and decent mediocrity, and not be too much enriched by the employments which they occupy. The principle recompence ought to be the testimony of their conscience, the respect of mankind, and the honour of governing well. For if at any time, the employments which they exercise, and the commissions which they receive, give them the means of making immense profits, riches will presently become too unequal, the spirit of moderation will vanish, and a frightful luxury which corrupts every order, be raised to the throne. When the chiefs of a people are the first to give an example of a modest simplicity, and to shew a distance from every species of vanity, the same spirit will rapidly expand itself through all ranks; it would always be an honour they to imitate them.

It is also a very wise precaution in poor countries, to prohibit the importation and the use of merchandize which nourishes luxury, but is of no service to the arts which furnish subsistence.

Would you extinguish luxury? Give a singular protection to agriculture, which engages men to live in temperance and frugality, which is ever covering a country with inhabitants, rather than aggrandizing cities and capitals. "The more men collect themselves together," says the famous president *De Montesquieu*, "the more vain they are, and the more envious they are in signalizing themselves by trifles. They have more desires, more wants, more fantasies."

The manners of women also merit a singular attention. When every thing is allowed them, and we shut our eyes on their conduct, they give into finery and bagatelle with fury, and fill up the very measure of luxury. At *Rome* the censors watched the manners of the women; and many laws were made for repressing their *luxury*. What passes before our own eyes, shews the necessity of renewing them. In the country, we see the wives even of the lowest labourers give into a species of luxury, and spend in frivolous ornaments, money which should be applied to the improvement of their lands, and the education of their children? In fine, the true means of proscribing luxury, is to form young men to

simplicity and modesty, to give them just ideas of vain glory; and to grant honours and flattering distinctions to talents and merit. If ever the false shackles of riches, and vain eclat, prevent timid virtue from being raised to the pre-eminence and the consideration which are its due, we shall see nothing but that misery which results from dazzling the eyes of the publick, with a false magnificence. National emulation carries itself towards all that is worthy in man: it should be an honour to live with oeconomy, not only to avoid being exposed to the shameful temptation of injuring others, but yet more for being in a state of doing all the good whereof we are capable. We ought to labour with emulation to shew the most virtue, capacity, and disinterested love for our country. This is the best sumptuary law that a government can enact against luxury.

Begging.

We must extinguish the mendicity which perpetuates poverty and misery in the country. Men, who during their infancy and youth, have been used to implore the charity of the publick, and maintained themselves in total indolence, will never be disposed to seek their subsistence by an assiduous labour. After having spent their

their tender years in dissipation, and accustomed themselves to squander whatever they receive, they will be for ever incapable of regularity in their affairs: the present moment absorbs all their thoughts; they have no wish to form a solid establishment. Become fathers of families, they teach all their children the art of begging; and as they are used to no other sort of industry, they depend on that alone for their subsistence and ease. See how poverty, misery, &c. entail themselves from generation to generation.

What is to be done to proscribe a mendicity so pernicious to the state? It is not by multiplying and enriching without discernment, hospitals; that will never extinguish it. Should they be so numerous and so rich as to receive all comers, without laying any injunction of industry; they would infallibly injure the nation by encouraging idleness. In diminishing labour, they would multiply the poor. Men who give themselves up to the pleasures of the senses, who expect to find in their old age a certain and easy retreat, dissipate without fear their inheritance, and have no thought of living with œconomy. There ought not to be in a state any more hospitals than necessary for the really infirm, and incurables, and for assistance in unforeseen cases. All others ought to be converted into houses of industry, wherein the idle

are forced to work ; where they draw the assistance which is necessary, not for fomenting their idleness, but for furnishing to indigent families opportunities of exerting their industry with success. At the same time they would be useful for suppressing vagabonds and beggars, for forming societies of chosen and worthy men, who, aided by government, and assisted by all good citizens, distribute timely assistance in their departments to unfortunate families in the country ; and take care that the children are kept at home in their parishes, and receive such an education as we have mentioned, that they may in good time acquire a habit of labour, for gaining their own subsistence.

By means of such an arrangement, the most miserable labourers would be at once placed in a state of raising robust children, capable of supporting the most violent work, and well exercised in the art of cultivating the land. The necessary manufactures being established, will employ the old men, women, and children, in spinning and preparing the raw materials. In the mountainous countries, where agriculture does not demand many hands, it is very easy to bring up the children to these professions ; there might also be drawn from thence many young men for cultivating the plains. In towns, industry being acquired by the youth, would prevent
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vent them from ever becoming chargeable to the publick. Lastly, in places where there are lands to break up, the poor labourers should be assisted on condition, that they and their children laboured diligently in improving them.

With the protection and assistance of government, the necessary funds for executing all these objects would not be difficult to be found. All good citizens, who nourish in their hearts the sentiments of humanity, and who are penetrated with that tender compassion for the poor, inspired by our sacred religion; would, without doubt, eagerly assist the societies in attaining their end, by entrusting them with a part of the assistance received for the relief of the miserable. Would it not become agreeable to think that alms would be distributed with wisdom, in the manner most advantageous to the country, and the most proper for removing the misery of unhappy families, who are forced into inaction, and to spread activity and industry throughout the country. To all these succours due from the generosity of good citizens, and the protection of government, we might add, the sums paid by proprietors for the abolition of commons.

If in spite of all these regulations, there are still men lazy enough, and of so vile a turn as to continue beggars, they should be punished severely, and shut up in work-houses to labour

as we have mentioned. This rigour is necessary, because in the state of begging, all infamous and shameful as it is, is unhappily what they best like. They are pleased to find their maintenance, without any other care than that of soliciting the compassion of travellers.

These are the means which appear most proper for suppressing this class of men, so useless to every body. What happy changes do we not perceive in those countries, where the government has taken it into consideration. Hereafter we shall see in the country, none but healthy and laborious young men, who uniting their efforts with those of their fathers for cultivating their lands, will double their revenues. The poor will diminish every day, and mendicity become unknown. We shall have cut off the evil at the root. Some expence in this ought not to be regretted; for there is nothing which more dishonours a state than vagabonds and beggars, who incommode travellers, and rob the alms due to the real poor. What can be more pernicious than an order of men, who without labouring, are fed and clothed, and therein discourage those who gain their subsistence by the sweat of their brows! What mischief and disorders are the children of begging? What numbers are there among the beggars, who take to all the habits of vice, and plunge at last into all sorts of crimes?

Law.

It is of great consequence to remove from the inhabitants of the country all law processes, wherever it is possible; and where inevitable, to render them as little prejudicial to their affairs as can be done. It is certain that litigations, and a passion for law, are infinitely mischievous to them. The sums paid to the pleaders in pursuit of their causes, the journeys they are obliged to undertake for having them heard, the tediousness of the procedure, the high price at which they often buy bad advice, all together rob them of the money and time which ought to be spent in the improvement of their lands. The works of the farmer cannot be interrupted, and then neglected, without wholly falling into confusion.

For cutting short such a ruinous process, and giving a check to knavery and artifice, there are immediately wanted, clear and precise laws, founded on the principles of natural right, and wise politicks, which avoiding all ambiguity and subtilty, give the most simple intelligence. They ought to be followed invariably, and never left to the explanation of the judge, to pronounce upon presumptions, which are ever arbitrary. With such laws each citizen discovers easily when his pretensions are well, when
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ill-founded. And he is less exposed to be seduced by bad advice, received of those who are interested to trust in their ability for eluding the most just demands.

When the code of laws in a nation is imperfect, when they are obscure, or in many cases abandoned to the arbitrary decision of the judges; if they carry particular causes before the sovereign courts, there must infallibly result, at different times, according to the abilities and dispositions of the judges, decisions which contradict themselves. What is the consequence? It is, that in states where such disorders have place, the inhabitants of the country are easily drawn into law by men of the business. Should they consult advocates and avaricious attorneys? Such seek nothing from their occupations but great profit; and want only to flatter them in their pretensions, by quoting cases which favour them, without, at the same time, explaining contrary and later decisions, which abrogate the others.

It is not less desirable in a well governed state, to abridge the length of law-suits, procedures and formalities, which so often are a load to justice. It is true, that in all the states where the security of the citizens is well taken care of, decisions cannot at once be pronounced upon their interests, and there must be time for examining carefully their pretensions. But, on
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the other side, the obscurity of the process, and the formalities so numerous and useless, make justice an unhappy means of ruining, every day, numbers who trust in it. They are the ordinary refuge of ill faith. They occasion an expence and loss of time, which are irreparable to all sorts of industry. They make way for the voracity of lawyers, who only know how to conduct themselves through such a labyrinth.

In fine, would you stop the ravages of chicanery, and free the people from the mischief of evil councils? We cannot imagine any thing wiser than the plan of a great king, as illustrious for his virtues as his rank; which he published, under the title of *Philosophe bien faisant*, of which the love and tenderness of his subjects made him so worthy. He explained his ideas in these words. “ I would not absolutely condemn the
“ custom of buying the opinion of lawyers, and
“ paying them for their labour; but I would
“ prevent the citizens from being deceived in
“ doubtful cases, by advocates who promise
“ them success, when they know there is little
“ hope of it. Instead of these mercenary coun-
“ sellors, who I regard as a pest, whose ravages
“ every prince ought to endeavour to stop; the
“ state should substitute, at its own expence, a cer-
“ tain number of able and disinterested men, who
“ being consulted by the parties, should explain

“ to

“ to them *gratis*, and in a plain manner, the
 “ injustice or equity of their pretensions; and
 “ by the hopes or fears which they give them,
 “ engage them to renounce their designs, or en-
 “ courage to pursue them. I suppose, *adds he*,
 “ that there is a freedom of consulting the men
 “ I mentioned, or of carrying their demands at
 “ once to the established tribunals, for deciding
 “ sovereignly; but where is the citizen who,
 “ desiring to hazard nothing in an affair of im-
 “ portance, will neglect the profered advice of
 “ prudence enlightened and perfectly free from
 “ prejudice? Where is the citizen who, seeing
 “ himself condemned by respectable men, will
 “ dare to have recourse to the judge?”

All these arrangements would diminish insen-
 sibly the number of advocates, procurators,
 attornies, and other lawyers, and peace in their
 stead would reign in the country. They might
 then be assured of their repose, if they honoured
 and paid due consideration to the persons who
 laboured to compromise their differences.

Debts.

It is proposed to diminish the debts, and to
 stop their progress; when they are considerable
 among the inhabitants of the country, they are
 a great obstruction to agriculture. The labourer
 becomes the slave of the rich: you see them
 forced

forced to sell at any price, the product of their lands, for procuring mere necessaries, and carrying the surplus to creditors often un pitying, who will make them suffer severely for the least delay in the payment of their rents. He can reserve nothing in favour of his family, nor assign any thing for improvement in husbandry. How are extraordinary expences to be supported? Only by the accumulation of fresh debts; which bring fresh discouragement, and occasion the soil to be very badly cultivated. His children are obliged to go to service in towns, to gain money which may escape the pursuits of greedy creditors. There, an easy and sedentary life, renders them incapable of returning to that active and laborious one of country labours; or if they have the courage, they find their strength gone, and their health debilitated.

This is a short picture of the infinite evils found in a country, where debts are numerous among the farmers. It must be avowed, that this evil has made a rapid progress in our country. Above all in the *Pais de Vaud*, this gangrene gains ground, and ravages the country more and more. There is scarcely a labourer that does not owe considerable sums. The amount of their debts augment every day; it is always more their care, to satisfy their ancient creditors, than to contract new debts. From whence comes their
their

their successive misery—their disgust at labour—and backwardness in improving their estates.

What remedies can be applied to all these evils? How are we to place bounds to the increase of debts? Might it not be proposed, to hold a register of the value of all the estates of individuals, their debts and mortgages? And enter regular accounts of all creditors, and their titles, whether by bond or notes for rent, to be produced at a certain time, before certain chambers of judicature, before whom the debtors might appear. Besides this, the corporations, &c. should be obliged to give, for example, every six or seven years, an exact state of the value of the estate of each individual. The knowledge which would be acquired by this means, of the fortunes of cultivators, should be applied by government, to the making such arrangements as are most necessary, and, at the same time, the mildest for diminishing the number of debts; and if possible, for preventing the contraction of new ones, disproportioned to the fortune of the borrower. By such an establishment, the unbounded aims of false mortgagees, in laying hands on various estates in many different places at the same time, would be corrected. All those who would secure their money on mortgage, might assure to themselves at the registry, the knowledge whether the estate in

question

question was mortgaged or not before. In fine, the countrymen seeing that the state of their affairs might be exactly known, would find it impossible to impose upon those with whom they treated, which would make them guard with the utmost care their inheritances. With a view of not losing their credit, they would register their estates with exactness, and manage them with œconomy.

But perhaps nothing would be more proper, for delivering cultivators from their debts, than to drain the sources from whence they flowed, and to remove all the obstacles of their liquidating them. We place in this rank, the debauchery, chicanery, and luxury itself, from which the countrywomen are not exempt, referring the reader to what we have already said on the manner of a wise Legislature proscribing these different abuses. The occasion of these debts might also be removed, in preventing as much as possible the heavy losses in cattle, and in making all the necessary arrangements for their drawing from such stock as much profit as possible. But this must be explained in an article by itself.

Can interest be too high in a country? It facilitates the payment of debts, where they are rendered less burthensome, by keeping interest in proper bounds; but when this delicate operation

tion is necessary, it must be made with wisdom and moderation. Interest should not be lowered too much; and still less totally prohibited. This gives birth to a multitude of inconveniences. People would not lend their money for nothing; an industrious man would find no resource in the coffers of the rich, where they might gain assistance on occasion, of much more value than the payment of the interest. A frightful usury would introduce itself insensibly in the nation, as it formerly did among the *Romans*, when the people obtained an abolition of their debts, a diminution of interest, and at last, a prohibition of any. It is in observing a just medium, and in keeping interest in equitable bounds, that a government procures the greatest advantage to its people.

No person can complain that interest is too high in the *German* part of the canton of *Berne*, where money is at 4 *per cent.* and sometimes lower. But it is not the same in the *Pais de Vaud*. Most of the cultivators pay 5 *per cent.* for their money; which appears too high for those who cultivate land of little fertility; from which they get nothing but by the force of manure and labour. It seems therefore, that it would be better to reduce interest; and to prevent notaries from stipulating hereafter for the borrowers paying more than 4 *per cent.* But these

these regulations should not have a retrospective effect, as the antient creditors would consent voluntarily to reduce the interest to the same standard, for escaping the reimbursements with which they would be threatened. This reduction would assist the farmer in paying more regularly his interest; and would be less exposed to the avaricious views of attornies. He would have a greater superfluity for accidental demands, and for increasing the value of his fields. Low interest would also raise the price of land, which would the better enable the proprietor to extinguish his debts, by selling part of his estate. At the same time it would facilitate payments made to himself, if he permitted a reimbursement of the obligations, on the footing of notes of rent. By the assistance of these arrangements, and of an education which tended to inspire the countrymen with frugality, and a love of labour, they would find in the culture of their lands, a sufficient treasure for satisfying their creditors.

The reduction of interest is the best way to engage the rich to apply their money to the culture of the soil; for they will be interested most where they are best paid. Low interest animates industry and commerce. When the farmer has a greater facility in paying his rent, he is the better able to carry his products to the

best markets ; which diminishes the dearth of labour, and favours the exportation of the fabrics of the country. And further, in being able to borrow at low interest, they become bolder in their projects ; and fear not so much that the profits should be absorbed by the interest paid. The rich would be more induced to take part in enterprizes of commerce, and in founding useful establishments, like manufactures, for drawing advantage from their money. But can high interest procure them greater revenues than those which they might draw from land improvements, manufactures, or commerce ? They regard all these with indifference. They like better to place their money on security for tranquilly enjoying considerable revenues, without the fear of any loss from inclement seasons, bankruptcies, and a thousand other accidents. And several enlightened people have found, that a too high interest has held a nation in a torpid state, and lowered it with the greatest success. The reduction of interest is above all necessary, for encouraging industry and commerce, when other trading people have lowered it : for while interest is higher in any nation than among its neighbours, such cannot trade for the same profit ; but must sell their merchandize dearer, which would prevent their equalling them. It is to prevent repetition, that I do not
speak

Speak here of the influence which the reduction of interest has on the prosperity of industry; as what concerns the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, is the object of the third part.

Taxes and Imposts.

For maintaining a state of ease among the cultivators, taxes on persons and lands must not be heavy. Loading a people with imposts does not make them industrious, as has been asserted to princes. Certain moderate duties may draw a people from a benumbed state, excite their activity, and engage them to redouble their ardour; for after having paid what they owe to the prince, they still find an honest subsistence in the culture of their lands. But if these taxes are extended beyond an equitable proportion, they immediately bring on a declension. As soon as the people begin to perceive, that, in spite of their application, their vigilance and redoubled labour, nothing remains for them, after having paid the sovereign his taxes, but so curtailed a necessary, that they are obliged to support life with bad nourishment, and to pass their days in a continual misery; they fall into a discouragement, the death of all industry. Sloth becomes the reigning character; they seek a recompense for the evils which they suffer, by avoiding hard labours.

labours. There is no person who loves not to enjoy the fruit of his cares. No one can labour incessantly for the good of others alone. It is the success and advantages gained by application, which animate courage, and become the spur to industry. It must therefore, in a state well governed, be taken care, that the imposts permit the cultivators to improve their lands, and to give them altogether the pleasing hope of being able, by their labour, to place their families in a state of ease.

Seek not to lay too heavy charges on the people: it is necessary that the taxes laid on land, be proportioned to the fertility, and to the current price of products in each province. If this is not attended to, the proprietors must be oppressed. Taxes ought also to be levied with order, with œconomy, and in the manner the least burthenfome to the people. The sums received should enter entire into the coffers of the prince, to the end that he should not be obliged to multiply impositions, for supporting the wants of the state. Therefore they ought not to pass through hands, who dissipate any part before they are received at the treasury. They ought not to serve to enrich farmers, and gatherers, whose infamous and scandalous fortunes carry sadness and despair into the hearts of the people. It is also very bad politicks, from being paid
with

with less care and greater promptness, to lay more on industrious cultivators, exciting them thereby, to a want of activity and industry. This pernicious custom is absolute ruin to the culture of the earth. The direct contrary method ought rather to be followed, to impose deficiencies and the heaviest taxes on those, who do not cultivate their land with care, that the more indulgence may be given to those who are the most laborious.

It is in free countries that imposts are commonly greatest. They pay dearly for the greatest of all blessings, liberty. Thus, among the advantages which distinguish so gloriously our dear country, the one the most remarkable, and the most flattering, is, that under our happy government, we enjoy a precious liberty without being subject to imposts, and personal taxes. The *dixmes* which we pay to the sovereign, for the wants of the state, and which maintain us in a happy tranquillity, incommode not our cultivators: on the contrary, they offer them with joy and gratitude. Thus all that we have said on this head regards not ourselves, Nevertheless there are certain districts, where the quit-rents paid to the nobility, &c. are too considerable; where in bad years, after having satisfied these rights, little remains to the inhabitants to furnish themselves subsistence; this causes a poverty, a

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depopulation, and a declension sensibly felt by agriculture. Without wounding the rights of any person, are there no means of remedying this? When the quit-rents in a village are too numerous and burthensome, a part might be rendered redeemable for procuring in the succession to the inhabitants, a freedom which would retain them in the place of their birth, and procure them more ease. If they were granted this liberty, what redoubled efforts, what ardour in labour would shew itself in every individual, for acquiring sums of money to extinguish a part of their quit-rents and rendering their condition more easy? The communities should not be wanting to render them assistance in gaining this end. There would result an increase in the value of estates, from augmenting that of the fees, which would be found by the lord in the fines of alienation, being more considerable on each changing of lands.

Personal Services.

The *corvées*, or burthensome personal services which subject the cultivators to certain publick works, and for furnishing carriages for other services, without receiving any return, are manifestly contrary to the good of agriculture. They not only take them from their country occupations, but also prevent them from maintaining
their

their families. Humanity should engage all sovereigns to diminish these evils wherever they are known.

Savage Animals.

The well-being of cultivators demand also, that birds and wild beasts (which ravage the country, and carry away the fruit of their industry) be not suffered to multiply. It is cruel and inhuman to expose them to all these evils, for the sake of rendering the chase more agreeable. It is not the pleasures of some individuals that should be consulted, but the interest of the most valuable class of mankind, the cultivators of the earth. How much it merits complaint, that in some countries, the rich should give agriculture a prey to stags, hares, and rabbits; which the countrymen dare not kill without exposing themselves to the most barbarous punishments. In the chases which are made from time to time, for the amusement of the prince or his nobility, what ravages are made by the hunters and their numerous hounds, who think of nothing but pursuing the prey, without the least regard to the crops of the countryman. We are happy in knowing nothing, but the name of these unjustifiable excesses.

Oppression.

Lastly, for preserving the farmers from misery, they must be placed in security, and free from the oppressions of the other orders of the state. What is so frightful and deplorable as the situation of the labourers in a country, where they are reckoned as nothing; or like the *Helotes* among the *Lacedemonians*, may be vexed and insulted with impunity by the nobles! What an irreparable loss is it to the nations who have adopted a conduct so inhuman, and so contrary to that mild acknowledgement due to those who gain their subsistence from the other citizens by their labour! In states governed by these principles, do we not find vast countries almost desert and uncultivated? Do we not see the countryman oppressed in a thousand ways, and so repulsed by ill treatment, that he becomes incapable of all industry, and falls into a torpor which approaches to stupidity?

It is not only in these states, at present so little enlightened to their true interests, that the poor countrymen are exposed to oppression and injustice; but we see also examples in moderate governments, and where they make it honourable to respect the rights of humanity in general. The rich often refuse them their rights with impunity. By a thousand artifices they usurp their
their

their rights; and they know how to prevent a restitution by laws and courts of justice; they frighten them with their credit, and threaten them with a load of expences. These unfortunate people dare not pursue their rights, but groan in secret at the injustice which they suffer: they murmur, and take a disgust at a profession which is so debased; which is harrassed by the other citizens in spite of the protection which the laws confer on them, as well as the first of the nation. What ought not to be done to prevent so great an abuse! Never,—no, never, can we think too favourably of the inhabitants of the country—Assure to them tranquillity, and their fortune, against the enterprizes of the powerful, to the end, that seeing them belong to a class of men, considered and protected in the state, they may employ themselves with courage and chearfulness in their country labours. Thus thought *Henry IV.* that model of good kings. When it was represented to him that the little were oppressed by the great, that tender father of all his subjects not only ordained a body of advocates to give them advice gratis whenever wanted, but also, if their pretensions were reasonable, enabled them to pursue their rights without any expence. How noble it was to seek the means of furnishing

nishing the expence of an establishment which shewed so much wisdom !

Such ought to be the spirit of legislation, for removing the cultivators from misery and poverty, so discouraging to industry ; but if we would place them in an honest ease, and thereby enable them to support the expences of good husbandry, and to animate them to a vigorous improvement of their lands, we must insure a certain market for their products, and this is the sixth consideration of legislation,

CONSIDERATION VI.

A certain Market for Products.

Cultivators are never more excited to draw all that is possible from their lands, than when they are assured of a sale for their products, at a reasonable price. Every thing is then employed in the most advantageous manner. Nothing is lost when they so endeavour to advance the value of their lands; but the contrary is always to be observed, when the prices are so low as not to be equivalent to the expence incurred, the interest of the capital, and the trouble of selling. In these circumstances, the labourer finds abundant crops ruinous, and sees the fertility of his fields only with chagrin, he is then tempted to sow no more than is absolutely necessary for his maintenance. He is unable to pay the number of workmen necessary for the extent of his farm; and buys no beasts, though so necessary for establishing a good rural œconomy. You see him above all, lose courage if he is obliged to pay in money, the tribute due to the prince, at a time when he can find none that will give it in exchange for his commodities.

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Would you remove these obstacles to good agriculture? Augment consumption in the places where it is wanted; and for this end encourage the rich to live upon their lands, and there to expend at least a part of their revenues. Then all the resources for enriching themselves, and giving a value to their commodities in a quick consumption, would not center in cities and capitals alone. If all tends thither, directly and indirectly, like the rays of a circle, which unite at the center, all that is at a distance languish, and draw few advantages from the products of the soil. We must therefore distribute in different places useful establishments, which are at present immured in the cities. That those who are in want of some employment may go and reside in the places to which we want a resort. Throw certain advantages to the country, and to all parts of a province. Then all will become animated by continual efforts made to open the requisite demand. Encourage population in the towns, and in the country; and the superfluous commodities of which the cultivators complain, will serve to feed a numerous people. If a state maintains troops, they should be quartered in places deprived of the advantages of a regular sale for their products. Have they a good militia, which they form in camps from time to time, for the better exercise of their arms? It would

would favour circulation to encamp them alternately in different parts of the dominions, according as circumstances demand, for vivifying consumption.

In the districts which are in absolute want of every kind of market, it is proper to establish manufactures. The inhabitants will dispose of their products to the workmen. Without such fabricks, the farmers must be in misery in many places, for the want of a sale of their products, being certain since they exchange with others for all that serves them for cloaths, and almost every necessary of life, so that at length they have no money come in for their crops. When they understand how to give to raw productions, the preparations which render them less expensive in carriage, they have a commercial object more lucrative. When you have more grain than you are able to consume, and cannot export; according to the nature of the land, consecrate parts of it to different productions upon which industry may exert itself; for, as we have elsewhere explained, the perfection of agriculture does not demand that all land should yield corn, but that after providing for the subsistence of the inhabitants, they should be employed in the manner the most lucrative. Another resource for keeping grain at a reasonable price, and engages them to give a value to their money in
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the culture of their lands, is to favour both the interior and exterior commerce of grain, and to propose recompences to those who open new views to trade, for exporting to others the superfluity of our own country. In fine, if agriculture is not flourishing enough to keep the markets as high as among our neighbours it is good policy, severely to prevent all those importations which are ever capitally ruinous to the farmer. We shall not indicate here the means which offer themselves for favouring new markets. The proper place for examining them distinctly will be in the third part, where we shall shew what ought to be the spirit of legislation for making industry and commerce flourish in a country, and contribute altogether to the progress of agriculture.

We now pass to the seventh consideration of a legislator, which has cattle for its object, whose maintenance influences so greatly the fortune of the cultivator, and so strongly interests all rural oeconomy, that it must necessarily be regarded in every plan for perfecting agriculture.

CONSIDERATION VII.

Domestic Animals.

Domestick animals are a great resource in the country. Many serve for the nourishment of man, or furnish him with an abundant subsistence in milk, butter, and cheese. The services we receive from some in ploughing our fields, and the manure we owe to all, contribute infinitely to the improvement of land. These animals well taken care of, the hides which they yield, and the food we draw from them, altogether make an object very lucrative in commerce. The wool of good sorts of sheep, enrich equally the farmer, the manufacturer, and the merchant. In one word, the maintenance of cattle, is a branch of agriculture intimately connected with the others; the welfare of the farmer depends greatly on it. In a state therefore that takes to heart the culture of the earth, all succour and encouragement should be given to augmenting herds of cattle, which will make the rural revenues flourish greatly.

And it immediately becomes necessary to have done with the losses of beasts that ruin their
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œconomy, and place them in a necessity of contracting debts.

Abuses of Carriages which ruin the Draft.

Bad carriages, too frequently made at all times, and roads impracticable, ruin the horses and kill them with fatigue; we should therefore labour at diminishing the number, by favouring the canals of communication between the lakes and rivers for transporting by water, products and merchandize. Nothing can in any respect be more useful to the farmer; for the land carriage robs them of precious time, which the culture of their fields, and the care of their domestic affairs require. His works are retarded, and sometimes he can make no use of the most favourable seasons. Carrying with him for each journey, a portion of his own forage, sufficient for the maintenance of his horses for many days, he so much diminishes the quantity of his manure, nor can he thus keep so much cattle as he otherwise might. If the journey lasts some days, he expends the greatest part of his pay in the cabarets where he stops, and as it wastes, always contracts a greater taste for idleness and debauchery, the source of evils to himself, and ruin to his family and the state. After having diminished the number of carriages for the road,

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we must render less burthenfome; those which are indispenfible on the best roads; that the carrier may perform his journies easier and quicker, and his horses be less exposed to perish by fatigue.

Remedies prompt and efficacious.

The preservation of cattle requires that we spread through the country lights in the art of curing them, when attacked by distempers. Epidemical ones would make less ravages if we had men capable of administering prompt efficacious remedies: But their treatment is commonly abandoned to the lowest men. 'Having no principles, they generally do more mischief than good.

Veterinarian School.

The Veterinarian school at *Lyons* presents us an easy means of instruction in this important art; by proper persons, who on their return to their country can form others without much expence, and communicate to all, their new acquired knowledge. It would be rendering a true service to all farmers, to send with this view some intelligent young men for attending the whole progress of it.

For preventing the maladies of beasts, there ought to be many observations and experiments

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made by order of the government, upon the herbage they eat, and the amelioration of the pastures. After having examined the different plants which compose our natural pastures, and having discerned the plants which are salutary to cattle, with those also that are hurtful; we should then be able to attach ourselves to the culture of the first, and carefully extirpate the others, on renewing the pastures. It will also be necessary to seek by experiment, if cattle are not prejudiced by the forage which has been damaged by certain accidents, such as the rust, mildew, &c. to the end, that it might be known how to act when the circumstances returned.

Precautions in epidemical Distempers.

It is lastly very necessary, when epidemical distempers are broke out among cattle, to take care that the evil does not extend to those in health, by an intercourse with the infected. But at the same time we must retain these precautions in just bounds, and take care that they are not pushed so far, as to become mischievous. What passes in *France* some years will furnish us with an example very proper for understanding that an excess of prudence may become pernicious to the publick. The contagious malady being spread over a province of that kingdom, with design to prevent communication, they carried their

their precautions so far as to condemn the use of the hides of animals dead of the distemper, through fear that the skins might contribute to spread this fatal evil. But it is without reason that so precious a material is lost. *M. le Marquis de Courtivron* examined if these fears were well founded*. Having procured some hides of beasts that died of this distemper, he covered some healthy ones with them; he also wrapped up some hay in them, which was eat by cattle in health; he soaked them in the water which they drank, and none of the beasts were attacked with the evil. It is very mischievous therefore to the publick, and to the proprietors of beasts dead of the distemper, to oblige them to bury them in their hides. It is thus that governments the most enlightened, for want of experience, are subject to making detrimental regulations.

Introduction of new Species.

Besides the preservation of cattle, another attention of government in respect to this branch of rural oeconomy consists in peopling the country under its dependance with good breeds of animals, and of instructing the people upon the manner of perfecting them, and likewise on

* *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, 1745.

the choice of pastures which best agree with them. It is often on this that depends all the profit we draw from cattle. Sheep furnish us with the most remarkable instance. Do we not see that those nations who have procured themselves the best sorts of these animals, have gained possession of the best wool in *Europe*? The *Spaniards* have had the greatest success in gaining the best breeds from *Africa*; afterwards the *English*, in the reigns of *Edward IV*, *Henry VIII*, and *Elizabeth*, transported from *Spain* to *England*, flocks for perfecting their own: and in 1725, the *Swedes* carried some from *England* with the same view. *Flanders* owes to the *Dutch* an excellent race of sheep, originally from *India*. These are breeds which have done wonders among different nations, and ought to be substituted for the pitiful ones which we possess. Considering the distance of places, it becomes too difficult for individuals to naturalize them in our country. It is a business that ought to be facilitated by government. When all the cities, nobility, burroughs, and communities have subscribed separately for a certain number of sheep, the colony which the government chuses with care in *Flanders*, should be distributed to the inhabitants without an heavy charge; the expence would soon be reimbursed by the subscribers. From the example of the *English* and the *Swedes*, we should form a bastard race with

our best sheep and rams of the *Flemish* breed. In imitation of them, we should likewise instruct our villagers concerning the pastures which agree best with them—upon the choice of rams and ewes the most proper for breeding. By familiar instructions drawn up for the use of the people, we might root out the prejudice common through the country, on the manner of managing these animals; for we imagine without reason, that they are very sensible of cold, and in that persuasion we do not fold them enough, but keep them in small stables, and leave their dung to accumulate under them; instead of which it would be much more proper to keep them in airy stables, and situated very high, for then their wool would become very fine. They only want to be in stables during the rigour of winter. The more they are folded the more perfect will be their wool. Although the *Swedes* inhabit a country far to the North, they fold during eight or nine months of the year; and it is only during the other months that they keep them in their vast stables. Their success ought to engage us to imitate them; for it is not to be doubted but that our country is as proper for nourishing sheep that give excellent wool. Our climate not being so cold as that of *Sweden*, we might the more easily fold them during a greater part of the year.

We have all along *Mount Yura* pastures, that agree admirably with them. We also find in dry pastures and small hills, herbage proper for them. It is in such parts of the country that we might commodiously manage them in large parks, which ought above all to be established. Each country may have advantages which are peculiar to itself; one is proper for some particular culture; another for rearing certain animals. It is badly employing lands to suppose them to yield every thing in the same place, or that they are to nourish all sorts of beasts. By a just distribution of the products of the earth, according to the nature of the soil, the different parts of a country unite themselves to one another, and supply reciprocally their wants: the interior circulation is augmented: they may without inconvenience furnish more materials for manufactures, commerce will be sustained on solid foundations, because nothing will be forced, but every thing arranged conformably to the nature of things.

It is not only the species of sheep that demands to be perfected; our breed of horses, which is weak and small throughout the *Pays de Vaud*, requires it not less. If those who inhabit the districts abounding in forage, would raise a vigorous and fine breed of horses, they would create a branch of commerce very advantageous.

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The culture of the earth would flourish more amongst us. We could give better ploughings with strong and robust horses. It is true, this may be supplied by using oxen. The first *Romans*, who were excellent cultivators, hesitated not to prefer them. They are in effect more advantageous than horses. The ox is more easily maintained than the horse, much less subject to maladies, less delicate in the choice of pasture, stronger, and at the same time more proper for giving deep ploughings. The horse is dearer, and the harness costs much more, his shoeing is expensive, he diminishes in value with age. If a horse is lamed he is good for nothing, but an ox become old, or rendered by accident incapable of work, may be fattened and sold with profit. It seems therefore, much more advantageous to our country, to render their use more general in all places, where the nature of the land will admit it. Our farmers, by maintaining a smaller number of horses, will augment their profit by keeping more cattle, and will not be exposed as at present to such sudden and heavy losses.

This custom would above all be easily introduced when better roads are constructed, and the number of carriages diminished by the means of which we have spoken. Would you render the use of oxen much less expensive and more

useful to the cultivator, fail not to ordain that the butchers should buy old beasts fat, rather than young ones? The latter would then be employed in cultivation, and in their age they would yield our subsistence after fattening. By this arrangement the cultivator would draw all the profit possible from his cattle.—Nevertheless, the ox moves extremely slow; when there is much land to be ploughed, it would be necessary to have horses also for expediting the work, as in the time of the last ploughings, and at sowing every moment is precious. In the time of the first *Romans*, the agrarian laws gave to each proprietor, the extent of land that sufficed for his family; it was to them more easy than to us, to use oxen only for ploughing the lands.

Among the domestick animals useful to a nation, which might contribute to place the countryman in a state of ease, and of which the government ought to favour the multiplication, we must not forget the bees. They are the more valuable, as, without consuming any kind of subsistence useful for man or other animals, they maintain themselves and furnish an excellent food. The wax which we draw from them forms a branch of very lucrative commerce. It is proper to instruct the countryman upon the method of managing them, of multiplying them, of dispensing with many barbarous operations

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on them, and of drawing from them as great profit as possible,

Facilitate the Maintenance of Cattle.

In fine, do you wish that the maintenance of cattle should enrich the farmers? Furnish them the means of nourishing them without great trouble, and of augmenting the number as much as possible, without hurting the other products of the country. This is particularly interesting to our country. We are in want of abundance of forage for wintering the numerous herds of cattle which we send in summer to the mountains. Nothing more facilitates this than the artificial grasses. Without occupying too much land, they yield a great quantity of forage.

Another object of importance is to enable our countrymen to rear and fatten more hogs than they do at present. We import a great number from our neighbours, which carry large sums of money out of the country. Nothing would be wiser than a regulation forbidding this importation. It would then only remain by divers arrangements to favour the maintenance of this sort of cattle. The farmers would have a greater facility in rearing them, if the forests were peopled with trees that assist in fattening them. We might also gain a more abundant subsistence to these animals, by rendering more common the
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culture of different roots, such as potatoes, turnips, topinambours, raddishes, &c. They would not be less useful in feeding oxen. At the same time they would supply in winter the scarcity of green forage, which many beasts require, or they will not do well. We might immediately have all these different assistances, if individuals were not tied down by regulations of police in the arrangements of their fields. Without these shackles which hold their hands, all the rest of rural oeconomy would be improved. This is what leads us to the eighth consideration, to leave each proprietor master of sowing his own land as he will, and of distributing his fields in the most useful manner, according to the circumstances in which he finds his estate; he would then be permitted to take the best measures for maintaining cattle, with the least expence possible.

CONSIDERATION VIII.

Liberty of Inclosure.

IN countries of open fields, instead of the proprietors having a right to manage their land as they please, they have not the liberty of sowing what they think proper, or of adopting many advantageous articles of culture, without exposing themselves to see the fruit of their labour devoured with impunity, by the cattle sent into the fields after the crops of corn are off, For giving rest to their lands they are constrained to leave them in useless fallows. Instead of encreasing their corn and their forage, they cannot gain the advantage of their manure. For it is a fact confirmed by experience, that the artificial grasses repair the wastes of the soil, and manure the exhausted fields. Not being at liberty to sow artificial grasses wherever they please, they cannot have a just proportion between their grass and arable, nor break up and renew their natural grasses—neither in ploughing or sowing, can they allot their fields with an eye to the manure they require. The great advantages

advantages that would attend a different administration of common fields have already been set forth so clearly by many writers, that it is needless further to expatiate on it here.

The poor would have no reason to complain of the abolition of commons, if, as we have already insinuated, the proprietors pay a rent, destined to extinguish mendicity, and to form young men to an active and laborious life. Nevertheless, however useful this abolition would be, it should not be by a stroke of authority, that we endeavour to bring it about. Nothing being more dear to a nation than old customs, it is dangerous to attack them in front. When we would make the change, they ought to be abolished, for example, by the force of mildness, patience, and encouragements, by persuasion, and views of private interest.

Why should we not by sound reasons, engage intelligent communities to make a trial of this abolition? They can never fail drawing from them great advantages *.

* Since the decision on the Memoirs on Legislation, this example has been given by the town of *Orbe*, who, after a clear examination, have abolished the open fields in all its territory; it has placed the inhabitants in a state of adopting many advantageous cultures, and in particular that of madder, which succeeds wonderfully in much of the soil.

The flourishing state in which they would place themselves, would soon draw others to imitate them; and, without having recourse to any violence, would free our country from a custom which shackles all good cultivators, and holds them in slavery.

But say some, If we abolish the commons, how are the sheep to be folded after the corn crops? Should we deprive them of a pasture which is so salutary? I have often understood, that this difficulty has been objected. But let us throw our eyes on the provinces of *France*, where these unprofitable pastures are not possessed. "Every one," says *M. du Hamel*, "applies his land to what he pleases; he sows all sorts of grain, leguminous plants, &c. and he is assured that no mischief shall be done them, without the want of hedges and ditches: if he sows sainfoine, lucerne, or clover with his oats, as the young grass comes up among the haulm, it suffices for the proprietor to mark his field with some whips of straw, for preventing the shepherds entering it. Besides, the owners of the cattle are responsible for the damage." Thus after the abolition of the common rights every one might fold their sheep on their own lands, using the same precautions. It is true, that this practice would be more difficult with us. As most of our countrymen possess lands which are extremely

tremely divided and narrow; it would not be easy to confine their sheep to their own lands, without damaging those of their neighbours, which were covered with clover, lucerne, or other plants. We must therefore endeavour to remedy, by mild and equitable means, this too great division of lands, which is for other reasons also very pernicious to cultivation. It is the ninth consideration of Legislation, in which we come to consider this union.

CONSIDERATION IX.

Reunion of particular Estates.

IF the lands of farmers are too much subdivided, and dispersed here and there in a great territory, they cannot give them a due attention. They are never quick enough in preventing the damages with which they are threatened, nor yet for remedying them. What precious time is lost in carrying ploughs, &c. from field to field at a distance! What fatigue both to man and beast! How much therefore is it to be wished, that certain estates were more united, until they were of a reasonable extent. But in operating this union, ought we to follow the example of the *English*, by authorizing forced exchanges, after having accurately estimated the respective value, and to seek by equivalents, to render the whole advantageous to every one? Although success has attended this method in *England*, still it is dangerous to adopt it. The commissioners left to themselves, perhaps, are gained by the rich, or by those who have credit with them; and thus the poor may be oppressed. Oftentimes it may be difficult to give equivalents for pieces which are
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assigned to others ; particularly from the facility of improving them by the near neighbourhood of stables, &c. with dung, and the dirt of lanes or roads, which render them extremely valuable. We might know too often the complaints and murmurs of those who are particularly fond of certain lands, believing themselves injured by the exchanges to which they would be constrained. They would call it oppression, an odious word, which ought never to be supported among free-men. For these reasons, it is better to encourage individuals to make these exchanges voluntarily, and without constraint. It would much facilitate them, to enfranchise them from all quit-rents : the fief would lose nothing, since in the present state of things, exchanges are very rarely made. If it came to pass, that the new arrangements deprived any one of their quit-rents, without giving an equivalent, it could not be for any long time ; they would be amply recompensed for this momentary sacrifice, when estates were augmented in value by the consequences of the union. In fine, we ought not to neglect mild and honest means, which tend to favour the recompensing individuals, and giving just matter of content to all ; that they might see with pleasure, these arrangements so essential to all good husbandry. We ought to invite the cities and communities to take this affair into

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consideration. "Invite," says the celebrated *Montesquieu*, "when you cannot constrain, con-
duct when you cannot command; this is the
height of abilities. Reason gives a natural
empire; she has even a tyrannical empire.
If we resist, that resistance is her triumph;
it will be but a little time before we return
to her."

If it is useful that the estates of proprietors should not be too much divided; and scattered here and there; on the other hand, agriculture suffers if lands are distributed into too great farms; in which case there must be too many great proprietors, and at the same time a defect of property among the cultivators; hence a new and tenth consideration of Legislation consists, in preventing the evils which may result from a too great union of lands in individuals.

 CONSIDERATION X.

Estates too large.

WHEN the soil of a country is divided into great estates, they are for the most part cultivated only by mercenaries, who never take a true interest in the amelioration of lands, of which they are not proprietors. When all is abandoned to the avidity of farmers, all languishes and perishes insensibly in the country *. The masters reside in the cities, and living with shew, consume all their revenues, without attending to the culture of the lands. The farmers who hire them, think only of getting all that is possible, and enriching themselves at their expence. Thinking only of the present moment, they can work for no other effects. They will not be at the expence of improvements, of which perhaps another may reap the benefit, when placed in the farm. Hence it is that we see the great domains of princes so often are mischievous to the culture of the land. These vast extents of land would become, without contradiction, one of the greatest resources, if divided and sold to their subjects at a reasonable price. The only means of engaging farmers to redouble their

* This appears to be very strange in *England. Transf.*

ardour and zeal in the culture of the earth, is to ordain that leases should be made of a long duration.

But nothing animates a cultivator so much as farming his own land. You then will not see by his indifference, that his labour is bestowed on the field of another; on the contrary his activity is sustained by the agreeable idea, that the more he improves his farm, the more he augments its value, and the sooner it will place him in a state of ease. It is therefore of great consequence, that the farmers should be proprietors, and in general possess the land they cultivate. The small extent of their estates is the greatest spur to their industry. The necessity they are under of finding subsistence for their families, forces them to augment the fertility of the ground. Bad land presently becomes good under the hands of its owner who works on it; but when it belongs to a rich man, who, disdainng such labour, employs mercenaries to perform it, it lies generally waste; for none are disposed to hire workmen at a large expence to break up and improve bad lands, when there is an uncertainty of being repaid the cost; the money is converted to other uses, or an estate bought in a more fertile soil. But the little proprietor of such waste lands is not so repulsed; as he has not the means of purchasing another farm; he attaches himself

with vigour to the cultivation, and corrects by every means the bad qualities he meets with: he does not regret these pains for the little they return him—he loses not a moment—but through the force of diligence and labour, he by degrees changes the nature of his soil—and reduces it to a profitable land. This is a true conquest to the state: a new field is gained to the country, instead of being lost under the hands of a citizen or great proprietor. Such a farmer makes the most of every thing that is produced by his little estate, and manages all with a wise oeconomy. But the great are regardless of what they call trifles; and are at too great a distance to turn all to profit. With them you see that land turned into avenues, walks, and useless decorations, which would maintain many a poor family. But it may be asked, how can a countryman who possesses but a few fields, and they yielding a moderate revenue, be able to command good instruments of husbandry? Is it not natural to suppose, that his land must be ill cultivated?—It may be much better than by a great proprietor who disdains labour, provided he is not in debt, that he lives under a mild government, and that he has been inspired in his youth with a love of frugality and labour. The use of oxen and artificial grasses being introduced, the little proprietor

prietor will always have the necessary assistance for improving his land—the quantity of manure, and the number of ploughs and carts, augment with the number of the fields. Never was agriculture more flourishing than among the *Romans*, before the lands were too unequally divided among the citizens, and while all were at the same time proprietors and farmers. The portions which *Romulus* had assigned them were very small; but being well cultivated they sufficed for the maintenance of their families; for they found wonderful resources in their frugality and love of labour,

Nevertheless, however useful this division of lands equally among the inhabitants of a country may be, yet it is very difficult to preserve it long. In spite of the agrarian laws, which among the *Romans* gave bounds to avarice, inequality was not slow in introducing itself among them, and the people despoiled of their lands loudly complained. We shall not repeat here what Legislation ought to do, for preventing inheritances reuniting themselves in single persons. We have already spoken of it under the article of *luxury*: we shall therefore content ourselves with adding, that we should without ceasing watch the great proprietors, if we are desirous that they should not absorb the estates which join their domains; for with their money they may find it easy to

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obtain

obtain all. They may throw upon their little neighbour so many difficulties, as to oblige him to come into whatever they demand; or tempt others, for the high prices they offer for lands they are eager to get possession of—or by promising favour and protection. The countryman left to himself, thus becomes seduced and despoiled of his best lands, he spends the money he received by the sale, and he leaves to his miserable posterity nothing but bad land to discourage themselves with.

It is not, for the rest, that the great proprietors are not useful when they reside upon their lands, provided they do not want to engross all around them; but when they shew themselves moderate, and full of sentiments of humanity, when they love to encourage the countrymen by their counsels, their directions, their example, and assistance. Their presence circulates money in the country; they give a market for products—they augment manures: with better educations they are more in a state of making successive researches, of observing, and experiencing different methods. When there are many great proprietors in a state, the government ought by honourable attention to engage them to live in the country, and gain an amiable character among their neighbours. It is the best way of preventing the infinite evils brought on by too great estates.

At the same time it is proposed, to disgust strangers from making too great acquisitions of land in a country, unless they come to reside on them; for otherwise the lands will become of a negative value in a province. All the revenues of the estates possessed by these strangers, will go out of the country, and neither the ease or industry of the neighbouring people be the least the better for them. This case may easily arrive in certain circumstances. If, for example, a poor country, through a want of industry and commerce, but agreeable for its prospects and the variety of its productions—where no imposts are paid, and being in the neighbourhood of rich and opulent cities, where commerce and other resources produce much money, the individuals of those cities may want to realize their wealth in such a country. They buy considerable lands, and all of them fertile. No persons in such a poor country can be in a state of entering into competition with them—of paying so well—or of buying so much. What is the consequence? It is that the inhabitants of such a country will impoverish themselves more and more; national industry would languish more, as that of their neighbours augmented. All the produce of these estates would be spent in those wealthy cities. The natural inhabitants of the country would

be disgusted; and the whole entirely depopulated.

When we throw our eyes on the *Pais de Vaud*, we find in many places, that most part of the countrymen possess the fields they cultivate. They are the proprietors, though under the weight of debts. If they are incommoded by great neighbours, it is principally in the vine districts. There it is common to see great proprietors of vines who, to get dung, buy and engross all the grass of a village, which makes the countrymen to whom they abandon the culture of the fields, find themselves almost without grass, or at least with that which is very bad. They have not at the same time the resource of artificial grasses, because of the open fields. It would be astonishing if their fields, wanting manure, did not decline every day, and produce but paltry crops. The good of agriculture demands that we place the cultivators free from such great engrossers of grass, which is the ruin of their œconomy.

As the culture of vines has a good influence upon the state of a country, we are obliged to discuss what regards them, and not to keep too long on one subject, when the occasion presents a new one: it is the eleventh consideration of Legislation.

LEGISLATION.

CONSIDERATION XL.

Vines.

IT is not to be doubted but the culture of the vine is advantageous, and that the goodness of the wine may gain a reception in the neighbouring countries. There are lands which by reason of their situation and the nature of the soil, cannot otherwise be usefully employed. Besides, this culture maintains many men. Some are occupied in furnishing vine props, others in constructing casks; and lastly, a great number of workmen are necessary, for tying and pruning the vines, for ploughing and cleaning when wanted, or for gathering the crop. In thus multiplying among the inhabitants the means of gaining their subsistence, they contribute to population. The expences of the culture, which the sale of the wine returns to the proprietor, are therefore very advantageous to the state. The culture of the vine is in these respects, more favourable than that of corn, &c. Besides, the number of workmen which the vine demands, augments the consumption of products, and furnishes to grain a certain market. The vigneron having finished their works, may aid the farmer

farmer, in harvesting his corn, in making his late crops of hay, and in winter in felling his woods and other occupations. In fine, when the vineyards yield a wine of a good quality, they give to the exterior commerce of a nation, a new branch very lucrative, which cannot be too much favoured by government: but it is pernicious to a country, when the wines regorge for want of a market. They then ruin the proprietors of vineyards, and plunge the inhabitants into drunkenness. We must therefore favour the sale among strangers by every possible means, as for example, in laying no duties on the commerce, in encouraging the exportation by bounties, in interdicting every species of monopoly, in refusing to the first of citizens exclusive privileges, which raises the profits of certain cultivators. We speak not further here of this point, as we shall have occasion to be more distinct on it in the third part.

In spite of the great advantages which are in general procured by the culture of vines, it must nevertheless be allowed, that they are prejudicial in certain circumstances. It is dangerous to rob the fields of all the dung and manure of the villages; an inconvenience, which, as we have already insinuated, ought not to be increased, but measures taken against the great proprietors of vineyards—and also to introduce the use of
artificial

artificial grasses. When there is spread in narrow limits, the quantity of dung which is permitted to be applied to each acre of vines, the wine becomes less abundant, but gains in quality, and becomes more sought for among strangers, it is therefore more easily sold, and consequently we are not so flooded with wine, without being able to find purchasers. The culture of vines is therefore prejudicial when established in districts which produce only a bad wine, full of acid, and which will not perfect itself in keeping. These sort of wines occasion a considerable attack on the reputation of all that are produced in a province. As foreigners are afraid of being cheated by fraudulent mixtures, they infallibly do mischief to all the trade of wine. Besides, such unhealthy draughts must affect the health of the inhabitants. It is therefore to be wished, that the proprietors of vineyards, situated in districts, which in general yield bad wines, would use their land for some other purpose which would answer better. But for engaging them to do this, must there be ordinances to force them to break up such grounds? We ought not to have recourse to such violent expedients for making them employ their lands for a better purpose; it is much better to bring them to give up their vines voluntarily. When they find a sure market for corn, the proprietors
of

of such bad vineyards will freely diminish the quantity for interesting himself in the culture of the fields: when the necessary manufactures are introduced into a country, instead of drawing bad wine from the earth, they will find it far more advantageous to produce the raw materials on which manufacturing industry may exercise itself.

The spirit of good legislation tends always to conduct men to the desired end, by the mildest ways. The legislator ought to endeavour to employ them, according to his fancy, without their perceiving it. Shew a visible interest in what you want to be performed; at the same time offer whatever is requisite for facilitating it; so as to carry mankind according to your will without constraint.

We shall now come to shew how legislation must proceed to encourage the culture of the lands already of value. It remains to see what will augment the quantity of arable land. But first we must carry our views to the forests, see that they occupy as small a space as possible, but at the same time sufficient for all the necessary uses to which wood is applied. This is the twelfth Consideration.

CONSIDERATION XII.

Woods and Forests.

WHEN forests cover a too great space, it is without doubt useful to extirpate a part of them. Besides the land, they rob many advantageous articles of culture. The more arable land the greater the quantity of subsistence, commerce, employment; and consequently, the greater the population of a state. Too great forests render a climate colder than it would be without them, and thereby prejudice other productions which require a certain degree of heat.

With forests that occupy but a reasonable extent of land, which are well managed, more wood is gained than from immense ones that are cut without order or regulation, where considerable voids are left, and no care taken to repair them. These sorts of neglect are so common, that in the midst of great forests there is often a want of wood; and on every side we see lands as uncultivated, as if they belonged to nobody. It is the master-piece of a good police, to know how to restrain the forests to just bounds, proportioned to the real wants; and
without

without their being of too great extent to make them furnish all that is necessary for fuel, for forges, and other useful establishments. There are some countries where there is a greater facility than in others, of diminishing the extent of forests, because the want of wood may be supplied by the aid of mines of coal and turf. We have many districts in our country, where it would be easy to procure this resource.

After having established a just proportion between the extent of forests and the arable lands of a country, it would be an excellent regulation to maintain that proportion, to prevent the unceasing diminution of woods, and the scarcity which in consequence follows it. For it is a most precious production, which an industrious nation might render valuable in a thousand ways; and which, whenever wanted, brings many insurmountable obstacles to different undertakings.

The preservation of forests demands, that we place bounds to the excessive and ruinous consumption of wood, which in some instances is occasioned by luxury, softness, and that love of ease which has made so great a progress amongst us.

Care should be taken, that the proprietors of woods feel the necessity of preserving them. Without thinking of posterity, they would enjoy

every thing; they should be recalled to moderation, not to sacrifice too much to present interest, but trust to a future day, as in other parts of rural œconomy. Here they want to be rigorously tied down by government to wise regulations.

It is necessary not only to ordain that the fine woods shall be reserved for building, but also wisely to determine when such reserved wood ought to be cut. Trees attain a certain age in which they are in perfection, but afterwards alter and degenerate. After that time it is better to preserve them in magazines, than to leave them to perish on the spot; besides, the land ought to be producing anew for posterity. But the time of cutting varies, according to the species of the trees, the depth, and nature of the soil. *M. de Buffon*, in his valuable observations, remarks, that in strong lands we may regulate the cuttings of oak at fifty years, in land two feet and an half deep: at seventy years in land three feet and an half deep: and at an hundred in land four feet and an half. In light and sandy soils, he fixes the time of cutting at forty, sixty, and eighty years. The same author imagines, that rendering timber more durable would much preserve the forests, which among us are destroyed so quick. In barking trees, and leaving them to dry and die at the root, before they are cut
down,

down, the sap hardens, and the wood is more perfect, its density and strength are increased considerably; rules easy to be followed, and so very favourable to the preservation of wood for building, merits the attention of all good governments.

Regular cuttings from experiments well made appear to be necessary also, for drawing up the coppice as much as possible. There is a time during which trees continue to increase each year more and more; and afterwards the time comes when they decline every year. Then is the time which we should not fail to use for cutting the coppice with most advantage. With a view to fixing this age when woods begin to increase less and less, *M. de Rëaumur* has proposed some interesting experiments, but they are above the power of an individual. He wishes to have cut each year the same number of acres of wood, and to have the produce exactly weighed, that the annual increase might be compared during a long succession of years, for discovering the age when the increase of woods begins to diminish. But as this age cannot be the same in all, it ought to be varied according to soil and exposition, which would multiply the experiments too much for an exact precision. We must reduce ourselves here, as in most of the affairs of life, to be content with imperfect results,

results; but which approach always nearer to truth, in proportion as we procure observations and experiments better made and more complete.

It is not sufficient to augment the product of forests by cuttings wisely regulated, we must also guard their preservation, by taking care that they are well inclosed to prevent cattle biting the young shoots; treading under foot the young plants, destroying, disfiguring and weakening them.

After having made the cuttings of woods, we must oblige the proprietors to sow acorns, or the seeds of other trees. For not only the ancient stubs will give productions always less vigorous, but many perish with old age. It has been a long time proved by experience, that in woods of oak the young stems left are not sufficient for repairing the breaches that are made in forests. Oftentimes those young trees which have prospered in the midst of other plants, for the most part perish after being insulated, from deprivation of shade, and being exposed to the winds, frost and snows. The young stems which resist them commonly furnish wood of a bad quality, the acorns which are scattered give birth to but few oaks. Many are choaked by the shade and drippings of the other trees. Thus we see many places void, notwithstanding the stems. It would therefore

be much better to oblige the proprietors, for the preservation of woods of oak, to sow acorns in the spaces that have been thus destroyed.

If by a defect of order and police woods are quite destroyed in certain districts, the publick good demands that the government should encourage individuals, cities, and communities to renew them, whether by sowing the seeds, or making plantations of trees from nurseries. Many uncultivated lands might thus be very usefully employed. There is scarcely any sort of soil which will not nourish some kind of trees. When the necessity is come to this, directions should be given for escaping great expences, which may absorb the profit of the plantations.

It sometimes is not owing to a want of the forests being well filled with trees, that a scarcity of wood is felt in certain countries; it is often occasioned by the difficulty of transporting it. How many forests are there thus lost to the publick! The plants commonly perish without any person being the better for them. In discovering the means of making them useful to the inhabitants, many tracts will certainly be found that ought to be applied to something else than wood. If these forests have torrents which fall into great rivers, should it not be examined if it was not possible to use these waters for floating down the timber when cut, and carrying it at a
small

small expence to the places where wood is wanting?

In the view of rendering forests always more advantageous, they must be peopled with those trees that are most wanting. Choice also should be made of the soils for giving to each that which will best agree with it. But we should take care not to plant together trees which do mischief to each other; for instance, the oak and the fir; which reciprocally damage.

In general, it is proper to plant together those species of trees, some of which root deeply, while others spread on the surface; for from thence it comes that these different plants do not rob each other of nourishment; and that all the virtue of the soil, whether exterior or interior, may yield subsistence to the trees.

Would it not be useful to establish in our forests chestnuts, whose fruit equally serves to nourish both man and beast, and of which the wood is excellent for the carpenter's work and casks! How many other foreign trees might also be naturalized among us, as the *Indian* chestnut, which serves for so many different uses! Who knows not that most of our fruit-trees were originally strangers! Why therefore despair of success in the naturalization of other plants brought from distant climates?

Would you multiply trees without diminishing the other productions of the earth? Why not

plant them along the great roads ; elms, for instance, so proper for carriages, and so rare among us ; or white mulberries—or olives, of which the wood and the fruit form a great revenue for the inhabitants of a country, but the shade is pernicious in the midst of the dwellings.

If our olives were more numerous, and being of a backward sort, were sheltered from the frosts, they would save us the purchase of much foreign oil. The establishment of live hedges, instead of pales cut from forest trees, would contribute also to the multiplication and preservation of wood.

In fine, we should every where establish in the country the best sort of fruit trees, which would furnish to the farmers a healthy and refreshing nourishment. It is therefore to be wished, that nurseries might be formed for the production of these trees, whether of those which fruit easily, or which require attention and trouble. By planting at all times both, we should always enjoy fruits which belong to both classes.

It is not enough that the Legislature brings our forests to yield whatever we want, without their occupying too much ground ; it ought further, to the end that all may be turned to profit, to take into consideration the uncultivated lands which produce neither wood nor pasture, nor any useful thing. It is the thirteenth consideration of Legislation.

 CONSIDERATION XIII.

Uncultivated Land.

THE worst lands, those which seem to be the most sterile, which are covered only with broom, fern, and briars, are susceptible of cultivation. There are none that will totally frustrate the hope of the labourer, and that will not pay him for all his expences, if he understands how to accommodate his plants to the nature of the soil. He may, according to circumstances, apply it to wood, or establish artificial grasses; or by the force of manuring make it yield legumes, and grain of all sorts. *M. le Marquis de Mirabeau* assures us, that the inhabitants who are dispersed here and there about the wastes of *Gascony*, have found means to get rich crops, in inclosures which are moved with their huts, in spite of the bad quality of the land. But all the soils are not of this nature; it is very rare to see lands in this state, without some moderate, and some of an excellent quality, There is no soil, however good and fertile we may suppose it, which being abandoned to itself will not be covered with thorns and briars. What a loss to the prince and to individuals!

Who can accustom themselves to look without regret on countries desart and sterile, which with some care from the inhabitants, would pay them rich tribute for all their labours? It is not by the extent of land, but by the value of its products, that a sovereign should measure his power. Of what import is it to unite under his dominion vast countries, if many of them are uncultivated? With the greatest resources of nourishing a great people, his subsistence would be precarious and depend on his neighbours.

All enlightened governments ought therefore to excite individuals who possess wastes, to cultivate them, or if they are not masters of it, they ought to distribute them for the greatest possible advantage being gained. But how are we to succeed in these improvements? By seeking to render very flourishing the culture of lands, which have already a value: for as the improvements demand constantly considerable expences, it is immediately necessary to attempt making the cultivated lands, at least, assist much in supporting the new improvements. We must, by the establishment of artificial grasses in the place of useless fallows, augment manure, which will ameliorate the wastes. If in reversing this order, we embrace too much at a time, we should neglect the lands of value, for making imperfect improvements, agriculture would continue

to languish. In advancing insensibly, we make more progress than if we would execute all at a time, by every effort of which we are capable. One improvement conducted after another, we should better see the end of the undertaking, and by granting to the cultivators an exemption from all duties, such as quit-rents and dixmes, during a certain time more or less, according to the expences of the work.

We may place also in the rank of uncultivated lands, the commons which serve the inhabitants of the towns and villages as pasture for their cattle. For they are all quite neglected, with no sort of utility from them in improvements. As in many of these commons there is very little herbage, what a prodigious extent must there be for maintaining a small quantity of cattle, which are also often exposed to eat dangerous plants. If we were to break up, improve, and sow these vast wastes, only a part converted into grasses, clover, ray-grass, and other herbage, it would suffice to maintain much more cattle, and the rest might be consecrated with profit to other uses. Nevertheless, the countrymen will not use these common pastures with reason, for they turn more cattle on them than they can maintain in winter. The horses and oxen worn out with fatigue, find at the end of their journey a bad nourishment, herbs soiled and trampled on by

animals, perish for the most part to the ruin of the proprietors. It would therefore be infinitely advantageous to divide these commons among the inhabitants of the place, to the end that they might give a value to them, and make them supply their present wants according to the circumstances of the place. This would not prevent them, where sheep succeed better, to establish parks destined for their pasture, as we have elsewhere said.

There are further many lands which are become almost useless from suffering greatly, either from an excess of humidity or for want of watering. Hence a good administration of land demands that water should be conducted with understanding, according to circumstances. This is the fourteenth Consideration of Legislation.

CONSIDERATION XIV.

Marshes, Rivers, and Canals for Watering.

WE find in every country marshes, which only want to be freed from stagnant waters to be rendered fertile. We assist their drying by cutting canals through them, and spreading on the surface the marshy earth, which is taken from the ditches; or by planting trees, whose sap raises a part of the humidity; or by procuring drains for the water; or by preventing by banks, &c. well disposed the waters of the rivers from entering; or lastly, by the raising the land with the settling the subsidence of the water of the rivers, which are introduced with that view. These marshes thus drained are commonly the most fertile, and may be employed for different uses.

Sometimes rich countries are overflowed with torrents and rivers, making great ravages. How guard against a sudden increase of water? It floods the country, covers it with gravel, destroys or carries away the finest crops, utterly discouraging the farmer. If the waters of the rivers raise their beds, and deposit their foreign contents which they bring with them; if the gross
mass

mass of gravel formed in some places turn the course; if their banks are too weak; or if by being crooked, they stop the waters in their career, and making them rise, give the more force to their inundations; in all cases we must labour to restrain the current of the rivers. The reparations which must be made for preventing these disorders may be easily determined by examining attentively the nature of the river, its bed, and its banks.

Lastly, there are lands which are too dry, which for want of humidity become barren. We cannot render them fertile better than by conducting by canals water over them, of which we ought before-hand to know the good qualities, for if the water we bring is bad, we may do mischief to the land; or at least shall never correct its ill qualities.

At all times, when governments have taken these different objects into consideration, we have seen entire countries change their face. What have not the *Dutch* done, by damming out the fury of the sea, and securing themselves from inundations, with which they are incessantly threatened? How many lakes and marshes have been happily drained? In *China*, we see two of their finest provinces gained from the sea by the industry of their inhabitants*.

* These two provinces are called *Kiang-nan* and *Tche-kiang*. Their fertility is extraordinary,

In *Persia*, on the contrary, a dry country, where the land requires being watered, what efforts are made, and with what success, for conducting streams of water? Among that nation, if any one has the art of conducting water, or fountains, in any place where it never was before, he has the enjoyment of the advantage of it for five generations. The charge of superintending the waters was among the *Persians* the most important in the state. All these examples surely prove, that with the attention of government we may be able to repress the impetuosity of the waters, and direct them according to our will to the greatest advantage of the country. If we abandon all to hazard and the care of simple individuals, we shall never be long in seeing the most fatal effects. The evil we know increases every day; until it becomes irreparable. The conduct of waters requires much understanding. It should be under the view of enlightened eyes, who know well how to direct the necessary works; otherwise we risk the seeing very different effects result from what we expect.

When we would wish to conduct a water over a dry soil, every one is not in a state of pronouncing if it will be proper to undertake it; because all the world knows not how to calculate the advantages which may be procured by canals

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for watering, or the expence of constructing and repairing them. We ought therefore, in all states truly political, to excite happy geniuses to study the whole that belongs to the architecture of waters, and to turn their views and serious reflections on that side.

What services might be rendered to the country by men paid by the government, for making it their principal occupation, to know distinctly all that is practised by divers nations, and in particular the *Dutch*, for banking out rivers—for placing their works in a state of resisting the action of the waves, slow or violent—for draining marshes—for directing the waters, and distributing them conformably to the views proposed. A sovereign ought never to be the subject of regret for giving pensions to those, who having the necessary talents, consecrate themselves to a study so useful to their country.

When we undertake to drain a marsh, there are many regulations to be made. Cattle must be severely banished, who would prevent the earth from settling, and by treading it with their feet, make the waters find an easier passage. There are difficulties when the marsh belongs to different communities; they never will agree among themselves on the manner of executing the work; but will mutually prevent each other from labouring in the improvement of their
respective

respective portions. A community more enlightened than others upon its true interests, endeavours to execute a draining. Immediately the neighbouring communities who are situated below, instead of continuing the work, will certainly complain that all the water is thrown on them to drown their possessions: if their crops of hay suffer, they will threaten immediately to prosecute for damages; and unfortunately their complaints would be too often heard. In the midst of so much chicanery and difficulties, who can be astonished that it should create a disgust, and that the marsh should remain in its old state, in spite of the good disposition of several of the communities? It must therefore be by an order of the sovereign, obliging all those who have any part in the marsh to act in concert, and to deliberate together on the best manner of draining, and getting rid of the water: when they have agreed to a plan which has been approved by men enlightened and versed in what concern the conduct of waters, it ought to be executed. It is not by memoirs multiplied without end, but rather by giving a hand to the work, after having well reflected on the undertaking; and by facilitating the means by some encouragements, which would in the end change the face of a province.

In a country where they endeavour to give a value to all their lands, the workmen in such country must augment. As the number of cultivators therefore must increase, there should be a wise proportion between the class of labourers and the other orders of the state. This is the fifteenth consideration of Legislation.

 CONSIDERATION XV.

The necessary Proportion between the Class of Agriculture and the other Orders of the State.

NOTHING contributes more to the fertility of a country than frequent ploughings and harrowings of the earth. We must endeavour without ceasing to divide the particles, expose them to the air and the sun, if we would obtain good crops. But all these laborious works demand many hands. Works of this nature cannot be executed throughout a country, without a great number of men, which is the principal affair. Fear not therefore augmenting too much the number of cultivators. It is the class the most precious in a nation; it nourishes and maintains all the others. Excess should never be feared in all the orders who live by their labour. It is not that a government ought to favour only the class of labourers. A state cannot flourish who possesses not all the resources of its preservation. It is necessary that the different parts have all the movements that belong to them, that the whole may pass in order, and to the greatest advantage. There must be in a state

not only cultivators, but also ministers of religion for teaching the people, soldiers and officers capable of defending their country; and magistrates destined to administer good and quick justice; men also, who by cultivating the arts and sciences give relief to a nation, manufacturers who fabricate for the use of the inhabitants, and for foreigners if it is possible; and merchants for carrying on commerce. Who does not see that when these different orders are in a just equilibrium with the class of cultivators, that the whole political machine is well constituted? But it is not easy to find this equilibrium, and still less to maintain it. Almost all the orders are subject to aggrandizing themselves at the expence of the class of cultivators. A stroke of the eye at what passes in the societies of men, will suffice for convincing us of this.

Religion ought to be taught by men who are themselves thoroughly penetrated with it; who by their lights and their examples, are capable of forming the manners of a nation, of inspiring them with an enlightened fear of the Divinity, the best of all guards for keeping man within his duty, and without which all others have no force. But for attaining this end it is necessary that the ministers of religion be not too numerous: for, besides that in a great multitude there must enter some that are incapable, or

whose manners are corrupted, who can only be fit to discredit that virtue which they preach; and many hands being taken from the culture of the lands to make a great number of ecclesiastics, occasions a disorder heavily felt in some countries, where they complain highly of the priests, of convents being full of religious—and the religious depopulating the country. Even amongst us it sometimes happens that the ecclesiastic order takes from the number of cultivators. As soon as a countryman has some wealth he is tempted to bring up one of his sons to the church, to the end that he may remove a part of his posterity from the class of labourers. For satisfying this ill placed ambition, he consumes his wealth, runs himself in debt, and sacrifices the fortune of his other children, generally throwing the whole into poverty.

There is the same necessity that the military order for the defence of the country, should not become pernicious by the number of troops maintained being too great relatively to the rest of the inhabitants, or that the expences they occasion, should not throw a weight of taxes on the countrymen. We might prevent a part of the evil which falls on a country from maintaining numerous troops, if in time of peace, by the example of the *Romans*, we employed them in making roads, cutting canals, or constructing

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other

other publick works. They might deliver the farmers from the corvées or personal services, which are very grievous, and turn them from their industry. Nourished with care, they become strong and robust. Accustomed to turn the earth, they easily sustain the fatigues of sieges which destroy so much of the world. Many states can dispense without danger, the keeping many troops, from the affection of cultivators for the government, and the duly exercising them in the manual part of arms, as with us we find always robust soldiers ready to march wherever demanded. Should a state furnish troops to powerful neighbours, either for fulfilling treaties, or forming the citizens to the operations of war? There are just measures to be taken for preventing these foreign soldiers from taking too many hands from cultivation. If we contract too many engagements with foreign princes, if we permit all the sons of a labourer to be inrolled without the consent of their father, or a servant without that of his master, there is no person who cannot see that the culture of the lands must suffer considerably; above all, when it is a general complaint that the country depopulates.

No person can deny that the culture of the arts and sciences merits not the protection of an enlightened government; but at the same time
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it must be avowed, that it is a great evil, when in a nation all the world comes to mix itself in writing and studying; so that the countrymen themselves send their children to study in the town, and after having taken a tincture of letters, make them notaries, attornies, and other men of the quill, who do not till the earth as their fathers did, but live at the expence of others, and maintain themselves by chicanery wherever they reside.

Still less should the number of cultivators be diminished, by employing them in the receipt of the revenues of a state, increasing a great number of men who augment not by their labour the natural riches, and who are a dead charge to the publick.

Although manufactures, arts, and commerce well directed, serve to vivify agriculture, nevertheless a bad politician might easily render them pernicious to a country, and deprive it of hands which it most wants. If we sacrifice the farmers to those who follow commerce; if, for rendering labour cheaper, we burthen the first in the sale of their products; they will be disgusted at their profession, and become for the most part domestics and miserable artizans.

All governments which have at heart the interest of the people, and the culture of the land, ought to watch the different orders, and see that they are in a just equilibrium. You

may know if this equilibrium is real, by throwing your eyes over the state of the country. Do you find that there is much land waste, that lands of value are not so well cultivated as they ought to be, when we import commodities from abroad which we could raise at home? It is not an equivocal proof when the country wants hands—when the nation is depopulated, or when the inhabitants, instead of cultivating the lands with ardour, are disgusted, labour languidly, and embrace other kinds of life: this is what the *Romans* experienced towards the end of their republick, and under their emperors. “Here-
 tofore,” says *Tacitus*, “*Italy* sent corn to the distant provinces; she was not then barren. But we sooner cultivate *Africa* and *Egypt*, and like better to expose the life of the *Roman* people.” *Rome* then did not want inhabitants, but she disdained the culture of the earth. All were artists, and occupied themselves in serving the great—or soldiers—or in offices. The culture of the lands in *Italy* was abandoned to slaves.

What should we do in order to have labourers enough capable to cultivate all the lands of a state? We must directly regulate the services of men with a wise œconomy, and never employ too many hands in works which, by the aid of machines, might be executed with the least in the world. By this means, the arts and different
 works

works would take away fewer workmen from the culture of the earth. Able men, like the illustrious *Montesquieu*, have thought that those machines hurt population, because they diminish in every nation the number of occupations, and the means of gaining a livelihood. But if they had considered how many useful works there are to perform—how many hands there must be for a good cultivation—how many are demanded by necessary manufactures, they would have seen that men cannot be used with too much œconomy, and that there never are too many in the world for all those labours that make a nation flourish.

If we would have inhabitants in a country sufficient for all business, we must take care not to diminish work by too numerous holydays. In ordaining too often a cessation from labour, the most populous nations have not hands enough for cultivation; they presently fall into idleness and misery. We should sooner propose to inspire them with an ardour, and a constancy in labour: a redoubled activity will supply a small number of men.

In fine, after having established a good proportion between the divers orders of a state, we should endeavour to retain the inhabitants in their classes, and guard against an envy arising between them. But for that end must we, like the *Egyptians*, establish a fixed law, that no person shall embrace any other profession than

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that of his father? This police would be proper only to extinguish all emulation. Accordingly we see that the *Egyptians* excelled in no one art: The *Greeks*, after having gained their first rudiments of knowledge, surpassed them immediately in every kind †. In hope of carrying all as high as possible, we should place our posterity in a state of labouring with ardour, and making the most extraordinary efforts. We should only moderate that unmeasurable, and often premature ambition, of raising ourselves; by honouring and considering each class of the state with a degree of esteem according to its utility. When we dispose things in such a manner, that each finds himself happy in his condition, he will not seek to change it. Nothing disgusts so much in a state, as to find ourselves exposed to great labours that are vile and abject in the eyes of the other orders of the society. The most gross and the least sensible may by such disgusts be led to try to rise in a thousand manners, and infinitely miserable ones, to a more honourable rank in the world. Endeavour therefore to expand an emulation, but with contentment in the minds of the cultivators, by marks of honour and consideration, which might be granted to those who distinguished themselves in their professions. This is the sixteenth and last consideration of Legislation, of which it remains to speak on the encouragement of agriculture.

† Gouguet, *De l'origine les Loix*, &c.

CONSIDERATION XVI.

*Honours and Consideration excellent Means for
spreading an Emulation amongst the Countrymen.*

A Good government finds great resources in regulating the minds of men, and carrying them to what is great, good, and worthy of human nature, by distinctions, honours, and rewards given to those who distinguish themselves by good actions; who shew ability in the arts useful to society; and who, in general, recommend themselves to their country by their merit. Nothing encourages talents of every kind so much; nothing impells them to the end so strongly. No person disdains the useful professions, while those who are excellent in them obtain the glory and consideration which are their due. It suffices therefore that a man feels himself capable of success, for consecrating himself with pleasure to it, because he regards it as the road to renown. It is not necessary that the rewards dispensed by government should be very lucrative. But they should be very honourable, and distributed in a solemn manner in the midst of the eulogies and applause of a whole people,

Rewards which flatter nothing but a love of gain, would serve rather to deaden and extinguish the sentiments and delicacy of honour: they render us less sensible of the delicious pleasure which we ought to feel in meriting the esteem of our countrymen. We should not think only of money, whereof the passion is always base, shameful, and totally incompatible with the love of true glory. If we would endeavour therefore to fortify in a nation the sentiment of honour, and maintain it as much as possible without much expence, without too great a charge to the state, a government is the master of spreading every where a lively emulation; it will find in the honour of the nation, an inexhaustible treasure. Distinguishing attentions, light recompences, but distributed with éclat, with a certain pre-eminence properly granted, would enable it to obtain every thing.

If *Cbina* had not spared something for distinguishing agriculture, the government would not have made it a duty to honour good cultivators. A labourer who excels in his profession, has the honour of drinking tea with a mandarin of a neighbouring city. Every year the emperor himself opens the land with a plough, that he may shew every thing depends on that art. He further every year creates a mandarin of the eighth class, of the farmer who has excelled all others.

others. Among the ancient *Persians*, the king on certain days of the year, descended from his throne to eat with the labourers, and shewed them by flattering marks how much he esteemed their profession. *Ireland* is also come to be well known, by its honourable gratifications for animating more and more a national emulation in all that concerns the culture of the earth. In the times when agriculture was in vigour among the *Romans*, they had magistrates charged by the state, to have an eye to the lands, and inspire the cultivators with ardour. The chiefs of the nation held in consideration the profession of the labourer. After having filled the first dignities of the republick, they disdained not to take to the plough, after drawing for consuls and dictators. In those happy times, says *Pliny*, the land gloried in seeing itself cultivated by hands graced by victories and triumphs, and seemed to make efforts for yielding the most abundant crops. According to the testimony of the same writer, not only these great men did not disdain to plough, sow, and dung the earth; but further, they made a glory in carrying surnames which their particular industry had merited in this kind of labour. Among them are those of *Pilumnus*, *Piso*, *Fabius*, *Lentulus*, *Cicero*, and many others. Could the entire senate give a greater testimony of their regard for agri-

agriculture, than by ordering a translation of *Mago's* treatises?

Would you therefore attach our cultivators to their profession? Give honour to it from the example of all these people; refuse not the consideration it merits. Let there in this vocation be occasions of gaining the esteem of the publick, as there is in all others; and then they will never be tempted to change for other kinds of life, in order to be remarked by the multitude. It is with this view that the illustrious economical Society would animate all our cultivators; but for obtaining the success of which their generous efforts render them so worthy, it is to be wished, that there was in each baillage consecrated by the government, small funds for forming light recompences, destined for the cultivators of each village, who gave proofs of activity and understanding in different kinds of culture. They might, for example, give prizes to those who had broken up most uncultivated land, or who had drained the most marshy ground—who had best cultivated land already of value—who had introduced some advantageous culture unknown before in the place, but agreeable to the nature of the soil—or who had invented or simplified some implement of tillage; of use in removing obstacles in the culture of certain soils. In fine, always to excite emulation,

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and to propose two or three on the same object. The first should crown him who succeeded best; the second recompence another who came the nearest him; and a third for him that came nearest the second. All these prizes being more honourable than lucrative, the necessary funds would be no burthen to the state. Besides, the example of government would be a motive with all good citizens, cities, lords of manors, and communities, to increase these small recompences, and to make an honour of animating agriculture in all their districts. This is what we have seen in *Ireland*, where not only all the branches of government tend to agriculture, but likewise all the citizens attend to its progress, and a number of individuals have consecrated considerable sums in prizes for it.

But such recompences cannot produce happy effects, unless they are distributed in the most impartial manner, by judges equally enlightened, impartial, and respectable. This is what ought to be executed by societies of agriculture, established in divers districts of a country, which we may suppose to be well appointed, and charged by the government with watching over all that interests the culture of the earth. Each of these societies might have under its inspection a certain number of villages, which might be accurately visited at a proper time; in order
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to inspire all persons with a tender interest in the good employment of the lands : in the cities they might join themselves to the municipal councils which are there established ; also in the boroughs and villages, and with the most considerable persons of every place. At last, they should adjudge the prizes with all possible solemnity, in the midst of the applauses of the whole assembly. This distribution of prizes would have a stronger effect, and make more impression on their minds, if the superior bailiffs were charged by government to honour it with their presence. - According to circumstances they might grant to good farmers certain precedencies in the church, or in the publick assemblies. In one word, every thing should be placed in action that can appear most proper for maintaining ardour and courage in the country.

But will it be sufficient to give rewards to the best cultivators ? Should we not from the example of some nations, punish by chastisements and fines those who neglect their lands ? Perhaps there would be some danger in this method. Coercive means would make many minds revolt, they would cry out at the oppression. It supposes also, that there is neither honour nor emulation among a people.

It would sometimes be proper to conceal what the legislature suspects. On the contrary, it
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gives new strength, to shew by encouragements how much the people are attended to. This confidence charms the mind, and carries it with pleasure to labour. We have no want of wrestling against the force of the climate. Our people are naturally strong, robust, and laborious. Nothing piques them more than emulation. This does not prevent exposing those to disgrace and shame, who neglect the culture of their lands. This practice would the better persuade them, that nothing is more honourable than to place the culture of our fields in the most flourishing state. This spirit of honour and emulation being once expanded through a nation, fortifies itself more and more; and perpetuates itself from generation to generation. Fathers transmit it to their children, as they communicate their other tastes.

The government ought to be informed by the principal bailiffs of all the extraordinary efforts which the cities, lords of manors, communities, societies of agriculture, great proprietors, and ecclesiastics, have made for maintaining and enlightening the farmers in their districts; and there are without doubt a thousand ways of testifying their satisfaction. An attention so flattering, cannot fail of diffusing a zeal for all that concerns the culture of the earth.

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When an individual would have his domain well cultivated, he must have an eye to the workmen, that he gives to each the praise they merit, that he guards against their laziness, that he excites all by small considerations, of which one's inferiors are always sensible. Would a government take to heart the culture of the earth? Its first function consists in endeavouring to form those who are occupied in employments under it, in order to expand in the country the greatest emulation possible.

SECOND PART.

In which is explained the SPIRIT OF
LEGISLATION for favouring POPULA-
TION.

IN searching in the first part for some resources, which might animate and give vigour to agriculture, we have pointed out the path which appeared most natural for augmenting the number of citizens. Represent to us a nation in which the plan we have endeavoured to lay down is executed. All the lands must be employed in the most advantageous manner. Estates must be augmented in value by the good state of culture. The lands possessed by cultivators themselves, will be conducted with ardour; and the portions assigned to each, being of a moderate extent, they would be necessitated to draw from them all that was possible for maintaining their families: or, if the inequality of fortunes was established and there were great proprietors, the evils would be prevented which might from thence arise in the country, and the
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art found of rendering them useful. By divers establishments they would gain the end of maintaining more credit, and of drawing greater advantages than are commonly made, without applying too much land to keeping them. There would be no useless fallows. The forests would be confined in just bounds; and the uncultivated lands broken up. Waters would be carried off in drains, or directed by the will of the cultivator. In fine, the inhabitants would be raised to sobriety and the love of labour; they would be excited always to shew more activity in their country works; and they would be possessed of all the lights, the ease, and the requisite facility for obtaining the greatest success.

This is what would pass in a country where the police reigned, of which we have endeavoured to explain the spirit in our first part. The whole leads to the proper manner of profitably applying the lands of a country with the greatest understanding, and with œconomy. The more certain and abundant subsistence is, the more mankind will increase.

Of this we shall be convinced, if we peruse the annals of history, and throw our eyes over the different parts of the globe. Hunting nations, who have a vast extent of lands for ensuring the subsistence of a small number of men, form only small and trifling nations; but those who
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live by pasturage, and have more resources of subsistence, are much more numerous; but much less so than nations who cultivate the earth well, and keep at the same time cattle, and other means of subsistence. Experience also teaches us, that on redoubling the ardour for cultivation, population increases. In *France* we have seen, that on the lands of the nobility who encourage agriculture, the number of inhabitants are not long in doubling, and mendicity becomes extinguished.

Thus when government has multiplied subsistence, all foundations tend to augment population. By different attentions it has the power of augmenting them more and more; and it is always necessary to aim without ceasing at favouring population; for immediately on its meeting with any political obstacle, the people decrease insensibly, disappear by little and little, and at the end of a certain time, we are surprized to find how considerable the diminution is; this cannot but have an influence on agriculture, which requires such a number of hands, and which multiplies them in its turn. What therefore should be done for encouraging the population of a state? The whole secret consists in *preserving the citizens as much as possible, in retaining them in the country without constraint, in*

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facilitating

facilitating marriages, encouraging their fecundity, and lastly, in attracting strangers.

It is to these four principal means that we should be confined in all our reflections. After which we may draw this general consequence; it is one of the most efficacious means of peopling a state, to multiply the resources of living; to furnish occupations; to spread a spirit of industry and labour, and totally to banish idleness.

If with the precautions which we come to indicate, we at the same time adopt the spirit of legislation, which we have explained in the first part, not only by augmenting the number of inhabitants, but also, that the increase be in the class of agriculture; or at least, if a part of the nation does not occupy itself directly in the culture of the land, it will be easy to direct their labours, so as to favour it wonderfully, as I shall shew in the following part of this discourse.

 CONSIDERATION I.

Preserve the Citizens.

WHEN we would people a state, it is necessary to take wise measures for the preservation of the citizens, and preventing divers accidents which accelerate their death. It is that which concerns different precautions, which we shall explain in order.

I. *Peace.*

We must first preserve peace to the people, and not lightly expose them to the fury of arms; war offers nothing but a frightful spectacle of misery and ruin. In a time when it is lightened, an infinity of people are cut off in the flower of their age, either by arms, or by the licence which reigns in camps, without their giving to the state the citizens which they otherwise would. Husbands being often separated for a time, or for ever from their wives, marriages cannot with the same facility repair the losses which the human species suffers. Countries ravaged; cities pillaged and sacked; arts and commerce neglected; excessive exactions burthening the people;

ple; fatal maladies, the common consequence of great indigence, all these concur to depopulate the unfortunate countries which are desolated by the fire of war, and to deprive the inhabitants of the means of subsisting. But under the happy auspices of peace, the face of the scene is changed, the people live without fear in the shade of their laws, their harvests fall not the prey of strangers, arts and commerce are exercised with tranquillity, all the necessary resources for nourishing and preserving a great people, multiply themselves without care on all sides. We cannot therefore remove too far those frightful tempests, which move one nation against another, and cause such horrible disorders. We ought only to make war when it is absolutely necessary for repressing unjust aggressors, stopping their ambitious enterprizes, and maintaining the sacred rights of a people. The interest of humanity requires all the views of mildness before we have recourse to arms for terminating the differences which arise among nations. But if war is inevitable, we should seek to render it less burthen some to the people, by managing the finances with economy, and by making peace, whenever it is concluded, with honour and security. It is right to acquire a reputation of justice, moderation, and good faith, which calms the inquietudes of other nations,

tions, and gives them no umbrage. A prince who conducts himself on these principles will make himself beloved by his neighbours; he is content, and every one with him; he is happy, and he renders others the same. Without being perpetually at war, he fails not of being respected, provided he is always in a state of defence, which he will manage by good alliances, and from its being seen that this pacific humour arises from a spirit of moderation rather than a sentiment of weakness. Who does not see that such a conduct is far preferable to that of conquerors? Those, who after having extended their dominion, spill the blood of their subjects without management, and cannot maintain in all parts of their vast states either motion or life. They carry all their views to the center of their empire, until all languish and perish which is at a distance. From hence comes the danger of their being soon in a state not to resist the invasions of strangers. What became of the *Romans* after they had depopulated a part of the world by their victories? They became the prey of barbarians more numerous and powerful than themselves, in spite of the grandeur of their empire. Such always becomes the fate of conquering nations. It is much better to be content with its states, to guard the interests of the people, and prevent whatever may destroy them.

In this rank we place famines, which sometimes throw the greatest people into extremities, and which the government ought in the second place to take into consideration.

II. *Preventing Famines.*

Famines are above all to be feared in countries which produce little,—not enough with the assistance of a continued labour to sustain the human species, from their multiplying much through the extreme fecundity of the women. Without a continual vigilance on the part of the prince, a people who find themselves in this circumstance will often be exposed to fatal famines, which will carry off a part of the inhabitants. A government is therefore the more interested to prevent these sort of accidents, as the people are very subject to rise against those who should see to their maintenance. As soon as they come to want they murmur, and complain of the bad administration of ministers, and often occasion great troubles in a state. This is found in *China*, where it is difficult to assure a subsistence to a people that multiply themselves so prodigiously. There, in time of famine, in spite of the extreme subjection of the people, they often raise seditions and revolts, which have sometimes shaken and almost overturned the monarch's throne.

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The publick tranquillity and preservation of the citizens demand therefore equally that a too great dearth of living should be prevented. This can only be obtained by encouraging without interruption agriculture, and by disengaging the commerce of corn from all shackles, as we shall prove in the third part. In abundant years they may likewise fill the publick magazines, with intention to supply the wants of bad years, and preserve a medium price of grain. Nevertheless, these publick deposits may easily do more mischief than good, if they serve for a pretext to monopoly, if the government burthens the cultivators, either by forcing them to sell their grain at a low price to fill their magazines, or in obliging individuals to buy that grain at too high a price, when they are menaced with loss by keeping it too long.

In fine, if we would preserve abundance in a state, we must maintain a spirit of frugality, labour, and moderation. This maxim appeared so true to an emperor of *China*, that he said loudly to the antients of the nation, that if he had a man that did not labour, or a woman that did not spin, some one must suffer cold or hunger in the empire; with which idea he destroyed an infinity of monasteries of bonzes. In countries where the soil is but of a moderate degree of fertility; and where there is but little industry,

it is necessary to regulate the expences of the rich, who in buying of strangers whatever satisfies their caprice, export from their country the commodities which would serve to nourish the poor. This is an object more essential than commonly supposed. The *Dublin* society proved, by an exact calculation, that in *Ireland* they might maintain twenty poor families a whole year, with the quantity of beef and butter which they exported for buying a lady's head dress.

III. *Inundations and Earthquakes.*

Besides wars and famines, of which we have spoken, there are divers accidents to which certain countries are more subject than others, and which may at one stroke depopulate all or a great part of it. Such are inundations and earthquakes. The great success of the *Dutch*, proves to us that with the vigilance of government and the industry of the inhabitants, safety from inundations may be guaranteed to countries, which in this respect are in a dangerous situation. It is otherwise, however, with earthquakes. Every one knows how frightful and fatal their attacks are. They overturn cities by re-iterated concussions, and in a moment crush the inhabitants in the ruins of edifices the most solidly built; or, if the land opens at the same time, it swallows up all that was on the surface.

surface. The fire which bursts from its entrails, augments the desolation; and the exhalations which arise, infect the air, and often occasion epidemical diseases, which make great ravages, as was remarked at *Lisbon* after the earthquake which ruined a part of that city.

We may seek to prevent these horrible accidents, but success may be very distant. As earthquakes are owing to the action of subterraneous fires; and as mines, when practised for destroying the ramparts of a city, produce no effect when they have air; it is possible, that by digging deep wells in convenient places we might free a country from the concussions to which it is subject. It is pretended that by this means the city of *Tauris* in *Persia* has been preserved. But perhaps it is too much to draw this conclusion. Besides, for letting air into these subterraneous mines by the aid of wells, it might be precisely known at what places are the fires, and at what depth they are found; but it is impossible to determine this exactly; we can only comprehend that the greater the ravages caused by the earthquake, the nearer the surface where the mischief is done, must the subterranean fires be. There is, however, too much uncertainty in the success of this practice. We should at least wish that there were some signs which might serve to predict the time when
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the subterranean fires would exercise their fury, to the end that the inhabitants might have time to retire. Nevertheless, the subterranean bellowings—the agitation of the waters, more susceptible of movement, and less capable than the earth of resisting the action of the subterranean fires, might be presages of earthquakes. At *Lima*, the noises under ground always preceded those catastrophes which have frequently happened, and have given the people time to fly from their houses.

IV. *Distempers.*

One of the principal attentions which excite the preservation of the citizens consists in preventing maladies, and procuring them all the succours they want.

The health of the inhabitants directly demands, that the police, either in cities or villages, endeavour to prevent whatever may infect the air; and from thence become one cause of maladies. In cities there are precautions to be taken for preventing the bad odours spreading, through the negligence and ill properties of the people. The streets ought to be large and neat, and the houses with numerous windows and well aired. It is necessary to remove from the centers of cities all burying places, trades, and magazines, which fill the air with noxious particles. There
should

should likewise be procured for cities good waters, and an eye had to the meat and drink which are brought in, to examine if they are good; for example, the fruits to be wholesome, and the wines not adulterated, &c. In villages, the police should also make regulations for preserving the salubrity of the air: they should remove pools of stagnant water, dunghills, &c. &c. whose putrid exhalations might cause very fatal maladies; they should take care that the chambers of the countrymen be not on the ground floor—but raised from the soil as a preservative from the humidity prejudicial to all ages, and pernicious to young children. It is also proper to see that the chamber of the countryman, where he lives with all his family, however numerous they may be, is of a reasonable size, so that the air be not easily corrupted. In fine, they should be accustomed to renew the air of their rooms often, which is otherwise filled with exhalations and unhealthy vapours.

When a contagious malady is spread among a people, it is essential to separate those which are attacked, and prevent them from mixing with the mass of the people. The government cannot be a tranquil spectator of the ravages caused by these sort of maladies, without being responsible for the life of its subjects. If the plague carries off among the *Turks* a prodigious number

ber of men, every one knows that it comes from the indifference with which the magistrates of that nation see the havock caused by that frightful disorder, since the *Christians*, who live in the same cities, find means of preserving themselves, by cutting off all communication with the infected, and by using wise precautions. No person can be ignorant that they stopped the plague which ravaged *Marfeilles* in the beginning of the present century, by forming a line of troops, which prevented all communication with the infected country. But if it is prudent to take all these measures, humanity also dictates that we procure to those who are ill all assistance, and the necessary remedies, by establishing at the beginning a good order, by preventing violencies, irregular burials, which might spread the contagion, and in one word, to take care in good time, that all possible means are effected for diminishing and stopping this evil.

The maladies which afflict the inhabitants of the country merit a particular attention. The countrymen have not always the assistance which is wanted for their infirmities. Oftentimes a good regimen and good diet suffice in the beginning to re-establish their health. But this is sometimes difficult to be gained, either by the communities not having the necessary funds for supplying their poor, or by a culpable avarice,

rice, which is often the case; they may like better to convert into capital, the income destined for the support of the poor, rather than assist them according to their infirmities. But nothing is more just than to lend them an helping hand. If the poor who behave themselves well, ought not to receive gratuitous assistances which oblige them to no other care for gaining their livelihood, it is not the case in such necessities as the distempers of which we speak at present. These, during their infirmities, ought, according to the expression of a modern writer, to be regarded as the *invalids of the state*, who have deserved well, and to whom we cannot without ingratitude refuse our attention. Their health and strength must be exhausted before you can expect nothing of them. All the inhabitants who live under the same sovereignty, are like the members of the same family, and children of the state. They have all a right to its favour when they have fulfilled their task with courage. We ought therefore to take care of the poor of the villages, as well as of cities and capitals. It would be proper to establish a communication of reciprocal assistance between the different funds of the poor, the divers hospitals of the same sort, and the societies established for extinguishing mendicity: also for the distribution of alms with wisdom,

wisdom, and of proportioning the assistance to the wants of the different parts of the state.

It is not sufficient to allay the maladies and infirmities, by a better nourishment than that which has been commonly used in health. We must also procure remedies, and such directions as may be wanted, either for stopping the epidemical diseases, which appear from time to time, or for curing the common disorders, which happen irregularly at all times, and which are caused by some accident or particular vice in the constitution of each individual. The advice which is found in books of medicine, composed for the use of the people, do not always suffice for procuring the exemption required. These directions are sometimes dangerous in the hands of those who know nothing of the practice of physick. Not knowing how to discover the symptoms of diseases, they are apt to confound them, and make wrong applications of remedies mentioned in these sorts of books, excellent as they may be; this may expose them to destroying those who confide in their skill. Thus, for preserving the inhabitants of a country, it is proper to have physicians, whose study and experience may place them in a state of practising with success.

Pensions should be granted them in all the baillages. How fine and interesting it would

be to society, to seek the necessary funds for such an establishment! The cities, communities, and the good citizens would second without doubt, on such an occasion, the care, the zeal, and the generous sacrifices of government. If the number of inhabitants make the riches of a state, all the expences for preserving and multiplying them are returned with usury, and recompense abundantly the expence in which we engage ourselves in their favour. The pensions granted to these physicians would allow them to see the poor by preference—to take care of them with affection, and to exercise their profession in a noble and disinterested manner towards them. They might watch over all the district confided to them, and go to every place in their division whenever called. If they got the better of some epidemical disorder, they should be obliged to give a minute description of it, to be deposited in the publick registers. They should minute exactly the manner in which they had treated those maladies, and the remedies most proper for stopping the progress. These descriptions would give to their successors great light; especially if the physicians distributed in the different bailiages, maintained between themselves a regular correspondence, and consulted on whatever they wanted.

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Among these physicians, choice should be made of a certain number, the most capable, who should be charged with assembling themselves every year in some city in the country, for examining those who, after having studied in some university, and practised in some hospital, would exercise physick or surgery. For it would be necessary to prevent any one from practising medicine, without having made the necessary studies. To suffer the ignorant, without principles, without capacity, with impunity to announce themselves physicians to the publick, as a means of gaining their living, is in some fashion to authorize the profession of a murderer and assassin. There is no person who knows not that quacks and mountebanks kill numbers in the country. When an epidemical distemper has spread itself, it has been remarked to make greater ravages in the country than in the cities; for want of assistance, but more from the bad treatment by which quacks augment the mortality, instead of stopping it. If we have at heart the preservation of the people, it is time to put an end to such a frightful licence; none ought to be permitted indiscriminately to practise physick, without a previous examination, and the necessary studies; or at least replace in vigour the *Roman* laws concerning physicians, which punished severely their negligence or ignorance.

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They had taken this care, because that at *Rome* every one was a physician that thought proper. Thus among us, as they may profess physick without having studied, taken certain degrees, or given proofs of capacity, we are in the same circumstances as they were at *Rome*, and we want the same laws against physicians, for securing us from their attempts.

Also in the country they are in want of understanding women, who know how to take care of infants, for preserving them healthy and vigorous. Would it not be proper to charge the physicians of the divers divisions, of which we have spoken, to give on certain days instructions on midwifery, and the different attentions requisite for nourishing young children? But to render this establishment useful, ought we not to oblige each village in a district, to send some intelligent woman to be instructed in these important matters? How desirous must these well instructed women be, to acquit themselves in their functions with zeal, and to enlighten in their turn the nurses of the village, upon the physical education of infants, provided such as distinguished themselves were granted some honours, or trifling rewards? From hence might result two great advantages; in the country much fewer women would perish in childbed for want of care and assistance; and in the second place,

the lives of the young children, which are so uncertain, would become more assured. There would be removed from them an infinity of abuses and bad treatment, to which they are exposed, and from which such great numbers perish miserably. It cannot be doubted, but with these wise precautions the people would increase much, and in a little time.

Would you render more certain the lives of young infants? Persuade their mothers to suckle them. The mother will always have more care of an infant that belongs to her, than a mercenary who is gained merely by a vile salary. It is also probable that the milk of the mother agrees better with a child than that of another woman. Besides, the countrywoman who must nourish her own child and that of a stranger, must neglect one or the other, and oftentimes both; this cannot but give to society weak and sickly members. It would not be difficult for government to encourage the mothers who acquit themselves of these functions, so mild, so natural, and which, at the same time, contribute to their own health. This custom ought to be held in honour, by the consideration granted to mothers who suckle their own infants, until a species of shame was attached to those who refused the duty, without an absolute necessity. The sex loves distinctions too well to be insensible.

file. It is true, that most of the women in cities complain that they are incapable of nourishing their children. But perhaps this incapacity might be prevented, by interdicting the use of whalebone stays, which, according to the most judicious physicians, by confining them too much, interrupts the course of the juices in the breasts, and dries up the small vessels in time.

Many lives of children would be saved, by introducing the practice of inoculation. The happy experiments which have been already made through all *Europe* prove sufficiently, that by chusing young healthy subjects, this practice removes all the danger of that cruel malady, which since the twelfth century has destroyed, mutilated, and disfigured so great a number of persons in *Europe*. But how render general the practice of a method so proper for preserving and multiplying the human species? Shall we arrive at this end, by obliging fathers to inoculate their children? What advantage would it be to inoculation, by these sort of ordonnances, to render it more odious to minds prejudiced against it, and to fill them with vain scruples. It is not by force that we must conquer prejudices: it is better to gain the people by teaching and convincing them of the utility of the practice. It would be much enforced by being advised by able physicians; by the superstitious

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prejudices

prejudices concerning it being removed by the ministers of religion; by introducing inoculation into the hospitals; and by publishing the success which is every day obtained. Nevertheless, not to preserve the distemper, or to be responsible for the death of others, it is necessary to take precautions that the contagion of the small-pox does not spread itself by these means. Some physicians have believed that this malady, which came to us from the *Arabs*, might perhaps be entirely extirpated, as there have already disappeared some other maladies, which had been imported from *Asia*, and other foreign countries; and thus, instead of inoculating the small-pox, it would be better to take measures for driving it away, in the same manner as in the times of the plague, for security against that disease. This plan was a fine one, when it could be followed without too much difficulty, and flattered one with a quick success. Has it not been seen that this malady, after having totally ceased in a place, has suddenly re-appeared some years after, without any person having carried the contagion? It seems therefore more prudent to employ the means which render it less deadly, than to expose the lives of the people, by trying amusing projects which may be chimerical.

Besides delivering mankind from maladies, we should, from the example of the ancients, attach ourselves to rendering children robust and strong, as we have already recommended in the article of the first part which treats of education. The use of cold baths, advised by great physicians, appear admirable, and ought to be ordained to fathers and mothers for strengthening their children, and rendering them less sensible to the different impressions of the air. We must also recommend in the country, to restrain their children from labour above their age, for fear of exhausting themselves, and their not being able afterwards to acquire the strength they otherwise would. As by introducing into a country the arts and manufactures, there is a fear that a sedentary life will weaken a part of the nation, and degenerate the human species; it will be proper to remedy and prevent these dangers, by instituting divers games proper for exercise, proper for preserving the health and strength. It is also of great consequence, to take care of certain hereditary distempers, that they do not spread too much among the people. What service would be rendered to humanity by seeking to extirpate such, and perfecting the breed of the inhabitants of a country!

In fine, for guarantying them from maladies, and removing a thousand roads to death, we

must repress the vices of the country inhabitants, as well as place bounds to the aggrandizement of cities:—and regulate their manners, two objects which remain to be examined, in omitting nothing that tends to the preservation of mankind.

V. Regulate the Manners of Cultivators.

Although the country life is ordinarily more innocent than that of the city, yet it sometimes happens that those who remain are subject to certain vices, very fatal to their health. We have already explained in the first part, the extreme inclination of our cultivators to drunkenness, which carries off great numbers in the flower of their age, or draw different infirmities, and a premature old age. We need not here repeat the regulations which should be made for extirpating that shameful vice, which contributes to depopulating our country.

VI. Bad Manners the Inconveniencies of great Cities.

It is yet more necessary for preserving the inhabitants of a state, to give bounds to the enlargement of cities, and to regulate their manners. In great and populous cities the air is in general less healthy than in the country. Epidemical maladies are more frequent, and

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communicate themselves with greater facility. The mortality is more considerable. Infants above all die in much greater numbers than in the villages,—these little creatures being in particular want of pure air, for keeping them in health. But the greatest breaches which in the great cities, are received by the human species, come from that multitude of vices and disorders which inundate and multiply without ceasing. Whether caused by that frightful luxury which comes from the living of the rich, and their prodigious consumption, or caused by that concourse of people; all that is necessary to the wants of life is subject, to become from time to time too dear, for every one to procure them easily; Many sometimes experience the horrors of misery, and are famished by their neighbours, so that they are not able to nourish their infants; which must make numbers disappear. At the same time, the soft and effeminate life of a great number of inhabitants, the parties of pleasure in the night; a thousand solitudes and complicated intrigues, which the mind flees to for satisfying the insatiable and violent passions; such as avarice, vanity, ambition, &c. that multitude of men who furnish food for luxury, condemned to a sedentary life, and to arts destructive of health; the use of strong liquors, and the toleration of publick prostitutes; all

these in great cities give mortal stabs to population in the very heart of the nation. Young men find there every occasion of corruption. It seems also as if care was taken to favour their libertinism, by maintaining or permitting the worst places, where they may communicate to others their disorders. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine greater evils than those which result from it. Between the walls of these cities, whose greatness authorizes a licence of manners, do we not see an infinity of young men who are the victims of a cruel malady, which is less the dread of debauchery than the punishment? How many are conducted to their graves by these horrible sufferings! How many others who enjoy during the remains of their life but a weak health, and who give to the state a posterity, few in number, of wretched constitutions, and who die young? No, there is no flame that causes such ravages among mankind, as libertinism when suffered with impunity. It is high time that laws were made against these disorders—to drive from great cities all publick prostitutes—to cover those with shame who give into such excesses—to remove from young men all opportunities of falling—and to tend strongly to call back the manners of the inhabitants to moderation and frugality. The purity of manners is intimately connected with the increase of population.

population. The libertinism of great cities gives the weakness to men and women which is seldom repaired in the country by marriage; this causes more unfruitful marriages, and a number of children's deaths in an unknown and criminal manner. Thus, for saving the life of many infants, it is wise politics to establish in great cities foundling hospitals; these establishments serve more efficaciously than the best laws to prevent such evils. They contribute also to preserve the children of fathers burthened with poverty, neglecting and leaving them to perish miserably. But these children who are nourished more particularly by their country, ought to be educated in a manner, so that they may one day testify their gratitude by such services. They should be brought up to matters useful to society, & trusted to labourers to exercise them in the culture of the earth.

All we have said on the causes by which great cities concur to destroy the inhabitants, ought to make us comprehend, that they would not be slow in intirely depopulating, if they did not continually attract strangers and the inhabitants of the country. Too great cities are very mischievous to the population of the provinces, by gaining their inhabitants without ceasing, as they precipitate themselves and perish in this abyfs, without which the population

tion of the cities could not support itself. From hence it follows, that in the states where they labour for the preservation of the human species, it is essential to place bounds to the greatness of cities; and for preventing them from becoming the agreeable resort, even of those who are occupied by country employments, by means of which we have spoken in the first part. It is there that the active life maintains men healthy and vigorous. It is not that in a country full of cities, they should not have the protection of government, Without them the country would want a market, and from thence could not flourish. The arts and commerce employ a great number of men, which augment the population of the country.

After having sought the preservation of the people, we must labour to retain them in the country; this is the second consideration of Legislation for favouring population.

CONSIDERATION II.

Retain the Inhabitants in the Country.

IN order to retain the inhabitants in the country, we must not want to have recourse to restraint; for the land where they are born has commonly powerful attractions for them. A thousand agreeable ideas, from the most tender infancy, are associated, for calling them to it with pleasure. The habit of living in a certain manner, the connections, alliances, friendships which we have contracted, the fortunes of which we are possessed, the lands which we have cultivated, the plantations which we have made, the monuments which we find of our fathers, the force of climate, all this makes it natural to prefer the natal soil to all others, from which we cannot be separated without violence, and to which we always wish to return, at least when some political obstacle does not diminish the attachment, and occasion a removal.

It is the great affair of good government to fortify this love for our country, and continue it through life, that we may always be able to undertake every thing in its defence, and sacrifice every thing in its favour. Hence we shall endeavour

deavour by continual efforts to live commodiously and happily. The supreme law of the country ought to be the general good of every individual which compose the nation, without preference, and without exception.

An administration of this nature should neither be oppressive nor tyrannical, when the publick revenues are consecrated to the common advantage of the whole nation, and not destined to give living to a few individuals. It demands, that each be master of his fortune, and free to dispose of it according to his will; that a person should not be despoiled contrary to right and equity—that the privileges of the cities and communities be inviolable, and secure from all attempts of governors of provinces, &c.—that they should enjoy liberty of conscience—never to be obliged to leave the country on account of religion, if they faithfully obey the laws, as is the case in certain kingdoms, which have been depopulated by those bad politicks. It is therefore of very great consequence, to watch the augmentation and preservation of the fortunes of individuals of all orders, whether cultivators, or citizens, by removing all the disorders which may confuse their domestic affairs, and of which we have already spoken, in the fifteenth and sixteenth considerations of the first part. It is necessary above all, to spread
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case, whether in the city or the country, and to favour the different sorts of labourers. We must give emulation to merit, protect abilities, and furnish proper occasions for developing and employing them. In one word, for maintaining in every heart the love of our country, it is necessary to offer occupations proper for different geniuses, which presents advantages to all the classes of the citizens, that all the inhabitants may have part, which all the world feels, and fears to be deprived of.

With such a political oeconomy, no person can be tempted to go. The cultivator content with his lot, has an affection for the fields which he tills, and in which he has an entire property. Upon his finding an honest subsistence, he extends no further his ambition. The citizen in his industry finds resources in his own country, to keep him from any establishment in others. By lending to little people a helping hand, and forming the young men to labour, this order will be ensured. No person can be reduced to begging; industry will increase more and more, and the country be always in a state of nourishing and retaining her children.

When the spectacle is different, not only in a country where the government is oppressive, and drives its subjects by force and arbitrary impositions, but also in those which, in spite of its mildness

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ness and moderation, the inhabitants are left to ruin themselves by a succession of disorders which glide in, in a long time, and by a defect of industry, most of the cultivators dissipate their fortunes by debauchery or chicanery? Are they not burthened with debts? Have they not often ruinous losses in cattle? Do they find certain markets? Do they not follow bad systems in the culture of their lands? Their children are not slow in taking a disgust at the profession of their fathers. Discovering nothing happy in it, they take the first occasion of turning to something else. Do they see any one of their countrymen make a fortune in foreign parts? They follow his path and promise themselves the same success: insensibly the contagion of example gains a great number, and emigrations soon become general. At the same time, is not luxury left to reign in the cities? Do they not draw from strangers almost all that supports them? The inhabitants fall into idleness, and a mortal numbness, without their labouring to escape. They must necessarily run themselves in debt, and overturn their fortunes, until the interior circulation suffers. Then, incapable of sustaining themselves, they cannot return to subsist by the culture of the earth; nor do they see how to establish their children in any branch of industry or commerce, in which they can take
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part, which makes them leave their country with their families, and settle their children among strangers for trying their fortune. All is lost, if at any time they persuade themselves, and are uniformly prejudiced, that there are not the resources at home which they find among all other nations.

This, with foreign service, is the true source of all those striking emigrations which we see in the *Pais de Vaud*, which depopulates our cities, and the country, and which burthens all who preserve some love for their country. Interrogate them what sends them away every year? Ask them why they quit their native soil? Their unanimous answers will confirm the truth of all that we have advanced. It is not only rich persons either in the city or the country that we see leaving their country, but those who have little or no wealth, and who see no means of sustaining themselves long. But the return either of the first goes or their posterity, which sometimes happen, when the causes of which we have spoken did not so strongly exist, shews what would follow a remedy.

The equity and extreme mildness of the government under which we live, and enjoy in repose the fruits of our industry, would render it easy to remedy these emigrations, by care and the necessary encouragements, that is to say, by
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the application of the principles which we have established.

For the rest, to render emigrations less numerous, those occasioned by foreign services merit consideration. It is known, that among the great number of men which the enrolments carry off, some perish in garrisons and armies by different causes, which cut them off from their country; others, who return after having ruined their health by debauchery or military fatigues, are able to give only a weak and languid posterity; while others profit by the occasions which the service offers, to settle in other countries.

When men are entered in the connection of marriage, and have children, they are more attached to their country, and have less facility of transporting themselves into foreign countries. It is therefore wise politicks to facilitate marriages, and to encourage their fecundity, as it is the best means of augmenting population; this is the new and third Consideration of Legislation, of which we now come to speak.

CONSIDERATION III.

Facilitate Marriages.

IT is not by vague and shameful unions that the human species is preserved and propagates itself on earth. The women would be less fruitful, and the world more difficultly peopled. Men would never know with certainty either their children or their fathers, they would be left to the women for their care and education; and as that burthen would be too heavy for them, an infinity of children would perish miserably. Those who escaped the dangers of infancy, would be neglected in their youth, and become bad subjects of society. Man, born in a state of weakness, demands a long succession of cares and attention from those who gave him to the world. For a great number of years, he cannot of himself procure the least subsistence, nor prevent the smallest danger. We cannot in an instant enlighten his mind, form him to virtue, or render him capable of one day serving his country, and appearing with decency on the great theatre of human life.

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life. In succeeding in so long a work, nothing less will do than the united cares of father and mother. It is necessary to concenter their tenderness upon their children, those precious pledges of their love—that they make it a pleasure and a duty to sustain them, to direct and conduct them till they arrive at the age of reason. The human kind ought not therefore to be preserved except by marriage. The interest of society requires further, that we admit in marriage but one man with one woman. Polygamy is not conformable to nature, since it gives birth to but few people of either sex. Not only unfavourable in respect of the multiplication of the human species, but above all, in prejudicing the education of children, by jealousies, bad examples, intrigues, quarrels, and embarrassments of every kind, which raise themselves in the hearts of families. Society is less interested in augmenting the number of its members, than in acquiring good subjects, able to defend and ornament it. A multitude of men ill educated must labour uselessly.

Marriage gives place to the establishment of families, and is beside more proper for encouraging the propagation of the human species. As by these means men transmit their names and their advantages to posterity, they believe that they see themselves re-born in their children, and perpetuate

perpetuate themselves in some respect, through desire of being represented. Marriage having such happy influence upon population, we must seek to facilitate it to the inhabitants, and to encourage their fecundity. The means are not difficult to be found. The secret sympathy which arises between the sexes carries them naturally to marriage when there is no obstacle in it.

I. M E A N S.

Liberty and Welfare:

All that we have thought proper for retaining the inhabitants in a country, may here be applied with the same success. It is necessary for facilitating marriages, to give the same favour to liberty, to expand the same welfare through all the orders, to proscribe the abuses which ruin families; and above all, luxury, which takes from them the means of subsistence. We see under a government such as ours, that they fear not the charge of a family, because many of them regard their country as a tender mother, who takes a particular care of those to whom she gives birth. A father persuades himself that his children will not forget him till they become wanting to themselves. It is there-

fore natural to wish to have a numerous posterity, to wish to transmit so advantageous a constitution. On the contrary, the number of marriages and of children should diminish at all times—when there is some vice of government—by the weight of imposts—by a defect in protecting and favouring industry—by uniting all advantages in some families—by exemptions granted to a numerous nobility—for the people then are reduced to live in poverty and misery, under superb masters. Princes ill understand their interests when they consider only the sums they can draw from their subjects, and expend nothing in their encouragement! These bad politicks cut off the source of their riches; they decrease the number of marriages—the people diminish—and with them the contributions. Under a hard and oppressive government, or little attentive to the good of its people, there are few but beggars that have children, because, paying nothing, they think not of forming any solid establishment, and are nourished at the expence of the publick; but all those who live by their labour are burthened by exactions, and having no other advantages from their country, they are not encouraged to give children to the state. Who would in this case augment their misery by having the great expence of raising children, who for a long time can earn nothing?

No person can be tempted to have them if they are to send into the world only vile slaves, whom they can have no means of establishing, or giving them an industry which should make them live commodiously by labour. Why are marriages in *Holland* so numerous? It is the attention which is given by government to make the arts and commerce flourish, and to present occasions for every one to employ himself in a lucrative manner. We must therefore for multiplying marriages guard the interests of all individuals, animate every part of the state, and expand through all, both movement and life.

It is easy to prevent evils in all small states, when the resources of government are in hands that can attempt every thing from an influence equal in every place. This may be remarked in a sensible manner in the states of *Greece*, where they attached themselves to procure equally the good of all the citizens. Thus they were very populous in spite of the colonies which they sent out—their foreign service—the exposition of infants, and the repugnance they showed to receiving strangers among their people. They did not begin to decline in population till they were swallowed up in the *Roman* republick, wherein every thing centered in a capital, without much thought about the welfare of the provinces.

For the rest—in order to facilitate marriages, and have the same success with those little states whereof we have spoken, we should follow the example of those antient republicks, and proscribe luxury. They fought continually to prevent the too great inequality of fortunes, because if they are left to accumulate too great estates in the person of a single citizen, there must necessarily be others deprived of it, who hardly subsist, and cannot without great difficulty maintain a wife and family. Thus the law, which in certain countries gives all the estates to the first born, hurts population. It is not easy for younger brothers to marry.

The equality of fortunes served among the antient people to proscribe luxury, that gangrene which depopulates cities, destroys all that it taints, and which we have already seen to drive away the inhabitants of this country. When every one gives into shew, and nothing is esteemed but in proportion to the expence, those who have but moderate fortunes, and who are always the most in number, cannot think of marrying. They feel strong enough, that with a wife and family it would be difficult to support an excessive expence, which custom renders indispenfable for appearing with decency, and associating with those of condition, who being rich, distinguish themselves by too much eclat.

eclat. The state of marriage ought not to be an object of fear, but when luxury is in vigour, the women commonly carry it to excess, as we have already observed in the fifth Consideration of the first part, and render it insupportable to their husbands by their caprice : for few there are who have vanity, but what rather than cede to another person would ruin their husbands. How then can we be astonished at the number of marriages diminishing in the cities where luxury has introduced itself? Each may determine after having reflected well upon his own fortune, upon the fortune and character of the woman to whom he may honestly pretend ; upon the embarrassment almost inevitable into which he must fall ; and upon the resources that are probable for establishing his children. But it often happens that they see without being able to remove the difficulties, which, as was mentioned before, deprive them of every sort of industry. Not only luxury is the cause that marriages are less frequent, but also that it renders them less fruitful than they would be if the living was more frugal. Perhaps it comes from thence that a life of softness and effeminacy prejudices the propagation of the human species ; for people that are indigent and in debt are little disposed to get children, whose education are to be so chargeable. The facility and fecundity of mar-

riages depend therefore absolutely on the extinction of luxury.

II. *Limit the number of Domestic.*

Another expedient proper for facilitating marriages which is connected with sumptuary laws, is the limiting the number of domestics. Is not this order of men too numerous? It consumes much without returning equal services to society. They diminish the total of useful labour in a country; and they cannot decrease it without the quantity of subsistence, and the resources of living growing less, which must always render marriages more difficult. That population and the number of marriages may augment, it is not only necessary that each should subsist by means of his labour, but also that he should favour others by his own industry.

The domestics of great cities never marry, but pass in celibacy the years of their life, during which they are most proper for labouring for population. When they marry, age and debauchery often render their bodies incapable of having healthy children. The servants who are drawn from the country, and who after being accustomed during many years to the ease of cities, return to their villages, fall under a laborious life, of which they have lost the habit, presently grow old, and are commonly unfruitful.

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The fortune of domestics is too dependant on that of the rich. Having little industry, or become incapable of sustaining rude labours, they are obliged to attach themselves to them for life. They are not able to procure the funds necessary for establishing themselves and marrying, by the savings they make from their wages, for it is many years before they can honestly raise a sufficient sum for forming a solid establishment. It is most common for them to save nothing; they dissipate their salaries as fast as they are paid. Debauchery, wine, diversions, and other frivolous expences, carry off all their small gains. Thus the most part always seeing themselves thus straitened, they are obliged to remain in service, and when not in a state of servitude, they have no other prospect than an unhappy old age, and a deprivation of all assistance. If we would facilitate their marriages and their establishment, we must regulate their manners—render them better œconomists—and remove them from debauchery. In this they have had excellent views in *France*. It is not long since an admired author proposed the establishment of a perpetual company in that kingdom, who should be charged with receiving the savings of domestics, and of laying them out for their advantage, under the protection of government, by which means their profits would accumulate
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and augment considerably in a little time. This would engage them to a better conduct, and to more regularity in their expences. It would place them in a state of marrying and settling themselves, and forming undertakings useful to society.

III. *Retain the Inhabitants in the Country.*

Besides facilitating marriages, and augmenting their fecundity—we must retain the inhabitants in the country. It is a kind of life; simple, conformable to nature, and which favours the propagation of the human species. The labourers marry much more than citizens, because they live with greater frugality. They fear not having too many children; on the contrary, they regard them as a treasure and a source of riches. They know that the more hands they have the better their lands will be cultivated, and the greater value they will have. They generally promise themselves the doubling their revenues as soon as their children grow up, and come to a state of labouring. In carefully watching the age when they are capable of working, their education does not throw them into incommodious expences. Without fatiguing them they may employ and receive from them several little services. Likewise regarding a multitude of children as a benediction, provided they are not

in debt, and that they live under a mild government. But we have seen that it is not the same with the inhabitants of the cities; they believe themselves ruined and poor, when they have many children. Thus, all that we have said in the first part for retaining in the country its inhabitants, facilitate marriages and encourage their fecundity.

IV. *Curb Debauchery and Incontinence.*

We have already had occasion to remark how much incontinence and debauchery prejudice the fecundity and propagation of our species. We shall be content to add that the licence of manners turns many from marriage, and ought therefore to be repressed, to the end that numbers may be augmented. A corrupt man sees in marriage only the cares which are attached to it; as the embarrassment of a family, the incommensurable expences which follow the education of the children, and the obligation of maintaining them. He regards it as the tomb of his liberty and content. From his eyes disappear the innocent joys which recompence a virtuous pair, for all the sacrifices they have made in favour of the precious pledges of their tenderness. He is incapable of valuing the agreeableness which arises from their intimate union, and reciprocal esteem, their mutual ser-

vices, and the amiable duties they fulfil, in forming the genius and heart of their young ones. These pleasures are too pure for touching men whose manners are irregular. None but gross and voluptuous ones have a power of moving hearts void of honesty. They place their satisfaction in the shameful and criminal pleasure of ravishing innocence, an object which strikes them suddenly, and which they imagine themselves to love. They must without ceasing have variety to attract them. Never will they fix their vague and wandering affections. It is thus that libertinism diminishes infallibly the number of marriages. It is above all to be feared that it will carry an attention to corrupting the fidelity which married people owe to each other. Then, those who preserve their manners, will fly from marriage, regarding it as a source of evils, shame, and infamy. We cannot therefore facilitate marriages without guarding the manners of a nation. We should, like antient *Rome*, have censors charged with maintaining decency—punishing vice—removing dangerous examples—breaking the bands of corruption—and preventing the laws being eluded with impunity, which are made against irregularities: banish partiality, or the laws are useless, and all is lost.

V. *Augment Subsistence.*

Whatever augments subsistence, renders it easy to facilitate marriages. There are some articles of food which give more fecundity to men and women, and seem to furnish a sustenance more proper for generation. The use of fish seems to offer both the one and the other advantage in all places where it abounds. For it has been always observed, that in sea-ports the number of children is greater than elsewhere. We should therefore favour population and the fecundity of marriages in many districts of our country, by better peopling our lakes and rivers with good fish, and by proscribing the abuses which oppose it. The fishery employs many men, furnishes them with an easy means of living, and of having a numerous posterity, which would serve to re-people the countries where the number of inhabitants diminish. As there are aliments which contribute to success in propagation, there are also waters which prejudice it, the use of which ought therefore to be interdicted to the inhabitants of the places where they are found. Waters, for example, extremely hard, contribute, according to *Hippocrates*, to sterility.

VI. *Abolish Customs which prevent the fecundity of Women.*

Princes who seek to people their states, and make marriage serve that end, ought to abolish all customs which prejudice the fecundity of women, and to substitute others that favour it. It is sufficient here to give a single example. Experience shews us that women who suckle their children are more fruitful, and leave more numerous posterity than others; this is a new motive, which joined to those of which we have already spoken, ought to engage the government above all to introduce this custom.

VII. *Prejudices, Maxims, and Laws, in favour of Marriage.*

The conduct of men depends much on the ideas being more or less proper, which are given by religion—the prejudices and maxims which are inspired in the most tender infancy—and the honour or shame which the laws attach to certain acts. It is good politicks to prevent all obstacles to population, and to draw from it all advantages. Among the *Jews*, certain ideas raised by their religion, of a species of opprobriousness which was attached to sterility, animated them in a lively manner to the propagation of their

their species. In the same manner, the laws among the antient *Romans* were often in favour of marriage; the attention of the censors determined the citizens by shame and punishments, and produced also happy effects in the best times of the republick, and contributed to repair the losses of men, caused by a continued succession of wars. Indeed these laws lost their power, when under the emperors liberty was gone, and they groaned under an oppressive yoke. But it is impossible to remedy the infinite evils which rise under a hard and oppressive government.

Although under a good government, which procures equally the welfare of all the citizens, they do not want to have recourse to recompences and punishments, for engaging the people to marry and get children, it is nevertheless proper for a Legislator to do honour to the marriage-state: all that flatters vanity, makes an impression on mankind, and it is right to make it subservient to the publick good. It imports above all, not to give any pre-eminence to celibacy, which preserves the people in false ideas, which certain speculative minds have given them. What a prejudice it must be to the propagation of the species, that those who seek to subtilize on morals, should persuade us that a life speculative, and removed from the cares and embarrassments of a family, is more
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proper for pleasing God, and for making a sublime progress in the virtue to which religion calls us! We know that after the conversion of *Constantine* to Christianity, these ideas were not slow in being propagated through the world. As if the christian religion tended to the destruction of the humankind; the emperors ceased to encourage marriage, for doing honour to celibacy. Then the empire filled itself with religious, who, under the pretext of an imaginary perfection, had nothing in view but idleness and celibacy; which could not but contribute to weaken and depopulate the empire. Do we not likewise at present see states, who, by pursuing these false ideas of the sanctity of celibacy, are kept from being so flourishing as they would otherwise be? Nevertheless if we make a deduction of some particular circumstances very rare, in which celibacy leads to a better acquittal of certain duties, neither reason nor religion present the least motive for this manner of thinking.

Princes cannot honour marriage too much, or give too great disgusts at celibacy. A married man has a more active life—sustains more connections—and more occasions of rendering himself useful to society—he is more excited to labour—and ought naturally to be much more interested in the preservation of the state, than one in celibacy who has none to follow him.

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Thus, instead of condemning the soldiers to perpetual celibacy, it would be better to follow the example of the first *Romans*, and encourage their marrying. When the soldiers are married they will be less debauched—they will give to the state a numerous posterity, of which it becomes deprived while they remain in celibacy; they would defend their country with more courage, because they would combat for their wives and children. These are wages which ensure their fidelity and bravery.

VIII. *Age proper for Marriage.*

That marriages may be fruitful, and give subjects to the state, it is proper that they be contracted at an age proper for the natural functions, on which depends the propagation of the species. It seems therefore that the laws ought particularly to encourage those sorts of marriages, and to remove as much as possible whatever throws any obstacles to them. Thus, for example, as through reasons of vanity, interest, or caprice, fathers may often prevent their children from marrying at an age most proper for population; and sometimes have a disgust at marriage from contradictions ill-placed; it is from hence proper that the laws continue not for too long time the paternal yoke; and to prevent the resentment of a father who consents not to the marriage of his

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children at a determined age: At *Rome*, fathers who refused to marry their children, or portion their daughters, were forced by the laws. At the same time, for not turning from marriage persons of an age and constitution proper for having children, care should be taken not to allow the clauses of preserving widowhood. At *Rome* they never permitted such restrictions; the laws were willing that the men or women who survived should marry again. Lastly, as marriages which are made between persons of a very disproportioned age, give no posterity, and as they at the same time prejudice the health of the younger party, the laws ought to concur with nature to inspire a disgust at such sort of marriages. It is at the same time necessary to prevent them, that the Legislature should encourage the propagation of the species, by attaching great privileges to the marriage-state: otherwise by these marriages between persons whose age is disproportioned, such recompences would be obtained without the views of the Legislature being at all answered. At the same time that the *Roman* laws prevented such marriages, they granted great prerogatives to others who married.

Preserving the citizens—retaining them in the state—facilitating their marriages—encouraging their fecundity—these are, without contradiction,

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the infallible means of augmenting the number of inhabitants; but if we would carry population to the highest possible degree, it is further necessary, so to speak, to make other countries contribute, by drawing strangers from all parts, and by incorporating them with our people. This is the fourth consideration of Legislation,

CONSIDERATION IV.

Attract Strangers.

A Prince cannot succeed better in quickly peopling his cities and provinces, than in attracting strangers. It is by this that many states have in a very short time carried their power and population to the highest point. When *Romulus* founded his city, he had not more than three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry; but having always laboured to incorporate strangers with his people, he left at his death forty-six thousand foot and a thousand cavalry. His successors, and the republick having continued to follow the same plan, *Rome* became rapidly one of the most flourishing and best peopled cities in the universe, and in spite of the continual wars she sustained. The strangers which the people received in their bosom, brought with them their arts and industry. They gave a new activity to commerce, and manufactures, which by multiplying in a nation the resources of living, subsist an infinity of poor, and wonderfully favour population. Have we not a striking proof of this truth in what
passes

passes in *Holland*, in *England*, and in many states in *Germany*, which by receiving among them refugees in multitudes, who fled from oppression, have augmented in a surprizing manner their industry, their power, and their population ?

But in what manner are strangers to be drawn into a country ? It is not difficult to imagine it. When a prince procures equally the good of all the inhabitants—when he facilitates every means of exercising their industry—when he executes all we have explained in the preceding Considerations, he will have gained among his neighbours a reputation which conciliates esteem, and they will have a desire to establish themselves in his dominions.—All who have the unhappiness of living under a hard government—who do not find in their own country the encouragements and the resources which they want, move to him in multitudes. They come from all parts, and unite with the mass of the people.

Nevertheless in encouraging them to come, some precautions must be observed. An easy access to the country should be preserved. All obstacles to their reception be removed. All laws and customs which can impede it be reversed. They should be received with joy, naturalized in every thing, and no difficulties thrown in their way. It is right never to make any odious distinction between the antient and

the new inhabitants, when the one and the other are confounded together, making one and the same people; participating the same advantages, and being regarded as the children of their country, as long as they obey the laws. It was by regulating themselves on these maxims, that the first *Romans* came to draw to their city so many strangers, who, oppressed at home, sought a secure asylum. They were associated with the ancient citizens, and had all the rights of citizens granted to them. They found them good and affectionate subjects, full of zeal for the welfare of the republick.

If we would seek to make commerce and industry flourish in a country, we should attract men by the hope of gain, and of establishing themselves advantageously, for which it would be proper to abolish the rights of *traite foraine*, and never want to remove the goods of strangers. When they transport themselves into other countries, to find resources which they have not at home, they should have full assurance of being settled for ever. It may happen, for particular reasons, drawn from the nature of the climate, or the affairs of families, that they are obliged to return to their native country. In the uncertainty of what may happen hereafter, they would not fear to form establishments in a country, where they may enjoy the fruit of their labour,

labour, without paying burthenfome duties, which absorb a part of the profit. Nevertheless among a great number of persons whom this fear removes, there may be many who apparently settle in a country, either by a succession of marriages, or other connections which they contract, or because the manners, the climate, or the government please them, and that they find it their interest there to reside. Even those who go away with the estates they have gained, may notwithstanding have been useful to a nation. They might serve perhaps in the introduction of new branches of commerce and industry, or by their example, or the advantageous correspondencies which on their return they fix, and engage many of their countrymen to transport themselves. But among so many men as on such occasions move, many doubtless would be fixed for ever. In general, the interests of a nation are very badly understood, by forcing many to leave a country who come with a view to seek an establishment. It is by removing strangers—by retaining others through constraint—by granting passports with difficulty, that the industrious are kept from a certain kingdom. It is not for the good of a state, that the government should ever send people away from living under its dependance; all such rights should be renounced. We always succeed better in attract-

ing and fixing strangers in a country, by leaving them entirely at liberty to withdraw themselves whenever they think proper.

Another essential precaution for drawing foreigners is, to make profession of great toleration—and to prevent ecclesiastics from tyrannizing over consciences. Education, interest, passions, prejudices, more or less penetration and lights—the different turns of the mind, which throw every object into different appearances, must naturally cause a prodigious variety of opinions. It therefore becomes unreasonable to expect, that every person should think in the same manner upon religion; and under so frivolous a pretence to place bounds to the population of their country, by removing from it strangers, who in matters of faith are of different sentiments from the governing part of the nation, and would willingly obey the laws, if permitted the free exercise of their religion. Away with all the odious suspicions, the unjust defiances, the fears, and inquietudes ill-founded, which arise against those who think differently in matters of religion. The spirit of charity and toleration prevents all the troubles which can be feared on their part, and procures peace and concord. It is particularly necessary to remove all ferment of discord, and extinguish heart-burnings in confederated states, who have different sentiments of religion,

to maintain among them that union in which consists all their force. It is the intolerant and persecuting spirit which makes the mind revolt, which blows up hatred, fomented divisions, and causes dangerous agitations. In spite of the different sects which *Holland* nourishes in her bosom, she fails not to enjoy a constant, and invariable tranquillity; she sees her civil laws equally respected by all the inhabitants; and by means of that liberty of conscience which she grants to every one, she has the advantage of attracting an infinity of strangers, who have augmented her industry, who have placed her in a state of sustaining for a long time great wars, of maintaining colonies in distant regions, and extending her commerce throughout the world, without decreasing her inhabitants.

Besides the strangers which may be engaged to establish themselves in a country, there are travellers which it may be useful to attract. They give to a state a lustre and a reputation, which procures them a continual influx from all the world, many of which fix for ever. All bring their money—animate the talents and genius of a nation—augment the interior circulation—furnish to the inhabitants occasions of gain, and consequently vivify population. What ought not a prince to do to procure this advantage to his people? In protecting the arts and sciences,

sciences, and seeking to do all that may render it equally agreeable and useful to reside in his state, he acquires a celebrity which inspires strangers with a desire of travelling. It is necessary that those who have a taste for the arts should have excellent models to study—that those who cultivate the sciences may have occasions of gaining new intelligence. This presents to young men all the facility requisite for receiving a good education, in which manner a nation distinguishing itself by a politeness and affability, gains the benevolence of other people. It is on all these accounts, that *Athen* had merit with strangers by coming from all parts for perfecting their taste and their knowledge. It is the empire the most flattering, the most innocent, and the most glorious that a nation can exercise over others.

Conclusion of the Second Part.

From all that we have said in the preceding Considerations, we may conclude, that the means most general, and most efficacious for peopling a state, are by encouraging labour—multiplying the resources of living—and shewing the people an occasion of exercising a lucrative industry. This is what retains the people in a country, which facilitates marriages, and attracts strangers. As much as a nation falls into a languor, so
 much

much will it be depopulated. It is impossible to remedy it but by inspiring an active spirit, which places each in a state of living commodiously.

This is so true that you stop not the depopulation of a nation, by introducing all of a sudden great sums of money, which have not been acquired by labour. Such riches procure not that general ease so favourable to population; it only plunges them the more into a mortal lethargy, which consumes the inhabitants by little and little. Let us suppose what has happened, that a prince by means of mines suddenly introduces into his country immense wealth in gold and silver; what will be the result? It would raise the price of every thing. The products of the country, and whatever it fabricates, would be raised to an exorbitant price, which would cut off all communication with strangers. Those who would bring the fruit of their industry to the best market, would inundate the kingdom in spite of all the preventions of the government. The inhabitants of such a state would become fed, clothed, and maintained by other nations; and consequently, the culture of the lands, the manufactures, and commerce among them, would fall into a total declension. Indolence would become the predominant character. All their gold and silver would go by an infinity of channels to strangers for necessaries. They would become

become tributary to other people; and as money not acquired by labour is not distributed proportionally among the inhabitants, but is dispersed in large sums, it follows, that a great part of the nation would be totally in want of money and industry, and not labouring must fall into misery. Thus national ease vanishes, and with it population. There is nothing but labour can give that ease, or offer to each the means of subsistence. Money, which thus comes among a people, spreads itself in small portions among the different individuals which compose the nation. All profit by it; and every one lives. To convince you of this, take notice, how many people are maintained by the culture of vines; or how many men are supported by a piece of flax or cotton; it gives a living to the bleacher, the dyer, the spinner, the weaver, the merchant, &c. As the gains thus distributed are small, they bring not indolence. There must be an activity sustained, for always commanding a certain livelihood. When an intire nation seeks its subsistence by an assiduous labour, all is animated to a reasonable height. Communication is broken when the price of labour is too high. There should be no person that can procure himself whatever is necessary for living without labour. The good of the nation augments without ceasing. Subsistence becomes always
more

more easy to be found, and the people must necessarily increase.

Since therefore labour has so strong an influence upon the publick happiness, and population, it becomes necessary to furnish the people with the necessary facility of employing themselves in an advantageous manner. Every one must have a means of subsisting. It was a similar law that *Solon* made at *Athens*. He would have all the citizens be made to answer how they gained their livelihood. This police is the more necessary when idleness has corrupted the people, and enchained them in an infinity of disorders. It throws them into luxury and debauchery, which prove the greatest enemies to population.

It is by the fear of shame and publick infamy, that we can alone have success, by chasing indolence from the heart of a nation. Those who lead a life of idleness, should suffer shame, and not dare to shew themselves in publick to the people. Make them comprehend that they can have no part in the publick esteem, or in the advantages of the society under which they live, unless they render themselves worthy by a laborious life useful to themselves and to others. Are they intirely insensible, and lost to all sense of honour? Force them by the severity of laws to labour in an honest and useful manner to their country. We should fear not to employ against them

them constraint, and the rigour of chastisements, such as houses of force and labour.

But it may be said, how are the divers members of society to be occupied? After the employment of state, military, and ecclesiastical, (which all, contrary to the opinion of the ambitious, demand study, labour, and capacity, but which can only occupy a very small part of the nation)—there is the culture of the earth, arts, manufactures, and commerce, which offer themselves for employing the gross of a people. In all these different kinds of labours they know their country, and may acquire for it a true glory, provided it does all the good of which it is capable in the situation. The culture of the earth opens a vast career of labour, it might alone occupy an infinity of men, place them in a state of vigour; and thence may be drawn what we have proposed in the first part.

Nevertheless some advantages in multiplying subsistence, and the occupations of a nation might arise from their not being entirely bounded. There might be a want of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It is very imprudent to draw from the national soil only the necessary commodities, and to have all the rest of foreigners, without fabricating any thing at home. By this we should lose immediately, and be deprived of a kind of labour very favourable to population,
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and which consequently abimates agriculture, because a great people augments consumption, and encourages the cultivator to redouble his ardour.

This introduction of arts and commerce, as remarked by the illustrious *Montesquieu*, is above all necessary for peopling a country, when the lands are unequally divided; for without this the great proprietors would never be induced to cultivate their vast estates for procuring superfluities; content with having what is necessary for living through the present year, they leave their estates waste, and seek not to maintain men who have nothing to give in exchange. If the lands are equally divided, much more is certainly occupied, which may produce an extreme population. Nevertheless these portions, by the force of being divided, may in the end become so small, that each may not be able to subsist by the culture of it. It is perhaps that which happened amongst the antient nations, before the devastations of the *Romans* had obliged them to leave their country in multitudes, to seek a better fortune elsewhere. It is thus that manufactures, arts, and commerce may remedy this inconvenience. For a nation which exports to strangers the fruits of its industry, finds at the expence of other people, new means of subsisting, without being obliged to leave their

their possessions, and of transporting themselves for nourishment. By this means, without any violence, they are made to serve for augmenting population. They may carry it to the highest degree possible, because they may apply to their own consumption all the products of a country, and whatever else its industry can draw from foreigners. In a state thus conducted, the sale of commodities is assured, and agriculture infinitely animated, provided that is observed, which we mentioned in the first part, the preserving a just proportion between the class of labourers, and that of the other orders of the state.

Such being the utility of arts and commerce, relatively to population and agriculture, we must seek in our third part, by what means they may be encouraged and directed, the better to favour both the one and the other.

THIRD PART.

In which is developed the SPIRIT OF LEGISLATION for favouring the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, relatively TO POPULATION AND AGRICULTURE.

I. ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

WE now come to speak of commerce; after having examined what a good legislation ought to do for encouraging the arts and manufactures, of which agriculture forms the base and most firm support. If a nation has neither a flourishing agriculture, nor an animated industry, it will be most advantageous to avoid all commerce with her neighbours. Such connections will become burthenfome, and cause continual importations, surpassing the exportations, and impoverishing from day to day. Having the productions neither of art nor nature to give in exchange, they must be robbed of all their money, until they put an end to a commerce which they should never have undertaken. There

is but a single case, in which a society of men without manufactures or agriculture, might perhaps exercise a commerce which would support them; it is by becoming the factors of other nations; contenting themselves with small profits, they labour without ceasing to facilitate the communication between nations, and to aid them in supplying their reciprocal wants, by carrying to the one what she wants, that can be drawn from the other. But for opening a commerce of this nature, there must be a favourable situation, which permits a communication without trouble, with the neighbouring nations, and of carrying by sea without much expence what is necessary for their wants. But most of the nations, who have exercised with success the commerce of oconomy, have not neglected the arts and manufactures. In transporting among them the first materials which are produced in distant regions, where their navigators frequent, they gain the workmanship in fabricating for other nations. We ought further to add, that the commerce of oconomy becomes continually less lucrative, because at present the great maritime nations are all manufacturing ones, and import themselves the foreign merchandize they want.

Thus every state which aspires to a flourishing commerce, is obliged to redouble its labours of
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every kind. After having diminished by a good administration of the soil, the dearthness of the raw materials—of living—and labour; they ought to make continued efforts for multiplying by an active industry, all that is wanting for satisfying the demands of other nations. If she would draw from foreigners her subsistence or other succour, the fruits of their industry, she must give something else in exchange. Indeed all commerce is not reciprocal from state to state. They are sometimes obliged to pay each other in money for necessary commodities, without which they could not in their turn sell their own. But when this is the case, it is necessary that a nation should indemnify herself by her labour and industry, by furnishing other nations, who pay in money for her productions; so repairing the losses of specie suffered in the same manner. This is the only means of not losing by the equilibrium, and of fixing it on the solid foundations of the opulence and welfare of the nation.

But the fear of wandering in the reflections which we have to propose on the arts and manufactures, which require an extended commerce, teach us to give a general idea, as the means of aiding us in discovering how we may direct them for advancing the true interests of the state, and favouring agriculture and population. For all the parts of a good political system ought to

be connected together, and contribute to the same end.

We place in the rank of arts and manufactures all industry, which gives a higher price to the raw materials of the three kingdoms, and renders them proper for satisfying the wants of life—for augmenting saleable commodities—for procuring the elegant and true ornaments which give reputation to a state, which attract travellers, and attach the natives to their country. We include not only the arts absolutely necessary, but also all those which expand an agreeableness through the communications between mankind. It is glorious and useful to cultivate the fine arts, which by imitating beautiful nature, procure pleasures equally lively, innocent, and touching; which soften manners, render a nation more fit for inventing and discovering, and gain them consideration in the eyes of other nations. But they do not produce these happy effects except when cultivated by men who have true taste, and are capable of making an eminent progress. These are the rare and extraordinary genius's which a prince ought to distinguish among the multitude, and singularly protect, if he would render immortal, either his own name or that of his subjects. Nevertheless, we must take care that the fine arts draw not the citizens from occupations more important, and that they do

not bring them into expences beyond their fortunes. All their exertions ought to be uniformly consecrated to the glory of the state; for example, the ornamenting and embellishing the public edifices. Sculpture, painting, and music, serve to maintain in a nation, a spirit of honour and emulation, by transmitting to posterity the great actions of those who have deserved well of their country. But away with all the frivolous arts which tend to enervate the manners, and plunge mankind into delicacies—turn them from their duties—and multiply their imaginary wants, by nourishing effeminacy, folly, vanity, and pride. Of what use are arts, whose productions have no other aim than sacrificing to the caprice, phantasia, and extravagance of the fashion, the solidity and true beauty of a work? The singularities which are every day brought forth, cannot but alter the taste of a nation. Those frivolous arts which depend on caprice, can never open to a people a sure branch of commerce, while the possession of it depends on the whim of other nations. Is it not doubtful whether they have been advantageous to that active and ingenious nation, which has exercised for a long time this empire over other people: for it unhappily follows, that these frivolous arts rob the necessary and useful ones,

of the favour, protection, and encouragement, which are their due.

The exclusion which we have given to the frivolous arts, brings us to the point of answering an objection which has been made, that the introduction of industry among a people of cultivators, must bring that luxury which we have so often proscribed, as an enemy to agriculture and population. The arts which we admit will not serve to nourish that destructive luxury. They rather engage an infinity of idle men to labour, and serve that society, of which they were before useless members. The profits which they make will procure them only necessaries and the comforts of life, distant from all show and refinement. The stuffs which they fabricate in the country being cheaper than those which come from abroad, the workmanship diminishes the price. The workman is not obliged to require so great a salary for indemnifying the expences of cloathing. And of what utility is it to agriculture to render labour cheaper? Improvements would be done cheaper. Thus the industry which we seek to introduce, brings with it neither luxury nor the decline of agriculture. It only produces that effect when ill directed. Besides, if in a nation where luxury already reigns, and which we cannot banish at once by repressing laws, it is after all more advantageous

to expend the commodities of our own country than foreign ones. The rich then maintain the poor of their country, instead of buying foreign manufactures, the food of luxury, which takes from a small people all means of subsistence, as we have already had occasion to observe. But it is much better to proscribe luxury, and with it all the frivolous and pernicious arts which favour it. We have found occupations more useful and more proper for giving a livelihood to the poor.

Thus the first attention of legislation for favouring industry, in a manner advantageous to agriculture, is to turn them towards the necessary and useful arts, which work upon their own commodities for supplying the wants of strangers, with the raw materials which the soil furnishes, without excluding the manufactured products which may draw from other countries materials for industry to exercise itself on with advantage.

them constraint, and the rigour of chastisements, such as houses of force and labour.

But it may be said, how are the divers members of society to be occupied? After the employment of state, military, and ecclesiastical, (which all, contrary to the opinion of the ambitious, demand study, labour, and capacity, but which can only occupy a very small part of the nation)—there is the culture of the earth, arts, manufactures, and commerce, which offer themselves for employing the gross of a people. In all these different kinds of labours they know their country, and may acquire for it a true glory, provided it does all the good of which it is capable in the situation. The culture of the earth opens a vast career of labour, it might alone occupy an infinity of men, place them in a state of vigour; and thence may be drawn what we have proposed in the first part.

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This introduction of arts and commerce, as remarked by the illustrious *Montesquieu*, is above all necessary for peopling a country, when the lands are unequally divided; for without this the great proprietors would never be induced to cultivate their vast estates for procuring superfluities; content with having what is necessary for living through the present year, they leave their estates waste, and seek not to maintain men who have nothing to give in exchange. If the lands are equally divided, much more is certainly occupied, which may produce an extreme population. Nevertheless these portions, by the force of being divided, may in the end become so small, that each may not be able to subsist by the culture of it. It is perhaps that which happened amongst the antient nations, before the devastations of the *Romans* had obliged them to leave their country in multitudes, to seek a better fortune elsewhere. It is thus that manufactures, arts, and commerce may remedy this inconvenience. For a nation which exports to strangers the fruits of its industry, finds at the expence of other people, new means of subsisting, without being obliged to leave their

An acre of land situated in the environs of that city, it is known will yield in manufactures an equivalent value to the revenues of the whole province of *Champaign*.

The arts and manufactures which exercise themselves upon materials produced by the country, are without contradiction the most advantageous to a state, because there is a gain on the first production, and the manufacture, and the expence of transporting the raw material saved : but the climate will not always permit the drawing from the national soil, the rough materials, or will not furnish them always in sufficient abundance for the support of arts and manufactures. Then without doubt it is necessary to have them from foreigners, if we can sell them compleated at a good market among our neighbours. Thus it is in the canton of *Berne*, we work pieces of cotton, with those we draw from the *Levant*. By this a nation gains at least the workmanship; she renders herself always less dependant on other people, and she may employ and find a living for an infinite number of men. It is an advantage to procure, above all, materials which support the spinning trade. How many women and their daughters does spinning alone employ, who could in many seasons of the year earn nothing else, and who find in that employment the means of gaining their livelihood!

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If we would render industry useful to a whole nation, it is proper that the arts and manufactures should labour for all orders of the people. It is not enough that they work only for the rich, they must likewise fabricate small pieces of hemp and wool, for the use of the countryman. The publick good supposes that each should be able to find at home what is necessary for his rank and station.

It is not enough to provide for all the wants of the inhabitants; it is further proper to extend the views, and to direct industry to supplying strangers, and augmenting by these the splendor and prosperity of a nation. It is true, that it becomes every day more difficult, because at present the arts and manufactures extend themselves on all sides by degrees. Nevertheless, with wise precautions it is not impossible to assure to industry a certain market in foreign countries: These are the general maxims which may lead to that end. Examine with care what passes among other nations, that you may form just ideas of their wants, and after having valued well your riches, and your proper resources, see if you cannot supply them with what they want. Every country has something peculiar, and is more proper than another for giving certain productions. The supreme Being thus wisely disposes every thing for obliging all men to communi-
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cate together. Teach them therefore to profit by the singular advantages, which your soil and your climate present—that your industry should seek to render by labour those peculiar productions the more precious, and easy to be transported, that you may always furnish those nations to whom nature has refused them. Neglect nothing for knowing exactly what other states import from their neighbours, and examine if you cannot furnish them a better market, and so render yourselves masters of the trade. This is particularly easy, when you inhabit a country which commands an easy passage for its productions to foreigners. At the same time, study the turn of your peoples mind. It is not to be doubted but there are kinds of industry, in which their success would be more striking than in others, and gain them perhaps from other countries. Turn therefore the efforts of your people on that side, and encourage them to apply to such labours. Such kinds of work being more perfect than those of foreigners, will always recommend themselves to their eyes, and become much sought after. When the propitious attention of government engages a nation to carry its industry to a high degree of perfection; when it inspires them with a love of frugality, and ardour for labour, and places them in a state of giving the wrought materials to a better market than

than other nations ;—then, in spite of their prohibitions, and their industry, you will furnish them with an infinity of things. With what industry has *England* endeavoured to prevent the import of manufactures from *France*? In fine, as it is necessary for having flourishing manufactures, to have well considered ideas of exportation before they are established, nothing is more useful than to invite all good citizens to propose their notions upon it. The memoirs which might be presented, combined together, and corrected the one by the other, might produce excellent plans. There should be a chamber composed of penetrating men, who loved the welfare of their country, charged by government with receiving and examining them.

The reflections which we have made upon the objects towards which the industry of a nation should be turned, merit some consideration for establishing in the *Pays de Vaud*, the arts and manufactures. For it must be allowed with grief, that our towns want all sorts of industry. We see only merchants who sell foreign merchandize to the impoverishing our nation, to whom it is more expensive than useful. They fabricate nothing for the use of the inhabitants, in spite of luxury, which augments from day to day their wants. Every one knows that they are clothed by all their neighbours. Nevertheless,
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if they introduce a good species of sheep, as we have proposed in the first part, it would become easy to fabricate the cloths of a quality for all orders. What we can procure with the productions of the country, is taken of strangers, so much are we accustomed to their yoke. Although our wines are abundant, and we are often loaded with them, the country furnishes not the vinegar to which the consumption gives a market. And yet nothing is more easy than making it. The process is known in spite of the mysteries of the vinegar merchants. We may find a clear description of it in *Boerhaave's* Chymistry. The negligence with which we leave our woods to perish—the pusillanimous fear we are in of wanting them, notwithstanding the immense tracts of land covered with them in many districts, where they are left to perish on the root, prevents us cultivating the arts which demand a great consumption of wood. Iron, steel, tin, earthenware, glass, of all sorts, of which the use is so indispensable and so general, are furnished us by people who have not more wood than we. What prodigious sums such numerous importations must annually carry away from our country! Mercers ware, and clinquallery are almost entirely neglected among us. Why not occupy ourselves in many places, by making such workshops as at *St. Stephens*, and *St. Chaumont*, in
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the forests whereof, the inhabitants every day furnish their neighbours with such great quantities? The great use which we make of silk in the *Pays de Vaud*, and in all the canton, ought to engage us to fabricate them, and by augmenting the raw material, which in many districts is produced abundantly. Hemp and flax not being cultivated in the *Pays de Vaud*, we want fabrics of flax, and we are obliged to have recourse to all our neighbours for procuring them*.

It is these that we receive from the *Indies*, and of which we make so great a consumption in our province. Before we draw a veil over so afflicting a picture, we must observe, that the arts which are established among us, are far from being carried to a moderate degree of perfection. Of this sort are the art of blanching linens—and those of dyeing, which might enrich

* If we abolish the rights of commonage, we might cultivate a great quantity with success, and a great saving of dung. It is astonishing that they should obtain abundant crops of hemp, though they sow it constantly on the same land. If other grains ought to be sown successively on different soils, why not do the same with hemp? It is for remedying the great mischief done by hemp, that so much dung is obliged to be used, which would be escaped by sowing it first in one field and then in another.

society with an infinity of useful and agreeable things. Our paper works are few in number, and very bad. The papers they fabricate are often very badly wrought. They furnish not enough for their own consumption, but draw much from abroad. If we collected with more care the linen rags, it is not to be doubted but we might establish more paper mills, and prevent such a great importation of foreign papers. Collecting the rags, with a scrupulous attention for making paper, is an object very important. By this means we should make something of a material, which serves absolutely for nothing. Thus, in *Ireland* a premium was offered to those who collected and procured the greatest quantity of rags for this use.

We now see in general to what objects we ought to direct the industry of a nation; but for animating in this manner a state, and for favouring commerce, both exterior and interior, we must also distribute them conveniently in a country; and this is the second Consideration of Legislation, which is much connected with the first.

CONSIDERATION II.

Distribute Manufactures conveniently through a Country.

WHEN we would give a free course to interior circulation, and place a people entirely in an advantageous state, it is essential to introduce them in the districts the most remote, and the least favoured by nature with the means of labouring usefully and gaining a living. It is a source of evils and ruin to a state, to collect all the arts and manufactures into some privileged places, and to leave all the rest in inaction. It is not in politicks more beneficial to depopulate the provinces of a state. It is in truth, in cities the most opulent, and the most considerable, that we must establish arts and manufactures that demand a particular dexterity, and which require a knowledge not common among men. For we can better give encouragement to workmen, as well as information and emulation, which they want for perfecting themselves. But after all, the other towns of a country, moderate or paltry as they may appear,

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ought not to be neglected nor lost sight of. We must seek to employ their inhabitants, prevent their living in idleness, which impoverishes them so much, as to oblige them to leave their country, for improving their miserable fortunes. It is proper that all the members of a powerful state should concur by their labour, to render the circulation of money more rapid, so as to animate all.

In districts where the country - labours employ but few hands, it is proper to establish arts and manufactures, which facilitate the means of living. Such are the mountainous places where men have much leisure. When the arts, to which they have naturally a great aptitude, give them resources of living, they will increase extraordinarily. The mountains of *Neuchatel*, where we see every kind of art flourish, are a sensible proof. With the profits which they draw from their works, they buy the products of the cultivators of the plains, who thus find a certain market.

It is useful to assemble in the same place a great number of workmen of the same kind. By this union you inspire them with more emulation, and animate them to surpass one another. Necessity obliges them to labour without relaxation, and their competition enables them to carry their goods the cheaper to market. When they
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are almost single they do not want to excel in order to get purchasers; being masters of the price, they do not labour with assiduity enough, they fall into idleness, knowing, that in spite of their slowness and want of activity, they may find the means of living, by raising the price of all they execute *. With a view to diminishing the dearness of workmanship, we must also take care to place the arts and manufactures, where living is plentiful, and where their slipping away is not easy.

In this distribution it is necessary to have regard to other particular advantages, which present themselves in the different parts of a province, such as are drawn either from the characters of the inhabitants, being more proper for certain kinds of work, or such as depend on

* Besides, when a great number of workmen labour at the same manufacture, each in his department; the one is occupied all his life on an object; the other on another; and by keeping them to that which they best understand, it is easy for them to attain the highest degree of dexterity. Every thing is executed better, and more readily, and the profession or manufacture may furnish goods much the better and cheaper than those, who, having fewer workmen have not this advantage, and cannot distribute the sorts of work to the men as agree best with their tastes and abilities.

the nature of the waters which must be used. This last object is often very essential. The waters, for example, which are employed in bleaching, are not so common as may be thought. The experiments made by able chymists have clearly proved, that we ought not to use the waters which curdle with soap, or those whose transparency is only altered by alkalies. Nor are all waters good for dyeing. The *Indians* who distinguish themselves in this art, know well how to find the difference. They prefer water of a peculiar quality, which they call *apra*.

Lastly, when we would establish manufactures, the works of which are difficult of carriage, and which we wish to serve in foreign commerce, it is proper to chuse such places in a province as renders exportation more easy, more prompt, and less expensive.

All these considerations united are complicated enough; they modify themselves with one another, and ought to be combined together, ballanced and weighed well for obtaining the result the most advantageous to a country. A simple stroke of the eye suffices not for giving it, and it confirms the necessity of government, inviting the citizens, spread through the various districts of a country, to propose their views on the manner of introducing industry, and distributing it properly. But that these arrangements
may

may not be rendered useleſs, it is neceſſary that the cities ſhould by ſome contrivance render the communications between themſelves eaſy, that the inhabitants of the country may without difficulty eſtabliſh themſelves in the cities, to cultivate the particular arts for which they find in themſelves the greateſt aptitude.

After having determined on what ſide we muſt direct induſtry, and how we ſhould diſtribute it through a ſtate, we next come to the execution of the plan which is beſt to procure the neceſſary aſſiſtance. And this is what makes the ſubject of the third conſideration of Legislation.

CONSIDERATION III.

*The Protection and necessary Assistance on the Part
of the Government.*

WITHOUT the protection and support of government, it is very difficult to introduce among a nation the arts and manufactures, either from individuals wanting knowledge, or not having fortunes great enough for forming these sorts of establishments. They should have assistance in gaining the knowledge of the best processes—of machines the most perfect—by calling to their succour the regard and attention of able men—by taking advantage of the industry of foreigners—and by aiding the undertakers in the first expence. These various objects deserve to be separately developed.

*I. Good Instructions upon the Preparation of raw
Materials.*

It is directly necessary that the government should procure for its people instructions and memoirs, for distinctly teaching them the best preparations of the raw materials. It is often necessary, that these parts of knowledge be expanded

panded among all the cultivators. Without it, the materials which they collect will run the hazard of being spoiled, or becoming useless. This is the case with madder when it cannot be used green, or when it is to be exported to a distance, the proprietors must know how to dry it properly; otherwise it will soon be corrupted by fermentation. The preparation the most common that can be given to rough products, has a great influence on the quality of stuffs which are fabricated from them. If, for example, in a country where hemp or flax are badly watered by the inhabitants, the linens which are made of them must be of a bad quality. It is also to an ignorance of this operation in *England*, that Mr. *Home* attributes the declension of the linen manufactures in that kingdom.

Sometimes it happens that a nation being alone in possession of the true manner of giving the first preparations to certain raw materials, brings other people into a difficulty of furnishing them, although they might have found them in their own country, had they been acquainted with the first preparations proper to be used. It is thus that a want of this knowledge has reduced *France*, as well as all the other nations of the North, where there are manufactures of silk, to furnish themselves from the *Piemontese* with organized silk, to serve as a chain for their stuffs.

They may employ their own for the wool. Nevertheless *M. de Vaucanson* has shewn, by well-made experiments, that in *France* they could make this organized silk with that of the kingdom, as all the advantages of the *Piemontese* come from their knowing better how to draw the cocoons with which they work. It is therefore the wisdom of government, to inform their people concerning the first preparation that they may not become tributary to foreigners, or their inferiors without necessity.

The goodness of these preparations, or other operations which are connected with the arts and manufactures, depends much on the instruments or machines more or less perfect which they employ.

II. *Machines.*

The government should likewise be informed of the best machines or instruments, which are in use in other states. Nothing should be omitted for acquiring and facilitating a sale to the inhabitants. Models should be given to the workmen of the nation; and when the expence of construction is too considerable to be supported by single individuals, it is worthy of the munificence of the sovereign, and the wisdom of the body of the cities to submit to the expence, and to render it to the
people

people as little burthenfome as poffible. Madder, of which we have already fpoken, would alfo furnifh us an example. We have faid, that for bringing it to a ftate of being preferved and transported, they muft know how to dry it. But nothing is more tedious, more difficult, or more embaraffing than this operation upon a great quantity, without the affiftance of ftoves. Nevertheless their construction demands expences, which few individuals can fupport. It appears therefore, that in places where madder is cultivated, it is proper for the different bodies of the ftate to contribute to the eftablifhment of others on the beft models. In bringing individuals to make ufe of them for fmall quantities, each might without much expence dry his madder, and the publick be indemnified the expence of the construction. The refining hemp and flax presents another example. We know how much that operation contributes to the quality of the thread. It feems that we ought not to neglect the inventions of foreigners. Such are the *Dutch* mills, of which we fee the defcription in the tranflation of the *Effays* of the *Dublin Society*, and which they have ufed with the greateft fuccefs.

It is not rare to fee nations, for preferving their fuperiority of a certain kind, make a myftery of the machines which they ufe in their manufactures,

manufactures, either from those machines aiding in gaining the highest degree of perfection, or expediting more work in the same time, and rendering labour cheaper. Then we ought to excite men of talents, who are versed in mechanics, to consider the machines in use in the country, that they may be improved. A mind conducted by an enlightened calculation, and certain principles, may find defects which had escaped the first inventors. The celebrated *Vaucanson* has proved, for example, the means of his country's drawing silk from the cocoons. The same famous mechanic, invited not long since by the ministry of *France*, sought the manner of pressing and platting the stuffs of gold and silver, and for giving them the brilliancy of those of the Levant; to invent a machine, by the aid of which they execute it happily, and so open to the nation a new and very considerable branch of commerce.

III. *An Academy composed of Men versed in the Sciences, useful to the Arts.*

It is so advantageous to the arts and manufactures, to be considered by men versed in physicks, chymistry, and medicine, in every state, which proposes to make them flourish, that they ought to charge a company of able men to turn their genius to it, furnishing the means of
successful

successful application. The workmen are like automats, destined to produce certain movements, from which they cannot escape. They rarely seek to perfect the inventions which they use, and when they would, they are incapable, at least, when they have not received from nature a genius strong and above the vulgar. For when they have not the knowledge, and the necessary principles for seeing what is defective in a machine—for extending, varying, and rectifying the process, it cannot be expected that the same service should be done, as if able men furnished with a good theory, were to join their lights with those of the most intelligent artists. When the mathematicians attach themselves to the consideration of the moving powers, calculating the effect which they ought to produce (deducting that which must be allowed for friction, and which depends on magnitude, &c.) they do all that depends on mathematics. At the same time, physick and chymistry carry their light to the processes employed in manufactures. As the principal operations of chymistry are often executed, it belongs to it to value with exactness the usual processes—to recal them to their true principles, to simplify them, and to render them less costly—to escape abuses, and to give regulations which conduct more directly, and more surely to the end. It is, for example,

to this science in *France*, that they owe the progress which the art of dying has made, the king's ministers having successively invited able chymists to review it, and have carried them to the highest degree of perfection. There are found indeed, many imperfect processes. In examining the composition of certain salts, they have come to fixing certain materials for colouring, and for rendering them secure from the action of water, rain, the air, and the sun; but there are other colours which cannot be fixed with the same effect, but remain subject to alteration, declining in a certain time. But if ever it becomes possible to ensure these colours, it must be by chymistry alone, which can alone have the honour of putting us in possession of this inestimable secret. The sciences of which we have spoken, render themselves the more beneficial to the arts and manufactures, as they assist in gaining of other people the secrets, the knowledge of which they would reserve to themselves. We have already cited some examples; it is easy to mention others. Have we not seen *M. de Réaumur* carry off from the *Germans* the art of making tin, and of converting iron into steel? His learned and laborious researches penetrated fully into all the mysteries.

It is to the attention that has always been given in *France* to arts and manufactures, by a
learned

learned company, that Mr. *Home* attributes their superiority in many arts over other nations. These are the words in which this able *Scotsman* himself invited the *Edinburgh* Society to carry the torch of chymistry to the art of bleaching linen, on which he published an excellent treatise.

“ I consider it,” says he, “ as a loss to the arts and manufactures of *Great Britain*, that we have not an academy established by the publick authority and expence, for attending to their progress. The members of this academy having an honest necessity of pursuing their genius, might without any inconvenience, give ear to the voice of fame. It has cost very little to *France* for her Academy of Sciences. And yet what advantages it has procured to the arts and manufactures of that country ! It is to this that the *French* owe their superiority in many of the arts. In establishing this academy, *Lewis XIV.* triumphed over those, whom he could not vanquish by his arms.”

What would Mr. *Home* have said, says his *French* translator, if the *Memoirs upon the Arts* had begun to appear, at the time when he composed his work ?

IV. *Divers Means of gaining a Part of the Knowledge of Foreigners, and of sustaining the first Undertakings.*

Another means which presents itself, of accelerating the progress of a nation in the arts and manufactures is, to send the young practitioners among the people who most distinguish themselves in each kind, to engage those of the nation who travel, to enrich their country with their observations, and at the same time to attract the industrious strangers, who excel in the arts which we want to introduce. In forming young artists among the people, who have acquired a superiority in some arts, they insensibly give their works the turn, the agreeableness and the elegance which such people understand how to give to all sorts of works in their manufactures, and without which we should never dispute with them, or carry off their commerce. With workmen who have thus gained their knowledge, the more they have rendered themselves masters of their practice, of their inventions, and of their ability and particular dexterity, the more risque of their raising their price. *Lewis XIV.* who wanted his nation to cede to no other in the fine arts, neglected not this means: He founded at *Rome a French* academy of painting, which might furnish his kingdom with subjects formed upon

the most excellent models. It is easy to intelligent travellers, to carry off to other countries certain manufactures which are proper for them. Did not *England* see its manufacture of stockings stolen by two merchants of *Nimes*, and this fabrick soon became very common in *France* and elsewhere. But a prince need only to draw a part of the industry of foreigners to his states. The communication is rapid of the taste of all the arts they possess. All we said in the fourth consideration of the second part will be encouragements. Nevertheless, if he would procure distinguished workmen, it is necessary for him to determine by some more powerful mover; such as rewards and particular advantages. Able men who facilitate the forming establishments in their own country, cannot easily be persuaded to fix in other countries, where all is to be created; unless they are tempted by offers capable of captivating them. It is by this means that under the ministry of *Colbert*, to which *France* owes its industry and commerce, *Lewis XIV.* attracted to all parts of his dominions manufacturers of every kind: it was then that *Van- Robais* transported to *Abeville* the manufacture of the cloths of *Holland*. These sort of expences ought not to be regarded as burthensome to the state; they are absolutely necessary in countries which want industry, and the necessary information.

tion. Whatever a prince sacrifices to encourage industry, and multiply the resources of those who live under his dominion, tends to augment his own riches, which are intimately connected with the welfare of his people.

Rather than tax industry, and extinguish it imprudently, by an insatiable avarice, it is good policy to submit to the expence of the first undertakings. Above all, in a poor country, they surpass the fortunes of individuals. When it is surrounded by active nations, who have been long industrious, too many efforts cannot be made for accelerating the progress of the arts and manufactures, and for placing them in a flourishing condition. For what is the consequence of leaving them to languish in a weak and infant state? It is, that in spite of the precautions of government, they become inundated by foreign stuffs, and other fabrics, which discourage and keep down their own manufactures, reduce them to poverty, and plunge them in an eternal darkness. The inhabitants should at least draw from themselves their own consumption, if by a defect of knowledge or assistance they know not how to gain a foreign market. It is therefore proper rapidly to raise those manufactures to a high degree of perfection, without leaving them to pass on insensibly. This is what a state cannot always obtain, unless a government seeks

seeks to enlighten a nation—to gain at any price able workmen—and to assist the undertakers by some advances—at the same time burthening them as little as possible. Good funds are the more necessary to manufacturers, as without them they become a prey to the merchants. To gain money they are forced to abandon their fabricks to a low price, losing all profit, which brings on the ruin of manufactures, and by consequence, that of commerce.

For the rest we must avow, that the premiums obtained of government, instead of being useful to manufactures, become pernicious to them, when they are gained by mere pretenders, or affected by envy and jealousy. If ear is given to the insinuations of enemies, or to jealous men, who wish the declension of a fabrick, and who under a pretext seeks to be reimbursed his expences by the amount of premiums, it must then happen, that the really useful establishments must want them, and fail in their very birth.

Nevertheless, as men easily relax, and want a spirit for keeping them in activity, it becomes necessary to prevent the abuse, and inspire them with emulation; and this is the fourth Consideration of Legislation.

CONSIDERATION IV.

Inspection and Encouragement.

THOSE who have the direction of fabricks are very subject to neglect them, when left quite to themselves, without an eye open to their conduct. Sometimes through a spirit of idleness, they take not the requisite pains, or what is more common, by an insatiable avarice and immoderate desire to gain every thing, they are sparing in the materials—or do not make a good choice, but content themselves with surprizing the purchasers by a false éclat, neglecting the solid colours, and omitting the most essential, in adding to the *quality* of what they fabricate. Through an eagerness to enrich themselves quickly, they miss of their end, but do themselves and all the nation an irreparable injury. In effect, their manufactures presently fall into discredit, those which are exported lose all reputation, and are refused by strangers, which causes a great prejudice to that part of the commerce of a state. It is therefore necessary, by just measures to prevent such abuses, to reform them when they are crept in; a failure in this brings a decline to the manufactures of a country. The
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wise regulations of *Colbert* in this part of the publick administration contributes much to make the manufactures of *Frante* flourish. He gave for example, reputation to the dyers of that kingdom, by not leaving to the masters the power of employing without distinction on all sorts of stuffs, colours, not equally good. It is the same in *Piedmont*; where they distinguish themselves by the drawing of filks; all the regulations of that art are specific in a regulation which the king of *Sardinia* makes them observe rigorously.

It is not enough to curb by good regulations, the neglects and relaxations of workmen, and their bad faith, we must further inspire them with the most lively emulation—the greatest courage and ardour for perfecting the arts which employ them. It is to extinguish this salutary emulation, to be too easy in granting exclusive privileges. They are good for nothing but tying the hands of industry, and debasing a nation more and more; those who obtain them by their intrigues, and the force of credit, think of nothing less than what tends to perfecting them. They dream only of gaining quickly and without measure, by fabricating lightly and selling cheaply; which cannot but bring on the ruin of manufactures and commerce. It is much better to give no such shackles to industry. Leave to

each the entire liberty of occupying themselves according to their taste; and it will happen when there are many of the same trade, that they will make great efforts for gaining on each other, by the goodness of the manufacture and the cheapness.

It depends on princes to light up and maintain this emulation: They have in their hands the resources proper for animating men. What we have already said in the first part for inspiring emulation among our cultivators would be applicable here, and with the same success. When those who are at the head of government, honour and recompence men who gives marks of true genius, and render themselves meritorious in the sciences, in the mechanical and liberal arts; industry would then flourish, and spread on all sides. A nation, animated by a spirit of honour and emulation, becomes capable of extraordinary efforts; she finds in herself resources—whereof she could not have thought herself capable, and at which she would have been astonished. In the space of a few years, what carried among the *Athenians* the arts to so high a point of perfection, to which they saw them raised all of a sudden, when *Pericles* held the reins of government? It was the attention given to the institution of games, combats, and the prizes given in favour of those who shewed the greatest abilities in the
arts.

arts. Being themselves the judges and distributors of the prizes, it gave birth to a noble emulation in each to excel in his profession. For the honour of a crown, for meriting the applause of their fellow citizens—every great mind laboured for success in every kind of art and science, for which they found themselves proper. We have no want of recurring to such distant times for shewing the influence which encouragement has upon the progress of the arts and sciences; we have examples more modern. Under the ministry of the great *Colbert*, which cannot be too often cited in all that is connected with the establishment of industry; he animated and recompensed in *France*, all who distinguished themselves in any kind of life. He consecrated annually to this use, forty thousand crowns. His zeal for the great and useful, was followed with the most brilliant success. *France* saw itself enriched by a multitude of men of talents, in the arts and sciences of every kind.

In the cities where they established some kind of industry, he likewise directed that they should every year expose their works to the eyes of the publick, who adjudged a crown of honour to whoever should most excel in the beauty and excellence of his work. Institutions of this nature procure better workmen than the *freedoms*, who make at present such a noise in the manu-
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facturing

facturing world. These combats of glory and honour, tend always to keep the workmen in breath. They feel themselves without ceasing, excited to surpass one another. But, let us ask if this effect is produced by the *freedoms* in use among the moderns? A man, who at one time gives his *chef d'œuvre*, and who has been received a master, is he not to be regarded as sufficiently able? He will think the more of making a new progress. It is much the same if he relaxes not, or does not forget that which he has learned. Men want a spur for carrying them constantly to good*. It is one object of which a good legislator ought not to lose sight. What great success is every day obtained in *Ireland* by adopting this method! She encourages all sorts of industry—she adjudges recompences to those who fabricate the best stuffs or the best paper,

* We may add on the *freedoms*, that they are shackles on genius. Laws too burthenfome will not permit it to have full effect; besides, the dearness of the *freedoms* cannot but disgust young men, who having small fortunes, cannot aspire to them easily. The astonishing industry which reigns in the mountains of *Neufchatel*, makes us see how much it can flourish without this sort of institutions. The spirit of emulation which is felt among the inhabitants of these mountains, is a spur much more powerful for animating them to labour.

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upon a given model—who invent the best designs for fabricks—or the best machines and instruments for the manufactures—or who dye certain stuffs with the best colours that are proposed. From hence she draws the greatest advantages. Her linens already pass for the finest of the North. The constant efforts which the illustrious œconomical Society of *Berne* has made for introducing this method among us, and drawing the nation by this means out of the foreign dependency into which it is plunged, merit the homage and gratitude of all good citizens. Already we have seen the happy effects of the premiums which have been distributed to the best spinners and dressers of hemp. In continuing on the same plan, there is no doubt of the glory of inspiring the love of the arts to a people, who would never have awaked from their lethargy, but for encouragements.

How admirable is the emulation of which we speak, for maintaining in a state the taste for the arts; and for procuring good workmen; nevertheless, for assuring this advantage, we must further take care that the young men are instructed and properly educated. This is the fifth and last Consideration of Legislation, for favouring the arts and manufactures.

CONSIDERATION V.

Education of Artists.

THE first education has much influence on whatever follows. It prepares by little and little, the young children to make more serious reflections, and to bring them to take promptly and with greater effect, what may afterwards be taught. Thus, in the cities it is convenient to give to children an institution relative to the different kinds of industry which are established. They may be turned a little to that side in the first education which they receive in the colleges already founded. Design being necessary in many professions, there should be masters to give them some knowledge of the essential principles; and as for succeeding in the arts, there must be a certain spirit of invention, nothing should be neglected to make it flame out in those children who have a spark. To this we should add some principles of arithmetick, geometry, and mechanics, that they may choose with discernment, and distinguish in a manner sensible, and proportioned to the capacity of their different ages. Hence they will understand how

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to reason with more justness, to catch more delicately the connections, and properly to value the moving powers and their effects. At the same time it would be useful, as has been proposed by *M. de la Chalotais*, in his excellent treatise on national education, to put into their hands descriptions of the arts well executed, that they may gain the principal ideas. “The “Academy Royale of Sciences,” says that author, “has printed a description of the arts. It “is one of the finest monuments which the “present age will leave to posterity. Should “not children turn over the leaves of that book “to design some of the figures? Would it be “impossible,” adds he, “to have a hall in a “college, where the models of machines in “wood or iron might be placed?”

By means of these different attentions they would acquire insensibly a taste for the arts: their inclinations and all their genius would expand: we should not have occasion to feel, to sound, and examine, for what they are most proper: an absolute knowledge would be gained, necessary for forming good citizens, capable of serving their country with honour, in the arts and sciences.

After having discovered the real talents of the children, it remains to take just measures that they

they make good apprenticeships, without which they can never make any but bad workmen, that will dishonour the nation. But these good apprenticeships are scarcely ever made, if the municipal magistrates have not an eye upon the masters, and the young elves who are in the circuit of their cities. It is as rare that the masters make a duty of the case of instructing them. At first they are often employed on every thing, but what concerns their profession. The little ardour they have to accelerate the progress they have made, obliges them to be subject for a longer time than is necessary, which disgusts young men with the professions of which they would be capable. How much also do masters, by pernicious examples of debauchery, idleness, and intemperance, corrupt the manners of their apprentices, and make them such bad subjects as to cause the ruin of the arts and manufactures. On the other side, the apprentices often want docility, they rebel against their masters, refuse to labour, and answer not their cares. It becomes therefore necessary, that the magistrates of the cities should watch over the one and the other, and that every year an exact review should be ordained. There should be some rewards for the masters who formed the most perfect elves, and who gave them the best examples

amples. There should be others also for the apprentices who make the most progress, and who shew themselves the most laborious. In thus encouraging them, they would in the end come to abridging the time of the apprenticeship, which, without being long would furnish excellent workmen. It imports above all, that the magistrates of the cities should seek some expedient for punishing and repressing the masters and the apprentices, who give into intemperance, luxury, and idleness. These sort of men think very rarely of perfecting themselves in an art. Labouring little, and consuming much, they are obliged for the means of living, to sell their works at an exorbitant price; and if the workmen of a nation are of that temper, it will be impossible to support the exportation of manufactures to foreigners. A people cannot perfectly succeed in the arts, if they are not frugal, active, and laborious. A willing activity in work, carries them without ceasing to a new progress. Frugality diminishes the dearthness of workmanship, and gives a certain sale to the fabrics. We should make therefore, the greatest possible efforts for inspiring young apprentices with a love of labour, and to remove them from vices. If the magistrates of municipal cities would take this object into serious consideration,

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it cannot be doubted but they would attain their end. The greatest difficulty which they have to conquer, is not to treat the project as chimerical before they have thought well of it : for it unhappily arises among us especially, that the best projects are lost, because they only meet with a slight examination.

II. COMMERCE.

AFTER having encouraged agriculture, arts, and manufactures of a numerous people, it is easy to make the merchant flourish; because, by means of the culture of the earth and other industry, he abundantly possesses whatever can become an object of commerce, such as manufactured commodities, and a great variety of products which are rendered easier to transport by workmanship, and more useful to mankind, when converted to their purpose by art and labour. All the individuals of a nation being employed, some in one way, and some in another, may supply their reciprocal wants, and mutually sell what is wanted. This is the circulation and interior commerce of a nation being well established. Its exterior commerce will not be less vivified. With her superfluities she procures those comforts and agreeableness which her climate refuses to her industry. She may at the same time raise herself to an high degree of riches, if by the force of labour, and profiting ably of all advantages, she is successful in multiplying her exportations. All nations indeed have
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not the same facility in gaining this end. There are, above all, maritimes ones, who have a certain and an extended opportunity. It belongs to them to communicate without trouble, with all parts of the world. By the aid of navigation, they export all the productions of art and nature in exchange for rough materials, to support their fabrics for money and merchandize, which open them very lucrative branches of commerce with other nations. They are fortunate enough to supply the numerous wants of two empires, *Turkey* and *Spain*, which know not their own resources, and neglect almost every kind of industry.

At the same time, they have colonies at a distance, but dependant on them for the purpose of keeping up a commerce on advantageous terms. To them they may always export with gain a part of their superfluities, both products and manufactures. For as the *Europeans*, who have so established themselves, are accustomed to a kind of life which is proper for those distant climates, and are always in want of the productions of their native soil; the mother country has always a permanent advantage in furnishing their necessities, and in receiving in exchange the productions of the colonies, which are re-sold in *Europe* with profit. Our country being removed from the enjoyment of such prerogatives, cannot

cannot aspire to so extended a commerce. But we have navigable lakes and rivers, which permit us to communicate with the most distant seas, and easily to transport the productions of our soil, and the fruits of our industry. Thus, in animating our culture, and in directing our industry, according to the plan which we have traced in the first and second Consideration of the last and third Part, we might be always in a state of exporting to, and furnishing other people.

But it is said, a great external commerce is it so useful to a state as generally thought? Is not the prosperity which it procures a people momentary, and of short duration? Do not the exorbitant riches which it spreads, bring on idleness, effeminacy, luxury, and the corruption of manners; of which the purity and innocence are infinitely more valuable than all the treasures of the universe? To this I answer, that these disorders do not come till a nation loses the spirit of commerce, which always supposes a spirit of œconomy and frugality. We prevent therefore these evils, by maintaining with care, the spirit of commerce. We shall also mention hereafter, what a legislature ought to do for preserving it in all its force among a mercantile people. It is very easy to gain this end in our own country, as our foreign commerce is of so little extent.

Being surrounded by great nations, who by their activity and their prohibitions, burthen in a thousand manners, our manufactures and our trade, commerce can never procure us those excessive riches which corrupt the people. Industry and commerce place us, in truth, in a commodious state, but never in a situation which will let us dispense with labour. We may obtain this honest mediocrity which the wise prefer to great riches. We may therefore, without any inconvenience, encourage commerce. But what should we do for fulfilling this object? The first Consideration of Legislation in this respect, consists in facilitating the transport of merchandize.

CONSIDERATION I.

Transportation less expensive, more easy, and more prompt.

NOTHING is more proper to animate commerce, than rendering the transport of merchandize less expensive, and as prompt and easy as possible. Saving upon the expence of carriage, is a certain gain of which the merchants are with reason sensible. These small savings accumulated, make at the end of a certain time a considerable sum, which places them in a state of undertaking greater affairs, of selling their merchandize at a reasonable price, and being capable of sustaining the rivalry of foreigners. The least delay in the carriage of merchandize may cause great losses. It often makes them lose favourable occasions of selling with profit, at which time their capitals pay no interest, and little other benefit. At the same time it exposes the merchants to see their merchandize detained in the magazines. There is so much uncertainty and hazard run in commerce, that for encouraging it, we must remove as much as we can, the risques and prejudicial

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delays, and the expences which attend carriage. It is the first task imposed on a prince, who seeks to increase the commerce of the people. Are his states washed by the sea? He ought to profit by that happy situation, for assuring to his subjects communication equally easy and quick, with other nations. Navigation, which is the soul of commerce, can never be favoured too much; or the merchants lead too soon to extend their correspondence through all the world, and to see where they can hazard, attempt, and open with most profit, some branch of commerce. In maritime countries, the prince should profit by all the facilities which can be given by art and nature, for establishing good sea-ports upon his coasts—protect the navigation of his subjects by a powerful marine, and suffer not other powers to give the law by excluding them from any seas.

It is also wise in a government, to construct in a country good roads, which ensure at all times an easy communication between the different provinces of a state; without which, in rainy seasons the roads become impracticable or difficult, commerce is interrupted or at least burthened, and exposed to heavy expences. We must not only establish solid roads between the different markets and magazines of a country; but it is also necessary, that the cities and boroughs

roughs, distant from these principal routes, may easily communicate with those by good cross roads, otherwise, these last places not having enough of the interior circulation, the commerce of the country cannot arrive at that high degree of prosperity to which it would otherwise attain. For the rest, in establishing all the roads it is proper to husband the soil of the country, that they may not give a useless breadth, which augments the expence of construction and maintenance, thus losing land that is precious in agriculture.

It is also an excellent means of facilitating the interior commerce, and diminishing the expence of carriage, to render navigable rivers which are not so, and to join two or more lakes or rivers by canals. The art of cutting canals of communication has been extremely perfected by the moderns. They are come to practising it in places where nature seems to refuse it. By making a great reservoir of water upon an elevated spot between two rivers, and which they call the point of division, they are able by means of sluices, to raise boats, and also to lower them without danger. After all the obstacles which have been surmounted for constructing the famous canal of *Languèdoc*, the finest of this sort that has been made, we ought not to be discouraged with the first view of diffi-

culties, which seem to oppose themselves to the execution of projects of this sort, proposed for opening new paths for commerce. The advantages without number, which often result from these sort of communications, ought to inspire sovereigns with courage to conquer them. If the means of employing and augmenting the substances favourable to population, as we have established in the second part, be followed, we may say, that in multiplying canals you contribute to increase the people. For instead of roads, which demand more horses than men for the carriage of merchandize; canals employ more men than horses, and consequently there are required fewer horses to be maintained, from whence agriculture may yield more marketable commodities for maintaining a great people.

By the different ways we have explained, not only in favour of the circulation and exportation of the merchandize of a country, but also for gaining the transport of foreign commodities, destined for other states, with which they could not furnish themselves; to them it is expedient always to prefer the passage that is the shortest, which is through states that have good roads or lakes, or rivers made navigable, or canals properly executed for diminishing the expence of carriage. Such sort of conveyances are infinitely valuable to a state that is in pos-

session of them: They gain much money—they augment the revenue of the prince, by the moderate duties he requires on the merchandize which passes. An infinity of persons gain by them, as the carrier, the wheel-right, the waterman, the commissioner, and the proprietors of estates, who have the more opportunities of selling their products.

All enlightened princes now take these objects into consideration. For a long time has the happy government under which we live, given a particular attention to constructing in the canton, at a great expence, many roads proper for facilitating commerce. There remains nothing more for perfecting this work, than opening convenient communications between many cities that want it, and whose inhabitants cannot attempt the great roads which ought to be made by the munificence of the sovereign, but only the cross ones which are always impracticable at certain seasons. Perhaps it would be easy to remedy this, by encouraging the cities and communities to labour at it. I am persuaded that some assistance would engage them to work with ardour: for at present, every one has felt the inconvenience of them, and all the cities have begun for some time to repair the roads which are in their respective territories. But for drawing more utility from it, and giving

greater success to the works, it is necessary for them to act in concert, and unite all their efforts. Nothing without doubt can better determine them than a gracious invitation of government, accompanied by sufficient encouragements.

It would also be very advantageous to us to profit more by the seasons of navigation on our lakes and rivers, by the aid of which we might much extend our commerce; for this effect it is necessary to execute a communication between the lake of *Geneva* and that of *Neuchâtel*, not only by a good road by land, but also by a canal for joining them. It seems as if this enterprise could only fail through a want of good engineers for conducting the work to perfection, and from the undertakers wanting the necessary funds for pursuing it. There is no sovereign but what should submit to the expence of works of this nature, and should procure the information, and give all the assistance requisite for forming a good plan. There can be no person that does not feel the advantages which would result from the establishment of such a canal. Commodities would circulate with a wonderful freedom. Our wines, of which the sale is every day more difficult, might be transported without much expence into many cantons that want them, and would find a certain sale. The facility and cheapness of water carriage, would
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bring back into the country many merchandizes, which go a round about way, since many of the neighbouring states have constructed better roads.

When the time comes, that we give the merchants good roads, and facilitate the transport of merchandize, they will every day make fresh progress and undertake greater things. There wants nothing to encourage them but the protection of government. We ought never to cramp trade, which is absolutely required for the good of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. This is the second Consideration of Legislation.

not the same facility in gaining this end. There are, above all, maritimes ones, who have a certain and an extended opportunity. It belongs to them to communicate without trouble, with all parts of the world. By the aid of navigation, they export all the productions of art and nature in exchange for rough materials, to support their fabrics for money and merchandize, which open them very lucrative branches of commerce with other nations. They are fortunate enough to supply the numerous wants of two empires, *Turkey* and *Spain*, which know not their own resources, and neglect almost every kind of industry.

At the same time, they have colonies at a distance, but dependant on them for the purpose of keeping up a commerce on advantageous terms. To them they may always export with gain a part of their superfluities, both products and manufactures. For as the *Europeans*, who have so established themselves, are accustomed to a kind of life which is proper for those distant climates, and are always in want of the productions of their native soil; the mother country has always a permanent advantage in furnishing their necessities, and in receiving in exchange the productions of the colonies, which are re-sold in *Europe* with profit. Our country being removed from the enjoyment of such prerogatives, cannot

cannot aspire to so extended a commerce. But we have navigable lakes and rivers, which permit us to communicate with the most distant seas, and easily to transport the productions of our soil, and the fruits of our industry. Thus, in animating our culture, and in directing our industry, according to the plan which we have traced in the first and second Consideration of the last and third Part, we might be always in a state of exporting to, and furnishing other people.

But it is said, a great external commerce is it so useful to a state as generally thought? Is not the prosperity which it procures a people momentary, and of short duration? Do not the exorbitant riches which it spreads, bring on idleness, effeminacy, luxury, and the corruption of manners; of which the purity and innocence are infinitely more valuable than all the treasures of the universe? To this I answer, that these disorders do not come till a nation loses the spirit of commerce, which always supposes a spirit of œconomy and frugality. We prevent therefore these evils, by maintaining with care, the spirit of commerce. We shall also mention hereafter, what a legislature ought to do for preserving it in all its force among a mercantile people. It is very easy to gain this end in our own country, as our foreign commerce is of so little extent.

Being surrounded by great nations, who by their activity and their prohibitions, burthen in a thousand manners, our manufactures and our trade, commerce can never procure us those excessive riches which corrupt the people. Industry and commerce place us, in truth, in a commodious state, but never in a situation which will let us dispense with labour. We may obtain this honest mediocrity which the wise prefer to great riches. We may therefore, without any inconvenience, encourage commerce. But what should we do for fulfilling this object? The first Consideration of Legislation in this respect, consists in facilitating the transport of merchandize.

 CONSIDERATION I.

Transportation less expensive, more easy, and more prompt.

NOTHING is more proper to animate commerce, than rendering the transport of merchandize less expensive, and as prompt and easy as possible. Saving upon the expence of carriage, is a certain gain of which the merchants are with reason sensible. These small savings accumulated, make at the end of a certain time a considerable sum, which places them in a state of undertaking greater affairs, of selling their merchandize at a reasonable price, and being capable of sustaining the rivalry of foreigners. The least delay in the carriage of merchandize may cause great losses. It often makes them lose favourable occasions of selling with profit, at which time their capitals pay no interest, and little other benefit. At the same time it exposes the merchants to see their merchandize detained in the magazines. There is so much uncertainty and hazard run in commerce, that for encouraging it, we must remove as much as we can, the risques and prejudicial

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further than precisely necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants; and when people dare not form magazines, it happens that an unfortunate year brings on an extreme scarcity. And the necessity of having recourse to strangers for that with which the nation is supported.

All we have said here, is confirmed by what we have seen in *France*. Formerly the exportation of corn was permitted, and she fed *England* who dared not to export any; but at present, since *England* has encouraged the corn-trade by bounties, she has furnished immense quantities to *France*, who has had many provinces ruined in their agriculture, by interdicting this commerce. It is only by returning to the ancient freedom, as she has of late determined to do, that she can re-establish her culture in its first lustre.

But perhaps it may be said, that instead of exporting grains, would it not be better to convert them to the nourishment of a numerous people? Without doubt, if we could all at once procure this numerous people, it would be preferable. We want exportation in order to have markets. But men do not engender with so much facility; they must have time. We have seen in the Second Part, that, for retaining them in the country, and engaging them to labour in the propagation of the species, they must first be placed in a state of ease. This ease can never
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have place among the proprietors of land, unless they have a reasonable price, and consequently, a ready market; then only, the inhabitants being in a commodious state will people the country; and when the time comes that you have a great people, exportation will cease without prohibitions; the consumption of the country must first be served. For who would export grains while they could sell them advantageously at home.

We need not here say more than that the exportation of corn is not proper in states, where they cannot sustain at proper markets the competition of strangers. If the soil of a country is good and fertile, there will be no impossibility of sustaining this competition, any more than if the culture was not sufficiently animated. If this was the case, and it arose from a want of a market, how should the farmer sell his crops, when they were very abundant? What if he has before his eyes the prospect of a prompt sale? He redoubles his labour—and in spite of the smallness of the price, he fears not abundant crops; because on a great number of measures they procure a multitude of small grains, of which the amount surpasses what is drawn from moderate crops, when the measure of grain sells dear. Thus, for placing a nation in a state of entering into a competition with strangers, and at the same time, gain upon them, we must encourage

courage exportation by bounties. It is by this method that the *English* have turned the tables on *France*; for in 1621, when exportation had place among them, the chevalier *Colepepper* complained, that the *French* carried to *England* such prodigious quantities of grain at so low a price, that the *English* could not sustain the competition with them in their own markets.

Thus all concurs with the clearest evidence, that the exterior commerce of corn is advantageous to a nation, and ought not to be restrained by burthenfome laws. We cannot doubt but that this commerce gives more activity to the labourers of the canton of *Berne*, which being well cultivated in every part, might give much more corn than is necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants. Nothing discourages the farmers of the *Pays de Vaud*, so much as the want of a market. In years of abundance they see with sadness, the fecundity of their land. What a reflection therefore, not to find an efflux to other parts of *Switzerland*, that have not enough for maintaining themselves. It would infallibly happen to us as to the *English*. The courage and ardour which would thence inspire all our labourers, would place our agriculture upon so flourishing a footing, that we should hereafter enter into competition with those who had hitherto supplied us. But for determining individuals

viduals to undertake this commerce, and to make magazines of corn, we must facilitate the means of preserving it without the risque of seeing it spoiled. Nothing is more proper to conduct us to this end than the establishment of stoves, by the aid of which we can destroy the seed of all the insects, and free the grain from the prejudicial humidity which makes it ferment and corrupt. There are required therefore in the different districts of the country, the most abounding in corn, the publick construction of stoves, where individuals may for a slight contribution dry their corn.

The liberty of commerce in the manufactures of a country, in grain, wine, cattle, and objects of traffic, supposes that the government does not burthen them with monopolies, and exclusive privileges. These granted for exercising certain branches of commerce, occasion an infinite loss to the nation. Those who obtain them would make immense profits, by selling their merchandize too dear. They render subsistence by this means too difficult to the poor, and cut off the resources for employing them. They have no regard to the true interests of the nation, because they all want to enrich themselves, before they transmit their privileges to others. These privileges which are as easily taken away as granted, prevent a nation from making the most

of any one branch of commerce, or of ever rendering her the masters of it. There are likewise great inconveniences in the privileges granted to companies, composed of a great number of persons. The avarice which makes their common character, is mischievous to the welfare and extension of commerce. Sometimes, for raising the price of merchandize, they will not take enough for the foreign supply, and from thence bring on their own ruin, and that of the national commerce; because they then cannot enter into competition with other nations. It is not proper to establish these sorts of companies, except when affairs are totally above the ability of individuals. Under a propitious government, one part of the state is never favoured to the prejudice of the other. It is in her power to distribute advantages equally to all, so that every one may have a share.

There are states where it is very easy for monopoly to introduce itself; it is where commerce is carried on by the prince, or by those who have a share in the government. For who can prevent ordonnances being issued in favour of appropriating and engrossing all the advantages of trade? In some states they have taken wise measures for preventing this abuse. At *Venice* the nobles are not permitted to exercise commerce. At *Rome* the senators were excluded
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from having at sea a vessel, that held more than forty muids.

We should in vain grant a liberty, in commerce, if we burthened it with too heavy duties, and distributed them ill. This is an important point, which demands being treated of separately. We shall make it the object of the third Consideration of Legislation.

CONSIDERATION III.

Moderate and well laid Duties.

THERE is no operation which has so much influence on the prosperity or declension of commerce, as the manner in which the prince regulates his duties on importation and exportation of merchandize. Here ought to preside a spirit of moderation, of proportion, and comparison, which favours equally the revenues of the prince, the welfare of industry, and national commerce. For bringing about this just medium, the true general maxim is, to lay on very low duties on the exportation of the merchandize of the country, as well as on rough materials, imported for the use of the manufactures. The duties ought only to have for their principal object the manufactures of other countries, at least such as are not necessary to the inhabitants, and which they can do without. At the same time, the duties should be collected in the least embarrassing manner that is possible, that the merchants may not be exposed to lose their time, in answering the difficulties of custom-house officers, collectors of taxes, and avaritious farmers.

By such arrangements we much animate the industry and commerce of a state, repress ruinous importations, and encourage exportation. They facilitate to the merchants the means of giving the national fabrics to better markets than those of other nations, and of gaining preference. The prince has the satisfaction of seeing their commerce extend itself on all sides, and of knowing no other bounds than those which impose the impossibility of finding new markets, or of multiplying to advantage the objects of their traffic. But if other principles are followed in the tariffs of customs and duties, he will then immediately see with grief, the commerce of his subjects extinguished : in effect, if he establishes burthensome duties upon the exportation of merchandize, and upon the importation of rough materials for working into fabrics, he must either see the merchant make no profit, or absorbed by the rapacity of the financiers, or merchandize raised so high, as to make it impossible to be sold, and support the competition of other nations. The loss of commerce and manufactures, is therefore inevitable in such circumstances. For will it be found that merchants and manufacturers will ever labour uniformly for the prince, and leave to him all the fruit of their works ? Nevertheless commerce being at any time diminished, the receipts of the prince must decrease in the same

proportion. Thus by imprudently augmenting the customs and duties, he impoverishes himself in the source of his riches. When these sorts of impositions are regulated with moderation and wisdom, the number of merchandizes and merchants increase, the multitude of small duties which are gained, produce a sum infinitely greater than that which results from some exorbitant ones, which destroy a trade by excess of imposts.

Too high customs are also dangerous, in sometimes depriving the state of the freight of foreign merchandize, so that they take other routes to the great detriment of the publick.

Nothing is more pernicious to the prince and people, than the multiplication of customs and duties, which render divers parts of the provinces, of the same sovereignty, like enemies to one another. It enchains the interior commerce, and makes the publick ease disappear.

We now come to find, that for extending commerce we must not burthen it, nor shackle it with excessive duties. We may add, that this extension of commerce requires, that we labour to establish a great confidence among merchants, and to ensure them from every species of injustice. This is the fourth Consideration of Legislation,

CONSIDERATION IV.

Establish Confidence.

THE foundations of commerce are justice, good faith, and fidelity in performing engagements. Without these virtues all trade becomes impracticable. They would trust one another in nothing, live in eternal suspicions, and for ever fear to find themselves the victims of knavery. Thus, in countries where we would render commerce flourishing, it is proper to make good faith reign among the inhabitants. When we would take such measures, we cannot punish cheating too severely, or place too much certainty in affairs of trade. The merchant must therefore have nothing to fear—no injustice, neither from the state nor from strangers, nor from the other merchants of the nation.

I. It is directly necessary, that the statesman should give no umbrage to the merchants, and seek not to oppress them, even in their most extreme wants. In all affairs treated with them, he ought to hold his engagements with an inviolable fidelity, shew an impartial justice to them, and do nothing that can the least prejudice

the publick credit, or that can give them the least suspicion that they are not in perfect security. It is in states where this spirit of government reigns, that all commerce, all things else equal, has the greatest facility of extending itself, and embraces the greatest sphere. Such are the republican states, of which the constitution best ensures the fortune of the citizens—"The great enterprizes of merchants," says the President *Montesquieu*, "are always necessarily mixed with publick affairs. But in the monarchies, the publick affairs are for the most part suspected by merchants, whereas they appear certain in the republican states. The great enterprizes of commerce, are not therefore for monarchies, but for the government of many."

It is only with trades extremely bounded and concentered in a small district, that can be the better for exchanges. It is what they make use of when they cannot extend and facilitate commerce, by employing money as a mean term proper for the valuation of merchandize. But as the introduction of money procures this advantage, and never becomes pernicious, the princes should take good care not to render this sign suspected, uncertain, and proper for destroying the credit of a nation with others, either by introducing money of a bad alloy, or raising too high the price. These sorts of processes inspire strangers

with a diffidence, which prevents them from trading with states where are such operations. It is the means of reducing commerce to the necessity of exchanges. Commerce has a greater facility of extending itself, when paper truly represents the value of money; but for this it is necessary, that the laws should never favour an unjust debtor, and that if they establish a bank for having new signs of value, the prince regards the treasure in deposit as sacred and inviolable.

II. In the second place, in the view of establishing the security of foreign commerce, and not to expose it to other reverses than such as depend on strokes of fortune, it is necessary to secure it from the vexations and depredations of other nations, and to make it a point never to be wronged in the difficulties which may arise among merchants. It is one advantage which a prince may procure to his subjects, in giving himself an example in his states of impartial justice towards strangers—in making them respect his power upon sea and land, in all places where his subjects trade—and in contracting treaties and alliances with other nations.

III. In the third place, the confidence which commerce supposes among a trading people, government should secure from all fraud on the
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part of the national merchants. It is necessary that in all the differences which arise in matters of commerce, they obtain speedy justice. We have already seen elsewhere, that in order to not being arbitrarily judged; and to have nothing to fear from the partiality of magistrates, there will be a want of good laws, to which the judges are obliged to conform exactly. We may add, that in commercial states, the laws ought to be in great number, and more particular than in those which have no trade; because the merchant gives rise to conventions, affairs, species of property, methods of acquiring, and relations of which we could not otherwise speak. It is also requisite that judgment be given speedily, and without too many formalities. Long discussions turn the merchant to an infinity of other affairs, in which he ought never to be interrupted without necessity.

The prosperity of commerce requires, that great accuracy should be shown in returning sums of money lent at the precise time they are due. The laws ought therefore to give a creditor all the facility possible, for constraining the debtor to pay as he ought. For encouraging men against the fear of bankruptcies, and maintaining the spirit of confidence, it is proper to guard rigorously against fraudulent bankruptcies, and not to suffer the national good
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faith to be tarnished with impunity. They should also, with the same view, make regulations which tend to engage children to make satisfaction for their fathers who die insolvent. They might be deprived of certain advantages, and declared incapable of certain employments, if they did not reimburse their fathers debts.

In order to succeed in settling upon solid foundations, the publick confidence, we must maintain in a nation a spirit of order and oeconomy which supports commerce, and without which it will not be slow in its declension. This is the fifth and last consideration of Legislation for favouring commerce.

CONSIDERATION V.

Maintain the Spirit of Order, Labour, and Economy, which supports Commerce.

THE commerce of a nation is its power when it is accompanied with a spirit of order, labour, and œconomy. In all parts of life there must be much order, for preserving and augmenting estates. Every man who keeps not exact accounts of what he possesses, and what he owes, who does not regulate his accounts regularly at certain times, must be in danger of dissipating his fortune. He never knows how to proportion his expence to the state of his affairs, he must leave his debts to accumulate, he knows not what may embarrass him, and he often finds himself upon the brink of ruin, at a time that he expected no such matter. But if this Spirit of order is very beneficial in all kinds of life, it is more particularly so in commerce. The affairs of merchants are more complicated than those of other people. The state of their fortune is subject to a thousand unforeseen events. Without much attention they would be ignorant of their own situation,
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and not be able to accommodate their views and their projects. In one word, there glides into their affairs frightful disorder, which it would be impossible to endure, and which in the end would overturn the most opulent houses.

Thus, in order to prevent the misfortune of merchants, it is proper to force them by very severe laws to keep their books in good order, so that they may never have in their affairs either obscurity or confusion. For the more easily attaining this end, it would be very advantageous to give children in the colleges the principal lights on the manner of keeping and regulating accounts. By these means the apprenticeships to commerce would become shorter and less expensive for the fathers of families. It would spread among the merchants of a nation a spirit of order, which would diminish the number of bankruptcies, and attract the confidence of strangers.

There must also in commerce be much frugality and œconomy. With these qualities a small fund suffices for extending it. In effect, when a merchant is laborious and frugal, most of his profits accumulate, increase his capital, and assist him in undertaking the greatest affairs. A nation of this character has a greater facility in extending her commerce from her frugality, permitting her to be contented with small profits,
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and to sell her merchandize cheap, obtaining thereby a preference to other commercial nations, who consume more themselves, and labour less. It is by this means that we have seen many states succeed in carrying their commerce to a most high degree of prosperity and splendor. Such were the *Phenicians*, the antient inhabitants of *Marseilles*, and the *Dutch*.

Necessity or a bad soil, which gives living to but few—laws made against luxury—the mediocrity of the fortunes of individuals—the simplicity of the manners of those in the government, and the education of youth, all these may give birth to a spirit of œconomy, which agrees with commerce. Indeed when the time comes that the nation has enriched herself with commerce, it is difficult to maintain this spirit of œconomy. It is to be feared that those who have amassed much wealth by traffick, will think no more of labouring but of enjoying, and plunging themselves in delicacies; a fatal example which may bring on many others, and at last destroy the spirit of commerce. Legislation must therefore attach itself with all its force to prevent such a revolution. To this end would particularly answer the laws which tend to divide fortunes, and prevent the re-union of many estates in one family; we have already had occasion of speaking on this subject. In favour
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of this arrangement, we should know that each possessed wealth enough for being in a state of undertaking something, and that on the other side, no person should have enough for enabling him to renounce industry. With a view to preserving this spirit of commerce, it is proper to place it in honour. Care must be taken that trade is not despised by any other order. That no person should regard it as beneath him, and that employments should allow the exercise of it. If it was otherwise, each would be eager to make his fortune, with a view only of living afterwards more honourably, and pursuing commerce no more. From thence it comes by little and little, that luxury introduces itself, which gives a disgust at labour, and commerce falls entirely.

It is time to put an end to this discourse, which has increased under the pen beyond what I expected. Perhaps it may be found to exceed the bounds which these sort of memoirs ought to have. But the matter prescribed, which embraces the whole of political œconomy, could not be curtailed into narrower limits, without being at the same time obliged to limit matters purely general. I am, nevertheless, far removed from the presumption of believing that I have exhausted the proposed subject. On the contrary, I doubt not that there remains many important

portant considerations to be made, I sincerely add, that I wish some other citizen, I will not say more zealous, or a greater lover of truth; but more enlightened, and better instructed than me, may propose a plan more worthy of being followed; and I should be the first to rejoice with the illustrious society, of whom we cannot too much respect the great views, and the decisions which tend so completely to the highest welfare of our country.

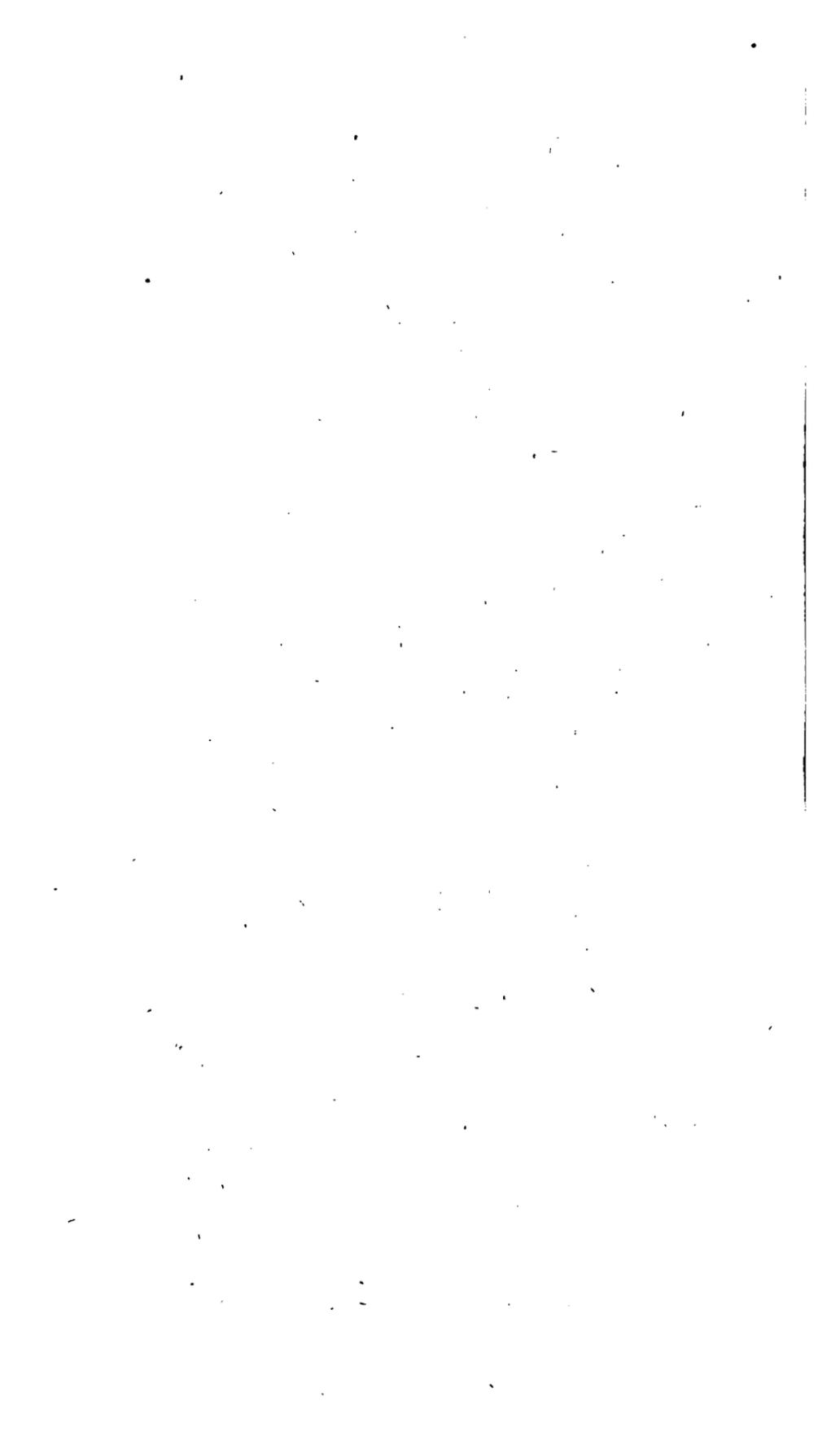
THIRD ESSAY,

BY

M. SEIGNEUX DE CORREVON,

Honorary MEMBER of the Œconomical Society
of BERNE, and President of the correspond-
ing Society at LAUSANNE.

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E S S A Y III.

BY legislation is not here meant, that which has for its object the bounding the wickedness, and repressing the passions of mankind; but that part of the supreme authority which tends to the greatest welfare of the people, by throwing its views on all their wants, by animating them to draw from the earth whatever it can produce, and by their own industry, as much as possible to supply the wants of others.

Legislation is therefore the authority of the legislator, or the system of his regulation; and the spirit of legislation is, so to speak the genius which presides in his decisions, being collective of the views, motives, and principles on which he dictated.

The Spirit of Legislation differs not from that of laws, which according to the illustrious *Montesquieu*, is the knowledge and application of all the combinations which ought to be found in laws; the situation, climate, taste, and genius of the inhabitants, the sort of welfare of which they are susceptible, the degree of prosperity to which they can arrive, and to which it seems they ought to be limited.

All the regulations of this legislation ought to tend to making the nation independant, and if possible, necessary to those which surround it, and to making its alliance respectable.

This legislation acts *exteriorly* by removing, or driving away from the country governed, whatever prudence permits or directs to be removed: And in the *interior*, for giving birth to, animating and rewarding all meritorious industry, whether it has for its object the soil alone, or the materials which it produces; industry is without contradiction the most to be recommended, and the most valuable, whether it works up foreign materials, to which it gives an higher price, and of course sells among foreigners. But one of its finest functions, and at the same time the most difficult, is to hold an equal balance between the wants, and the means of providing for them; among all the orders of persons which these wants and those means interest: between cultivation and the arts, and in the same manner, between the divers orders of cultivators; likewise, between them and the artizans; between those who buy, and those who sell; between those who consume and those who labour; but above all, in preventing monopoly, which presently renders itself master of industry.

The *laws* alone, however good and powerful they may be, are not sufficient without the regulations

lations of a judicious police; as the paternal authority becomes insufficient for the welfare of a family, if it is not accompanied with an attention and activity in furnishing its wants. There is much truth in assuring the repose of a society, by regulating the conduct of those who compose it; there is much truth in maintaining order by justice, calmness, and equality; but there wants one essential point, which is to take care to occupy usefully, the leisure of men, and direct their views to labour, at the same time that we escape the works of idleness, and procure both to others and ourselves, abundance and ease of life.

There is among divers free nations, a municipal legislation, which derogates much from the views of a superior legislation; it ought only to take care in the districts, of the execution of regulations, and enter into the details in which the superior cannot enter.

But in the subject which we have to treat of, it is a question, evidently of superior legislation, that can alone support efficaciously, the important views which are exhibited: We may consider directly the objects, for determining afterwards with the more knowledge, what ought to be the spirit. The question will present us with the relative connections, and in the order that ought to be followed.

Let us trace this chain with a rapid eye, for seeing the immediate union of the objects which compose it, after which we may fathom it with the greater facility.

AGRICULTURE gives birth to all the materials necessary and indispensable to our wants, comprizing the animal products which furnish nourishment to man, cloathing and habitation; and to his lands manure, by which he re-animates his exhausted soils.

POPULATION gives arms to till the land, and industrious hands to all the arts; she furnishes in the number of subjects geniuses, capable of divers views, that turn themselves to different objects; some proper for furnishing plans, and others—who seem to be born for directing and perfecting the execution.

The ARTS in general, by exertions of industry, enoble materials, turning them to a thousand different uses, which gives them a value much superior to what they would otherwise have.

MANUFACTURES include the most useful arts, after those which give livelihood, and the most real and pressing wants; the rich establishments, without which commerce languishes, attract men, because they confer opulence; and it is thus that manufactures are rendered so precious to a state, by those able ministers who found, or sustain them.

COMMERCE exports all the products of nature and art, it gives a circulation, without interruption to the wealth, and conveniencies which industry gives birth to.

These objects are so connected together, that it is not every state that can possess itself entirely of only one, all are, nevertheless, relative and subordinate to agriculture, as their mother: these combinations, gradations, and this subordination, are simply explained, when the question is understood. Agriculture, the capital object, is that on which all the others ought to depend. Population, arts, manufactures, and commerce, other interesting objects, but subsidiary, and subordinate to the first, which a wise legislation ought to favour, as the indispensable canals for expanding its fruits. When these divers objects are favoured to the degree of their merit, they join the *useful* and the *agreeable* to the *necessary*, and operate in the state by an happy circulation, the greatest prosperity of which its position is susceptible.

What a most important work is that of legislation, for distinguishing and fulfilling these various ends! Carrying to the highest possible degree of lustre and favour, the first of the arts; procuring to a country, which this legislation governs, all the necessary arts, and some of the agreeable ones, in a just proportion, relative to

the local situation, to the manners of the inhabitants, and to the wise views which correct them. Strengthening one kind without exhausting the other. Giving an impartial favour to all, according to the degree of utility which each yields to the inhabitants of a city, to the inhabitants of a province, to the inhabitants of an entire nation: taking care that the materials of the soil are manufactured, that those from abroad do not rival them in commerce. When the people abound in proportion to industry; and above all, when agriculture, which supports the artizan, the manufacturer, the merchant, the soldier, the magistrate; and the sovereign is benefitted by an easy consumption, or an advantageous exportation. These objects approach each other, and all are worthy the most serious attention, they offer us a table of that which is great and interesting in legislation. Understanding these well, must produce a vigilant legislation—philosophical and always active.

We may prove that agriculture ought to be protected and encouraged for itself, and we shall enquire how population, the arts, manufactures, and commerce, ought to be favoured, relatively to agriculture, that is to say, for rendering it the most flourishing.

P A R T I.

That Agriculture ought to be encouraged and favoured on its own Account.

Agriculture is incontestibly the base of all the establishments, the first and most essential of all, since no other can prosper unless assured of subsistence; abundance, and a good market of its productions. Agriculture ought to precede *population*; as the feast ought to precede the arrival of the guests. It ought to precede the arts and manufactures, as nourishment ought to precede labour; because the scarcity or dearth gives too high a price to work. It ought to precede commerce, because circulation cannot have place, if there are obstruction in the principles, or in the first views; because commerce cannot prosper when these operations are not in the heart of abundance, which eases the expences of salaries, &c. &c.

Sully, to make it flourish in *France*, would have only ploughmen and shepherds. One of his favourite maxims was, that tillage and pasturage were the two breasts of the state. He regarded

regarded agriculture as the base of its power, the support of its grandeur, the source of the publick good.

The respective value of provinces is measured by the abundance of their productions; and it has been said eloquently, *that fields covered with ears of corn are the source of victories* †. It may be said with more certainty and truth, that it is in fortunate fields that industry, the mother of arts is sown.

Sully who, with the heart of a citizen, had the soul of a philosopher, preferred the products of the soil, which could not easily be ravished from him, to conquests, which excite resentment and jealousy. He gave the first attention to products which ensured the liberty of the people, which placed foreigners in a sort of dependence, as the want of the first necessary gives a dependence on foreigners, when they can either furnish or refuse. This product of the land cannot be taken off, but to the profit of the inhabitants, by a traffic more advantageous; in the place of which, the product of the arts and manufactures may perhaps be carried off by the artifices of rivals, and pass away with the artists in all the countries of the world.

From hence we should remember, that agriculture is the first of arts, because it has for its object

† *Eloge du Sully.*

object materials of the first necessity; the first office of a good legislation is to give it all attention, protection, and favour, of which it is worthy by its nature, and its influence on the rest.

The science of economical government (says an enlightened author, M. Thomas) is properly the science of the state; the administration of the finances is merely mechanical. Or the method of preserving the wealth which the economical science produces. *It is that which penetrates to the source of riches, that which gives birth, which augments, distributes, and directs the progress.*

I. Tillage, that first employment of man, being the foundation of all others; the ploughmen form a precious class, which ought to have privileges of their own. The great ought to think that they cannot do without the labourer, but the labourer can easily subsist without them, Humanity and the general interest concurs, to make one feel the necessity of guarding their preservation. Nevertheless, we may add here, and perhaps repeat it when we speak on population, that in almost all the countries of the world they are not enough attentive to this. How many women and children perish for want of experienced midwives, that are well instructed in their business. How many fathers and mothers
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of families, young and robust men, who die for want of assistance in medicine, or fall into a languor at the end of a malady, of which it would have been easy to have cured them, had they had assistance in time! How many others die maimed for want of a surgeon! How many are carried off in the country by epidemical distempers, before they are opposed by salutary remedies! It has been complained of in divers countries, of the efforts which have been made in vain, to stop the progress of distempers among animals.

II. The first mark of attention or favour which Legislation can give to agriculture is, to give credit and do honour to this art. Without fervilely imitating the *Chinese*; without labouring with his own hands, like the emperor of that vast state, without creating mandarins from this order of the people, the chief of a state might animate by efficacious means, the country-life, reward their labours, and the application of those who can employ them with success.

III. We may protect the art of agriculture, by favouring all that extend the knowledge, elevate the taste, excite the practice, facilitate the progress, either by the domestic education, by
schools,

schools, or academical exercises, and by books. By companies mixed, of philosophers, and practitioners, by offices established for information animating and recompensing all the undertakings proper for giving birth to it, or for perfecting some branch relative to agriculture, some zealous citizens spread in the different districts, for watching over that which passes; and what would do better still, for presiding in some manner at the essays which are made by divers individuals, and for giving an account to the office, or to the companies formed for these objects. All that can be said on this head, consists in two truths; one that the good-will of individuals, laborious and enlightened, ought to be the first mover of unequal work; the other, that this good-will becomes almost useless, if it is not aided and succoured by a wise Legislation.

IV. If there were schools of practice, in which masters well chosen, and directed by simple and judicious books, for exercising youth on uncultivated lands, but susceptible of improvement; we should soon discover how many savage and neglected tracts of land, might have their nature changed in good hands; these light essays would prove to the eye, though in small, the great advantages of improvements; success would

would inspire a taste in the communities, the landholders, and all those who have vast lands waste, or only neglected.

V. The matter of improvement has already been placed in full day, and presented as one of the richest mines that can be discovered; a mine capable of peopling and enriching a state; instead of which, those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, are made only to depopulate, and corrupt the manners. Thus the great *Sully*, that minister of profound understanding, hesitated not to propose rewards to those who brought into value uncultivated lands. If the greatest riches are from fertile soils; the riches remaining, if I may use the expression, in the mine are those of badly cultivated or waste soils. It is on this point that a wise Legislation ought to exert itself; not with an air of authority, as if it trespassed on liberty, or disposed of the patrimonies or wealth of subjects; but with that gracious and paternal air, which bends so easily most determined minds, by shewing them the advantages, and offering the means of acquiring them.

One of the greatest evils of humanity is to be enchained by habit. It is very difficult to regard as an evil what we have at all times seen; as the most excellent things would be no longer such, if present every day. It is by the *strings*

of humanity that we must vanquish the mind, in order to get the better of this weakness of the common people. Wherever the wastes, heaths, and commons have legal proprietors, there ought to be a free distribution; a legislation equally just and prudent cannot, nor would constrain the will: but it may be enlightened by representations, and gained by encouragements; by a freedom from the tenths, and other taxes, during a number of years; by assisting those who build on these new lands, with a view of improving them, with sums at low interest, or even without any interest, for enabling them to support the first expences, by the example of the communities, who have considerably ameliorated their estates by such means; the augmentation of rents which is procured by the simple enclosure of lands of a good quality; the recompences to those who establish new domains; a premium to those who build a new plough; who plant a wood of so many acres, where woods are scarce: these means and others to be framed, according to circumstances, would insensibly level all difficulties,

VI. It has been thought, that some lands possessed by communities, which formerly belonged to individuals, were then much better cultivated; this must have been from a sparing
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of expences, when the return was only the payment of a rent, and when great and expensive works are to be done ; the lands ought to change hands for the general good, but this should be effected only by invitations, councils, and encouragements.

VII. There is an excellent practice introduced at *Zurich*, by a company established there a few years ago, under the name of *Lovers or Enquirers into Nature* *. They publish one year a list of rural questions, upon which the most enlightened cultivators are invited to reflect, and to furnish in writing their thoughts, which they are to send to the secretary two months before the solemn assembly, which pronounces on the merit of their labours. This is not all ; these same farmers (chosen without doubt from the countrymen of the canton) are received and honourably placed in that assembly, are invited to defend or explain among them what they think right ; the secretary collects the resolution, after which the president, according to the deliberation of the society, distributes to those who are first in merit, the premiums proposed, with eulogies, and thanks to all. Soon after they
print

* This Company takes the title of *Natur vorher Gesellschaft*.

print the register of what passed, the names of the countrymen who received marks of honour, and new questions for the following year. It is difficult to think how much this wise and patriotic institution inflames the minds who desire to do well, with a thirst of knowledge, and of rendering themselves useful to their country; what emulation, and what harmony it spreads among all orders of the people! This mixture of magistrates, ecclesiastics, of philosophers, and plain farmers, which presents no other authority than that of reason, and the common interest, is perhaps the best remedy that could ever have been employed for drawing the people from the prejudices which attach them to the practice of abuses, and the superstitions of their fathers; and also the best means of placing persons of a superior rank, in a situation of profiting as much as possible of the simple good sense of the people, and of giving the countrymen a taste of their views and principles, without any violence.

VIII. The communities, above all those of the villages, have almost always vast lands in common, which they are not in a state of improving, by undertaking works which demand much conduct and great expences. These enterprises demand rich individuals, that are capable of executing them completely. It may be

asserted, without derogating from the rights of communities, or of individuals of this character, that taking to heart the forming improvements new and expensive—undertaking to establish new grasses—watering dry lands;—cultivating the vast heaths;—establishing woods where forges are wanting;—above all, in draining marshes, and contributing thereby to the fruitfulness and salubrity of a district: an attentive legislation gains much, and procures a very great welfare in facilitating the means, by advances, privileges, or encouragements.

IX. The rights of commonage in certain places, and in general, in corn countries, subject to pasturage after the crop, are very inconvenient. This fatal servitude, gives shackles and an almost invincible obstacle to the liberty of arrangements which require a good œconomy, and continue to render them languid and imperfect, till they are totally freed from such rights; by giving each person a full power over his own land. These means are the only ones that can correct the want of more grass in proportion to the arable; by which an augmentation would at once be made in the quantity of grain, forage, and cattle.

X. Estates of too great extent are evidently subject to be neglected, and badly cultivated.

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An hundred acres divided among ten proprietors, will render perhaps double what it did before; by this means there would be ten cultivators instead of one; more hands and more cultivation, more cattle, and consequently more manure. The single example of the *Roman*, who after having given two thirds of his estate in dower to two daughters, remained on the third, with equal success, should be a proof continually before our eyes. Thus, as the division of great estates, or of great tracts of land, must necessarily augment the number of men, and the products of the lands cultivated, all feigniors of fiefs, and in general, all who represent Legislation, do great good by facilitating the division. This being so, it was a defect, or an error in our fathers, to allow of uncultivated lands, which are often so great, when they certainly had the power of dividing estates.

XI. In all countries where the cultivator cannot have a reasonable return for his expences, he will slacken them and his labours; he will interest himself less in cultivation, which must diminish, and with it, whatever is thereby supported. If the labourer enjoys not ease, he cannot procure it for others; his misery can never produce abundance, nor any species of prosperity; he cannot but be disgusted with his

art, without depriving somebody of a part of their necessaries. For to be at ease he must sell his corn to advantage, and for that end he must be as free as possible.—“ We cannot repeat too often, (says the author of the Eulogy on *M. de Sully*) what an abundance flows from the liberty of commerce in corn; by this in the time of *Sully*, *France* became the granary of *Europe*; she enjoyed this advantage under the reigns of *Henry IV.* of *Lewis XIII.* and in the first years of *Lewis XIV.* and it is certain, that the rich products of grain, while the price was high, have diminished five sixths.” The reason of which is, that *M. Colbert*, for favouring manufactures, prohibited the exportation of corn in 1661, that the subsistence of his workmen being at a low price, the price of the workmanship might be cheaper than among foreigners. The price of grain which had been often at 25 livres, fell to 7, 8, 9, or 10 livres. Cultivation immediately diminished. In bad years the products did not equal the expences. Much was therefore abandoned; by little and little the country was depopulated; and *France*, which had produced 70 millions of septiers, scarcely produces 40 millions at present †.

† Remarques sur les avantages & les desavantages de la *France*, & de la *Grande Bretagne*, par rapport au commerce, &c.

England who, in the middle of the last century, received into her ports, and in her markets, a very considerable quantity of *French* corn, has changed her face, she has converted her commons, and her uncultivated heaths into fertile corn-fields, or rich pastures; BUT ESPECIALLY SINCE 1689, THE ÆPOCHA OF THE RICH HARVESTS OF ENGLAND, the premiums on the exportation of grain were instituted, of 5 s. a quarter for wheat, (the quarter makes one fifth of a ton, or 24 *Paris* bushels) and 2 s. 6 d. for oats, payable when the exportation is made in *English* ships, of which the seamen are two thirds national. It is inconceivable what prosperity this wise and happy deliberation has been the source of. In spite of the fears of the manufacturers, and the merchants of raising the price of grain in the markets, which would always raise that of labour with it; it has been proved, that in the course of the 64 years that have passed from 1689 to 1752, the price of wheat has diminished 8 s. 2 d. a quarter, which can only be accounted for by an increase of culture, animated and encouraged by the bounty; besides which, for the expences of two or three hundred thousand pounds sterling a year, this sacrifice has been worth to *England* one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually. We may feel what a prodigious effect has been brought about by the

emulation this has occasioned, since, instead of buying corn, as she was forced to do towards the middle of the last century, she has placed herself in a state of selling three fourths * of her crops without danger of wanting herself. This culture has increased at the same time that she has greatly multiplied her cattle, her manure, her population, her marine, and the riches of her commerce. This parallel of the state of *France*, sunk by preventing exportation, with that of *England*, who dates her grandeur from the day she granted a bounty, seems decisive in favour of liberty in the commerce of grain; and should direct the conduct of Legislation; which may also discover the great difference between an isle powerful in her marine, through all the countries of the world, and of states deprived of that great support, though more considerable in land and producing grain in greater abundance, but acting on different principles, such as will never succeed in animating agriculture, without an assurance of an advantageous market, and that can only be hoped for in liberty of exportation; it must be sought in the number of consumers. *Either exports or consume.* The truth of this maxim cannot be contested; the alternative is indispensable. There must either
be

* This an error of at least 15 in 20.

be a liberty without shackles, or an interior consumption by a number of inhabitants, proportioned to the means of nourishing them. Without this, the cultivators will always say, if you will let us have neither the one nor the other of these resources, for what purpose should we increase the fatigue of our labours? We shall take care not to extend our culture; crops the most abundant will be but a burthen to us, and lower the price of our grain, and the increase of expences, without any hope of recovering. Some one has said, *stop the export of cloth, and manufactures are ruined.* Let us follow this idea in other points. There are two great considerations, which the Legislation of a country on the continent, and distant from the sea, should balance; the *fear of scarcity* in bad years, with the *fear of abundance without a market*, or without a profitable consumption. In truth, to calm the first, by proving from fact, that scarcity is infinitely more rare in countries when liberty in the commerce of corn supports and encourages agriculture. It is alleged, for example, that in 1709, the septier of wheat was worth in *France* 100 livres, while in *England* it was worth only 43 livres. That in the famine of 1603, 1694, wheat was cheaper in *England* than in *France*, although exportation had been established but three or four years.

When there is a fear that the augmenting grain will sink the price, to the prejudice of the farmer, legislation has two resources; the one to prevent the entry of foreign corn, in proportion as good culture augments the products; the other to increase population, by divers means which we shall indicate.

Before we quit this article, we should see the difference between two kinds of exportation, which have been confounded, those of things to which no new value can be given by labour, such as corn, and materials which cannot be manufactured. Thus, under the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, the exportation of wool was prevented; from thence the manufactures and arts increased the number of men; and the exportation of corn also permitted the same augmentation, by the immense profits which were opened to cultivation. It is therefore clear, that all raw materials which may be further wrought, should be kept at home, until they have acquired, by the labour of the inhabitants, all the value of which they are susceptible; while those which cannot receive this increase of value ought to be exported, or employed as soon as possible, in being converted into money or other valuables, labouring by new expences to procure new products.

XII. Monopoly in general is one of the plagues of commerce, and ought to be less tolerated in the commerce of corn than in any other; for the evil makes numerous men suffer for the avarice and avidity of a single one. If a country ever wants corn, it must be sure to experience the evils or fears of a famine; a wise legislation should neglect nothing for preventing, or for breaking through this odious monopoly, if it is formed. I know not any case in which it can be favourable to agriculture; but it is incontestible, that it can never be a legitimate means of advancing it. Besides, it is not common for cultivators to practise it, since at most, if some one among them had a great extent, enough of land for forming considerable granaries, accumulated from his crops, it could no otherwise be a monopoly, than by collecting the corn by purchase of many little farmers. In this case, there would be imminent danger of their being in a necessity of re-purchasing their own corn at a higher price. But commonly is by men of another order, who make an illicit trade of buying from the farmers, who are obliged to sell at a low price, which brings on an extreme necessity.

Sovereigns prevent these extremities, so afflicting to their subjects, by paternally forming publick granaries, or magazines of the state, which

which favour the labourer, by dissipating terrors, often mere panics, which run before their real wants, when the common price of the markets passes the medium which the state judges proper for all. But these establishments degenerate entirely, or rather turn against their design, when, instead of filling these magazines with the superfluity of abundant years, they buy annually in the name of the prince the product of lands; and more still, in obliging the subjects to sell to the intendants at a price they fix, which prevents them from drawing the greatest advantage from their crops, by freely choosing the time when to sell, either to the merchants or others, freely. This is the conduct followed by the administrators of the Pope's revenue in the apostolic chamber, and which is the cause of the total declension of agriculture in the ecclesiastical state, and to the entire discouragement of the cultivators, in spite of the fecundity of the earth; as is observed by Mr. *Addison* in his travels through *Italy*, written in so enlightened a manner, with so much truth and judgment. This article is the same in all monopolies, and is at all times the most unjust, and contrary to the political health, since, instead of tending succour to the people in their misery, by lowering the price, or by largesses, it only aggravates the evil, by
selling

selling dear what they forced the people to sell at the lowest price.

In considering the publick granaries, formed by sovereigns, or by cities, or communities under their common inspection, they are, it is true, designed as a gracious precaution against the fears and miseries of real famine; nevertheless, the *English*, who always freely recur to the source and principles of things, appear absolutely to neglect such sort of means.—“ Leave, say
 “ they, to other nations, an inquietude on the
 “ means of escaping famine, and those sudden
 “ and excessive changes in the price of corn,
 “ always occasioned by the fear, rather than the
 “ reality of the scarcity. Instead of numerous
 “ and vast granaries, let our resources and pre-
 “ ventives be, vast plains covered with corn.
 “ Our crops are come to be without bounds,
 “ and our farmers to be sure of a consumption.
 “ It is a new mine more precious and certain
 “ than those of *America*.” This system has been certainly the cause of the grandeur of *England*. A country of 40 millions of acres, whereof the third was in commons, which have been inclosing without intermission, and of which the waste part has doubled the income; an opulent island which every instant sends forth a multitude of ships, for exporting her superfluity, and bringing back all that is necessary to her. Such a state
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can with difficulty be imitated in the conduct which she holds, and in the principles which she adopts, relatively to so flourishing a situation. It is for each state to measure its legislation, and in particular, the rural laws upon circumstances which are proper. Nevertheless, the maxims of *England*, and the prodigious success of her politics, are an excellent lesson for other people, in proving to them by the most happy experiments, that abundance is augmented by cultivation, the most rich and the least perilous of all granaries : that agriculture ought to be encouraged and favoured for its own sake, and that the office the most noble of legislation, in this respect is, to give its first attention and first favour to the means of assuring abundance of this first necessary, which in the privileged position in which *Switzerland*, our dear country finds itself, may secure its dependance and its repose ; augment her population, and at the same time her power and credit ; increase her prosperity by the riches of industry, of which agriculture is without contradiction the first mover.

P A R T II.

Of Population relative to Agriculture.

A State is esteemed powerful by reason of the number of men it possesses; above all, if, for maintaining her interior liberty, she is called to give assistance to her neighbours, in case of attack; or for the maintenance of her lustre and her reputation, she gives regular troops to foreign princes, in virtue of her alliances: in such a position, that which becomes the power of the state is, a proper proportion of the number of those who cultivate the earth, of those who manufacture its divers products, and of those who trade in them. As that which makes the real power is the good use of the land, the distribution well understood of people in cities, towns, and the country; that of all the employments of society; the repartition of labour in each class; and the same of the products and advantages which are reaped from them.

Although this proportion depends on an infinity of combinations, and may be altered by a great number of fortuitous cases, it is from their
arrange-

arrangement, and the connection between them, that the wise politician composes a system for preventing the introduction of disorders, of which one only may have an influence upon the sources of life, and the publick felicity.

A country may contain more inhabitants than it can nourish, or employ with the productions of its own soil; “but a people that depends
“not on itself, at least for the necessaries of
“life, all powerful as it may be, has a power
“but poorly founded, precarious, and which
“will in time be reduced to the value of its
“lands.”

We have seen already that population is subordinate to agriculture, if she would precede it without peril, she ought at least to do it by degrees. It is equally necessary for seconding by labour, and recompensing by the profits which are procured from consumption. In proportion to the improvements of husbandry, or to the design of improvements, the number of cultivators must be augmented, without which the work would fail, or at least be executed at an expence that would absorb the profits.

If the works are not done by the inhabitants of the place, workmen must necessarily come from other parts of the country, or from abroad. In the first case, at least when the work lasts not among them, being only for a season, this removal

removal is an evil, because it makes a void, and a cessation from labour in one part of the country, for carrying it to another. Thus the vigorous may go to harvest in the corn countries, when they have none at home, and the labourers may work in the vineyard at their leisure time. But if the work requires a total removal, it must be prejudicial, for there is scarce any district in the canton, that cannot employ usefully, all its people, in works which would suffer in their absence.

If it is indispensably necessary to have workmen for cultivating, it is not less essential to have consumers in proportion to the products of the cultivation—because, without these the price must fall to nothing, which would occasion the abandoning those works, which produced the augmentation. We must therefore suppose a real depopulation—cease to recommend the efforts which tend to augment crops—or adopt new means for augmenting the number of mouths that ought to consume.

If agriculture being perfected, attracts and favours population, it is not less true, that population augmented, no less extends and perfects agriculture. *Descartes* said, *give me matter and motion, and I will make my world.* And I may say with more truth, give me land and men, and
I will

I will create a new world, new industry; new discoveries, and new happiness.

Because, wherever there is a concourse of men, there will be the most emulation and rivalry, which always produce the greatest success.

Because, where labour multiplies with wants—and where we find a numerous people, want more strongly solicits industry, by the acquisition of welfare which it procures, and by the shame with which indolence and poverty are covered.

Because that the augmentation of people obliges each to cation himself in that kind of occupation which agrees best with his talents, without his being distracted with the addition of some other kind, to which he might be forced by want, or a scarcity of people.

Because, wherever we find a great people, the seller, whoever he is, has always a happy market.

A numerous population furnishes *cultivators* and *consumers*, men of care, and men who pay for their exemption from care; rich proprietors, who make the necessary advances for producing improvements; farmers in a state of insuring rents; and day labourers for regular works. It is to population that we must owe artizans, attracted by abundance; merchants, who form
3
enterprizes

Enterprizes and speculations; and manufacturers who easily find workmen at a low price. All these branches are connected in the interest of favouring agriculture, and augmenting the sale of all its products. Nothing stands still; nothing languishes in the midst of a numerous people, where every one is active, and all circulates. But it is then that the arbiters of legislation are too wise to forget that agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, cannot prosper, particularly in an exact equilibrium, without population, and that cannot be sustained without agriculture, the first source of abundance, and powerful organ of the riches to which industry can give birth.

Population is therefore subordinate to this first art, because that its first utility is to strengthen the class of cultivators, and after them all the other arts, in the number of subjects which she procures, attracts industrious families, who give, or who sustain the spirit of labour; it likewise attracts rich families in a state of paying for the products of industry, and animating them by the price.

But states are not always, or at least cannot be long in this point of lustre. The body politick has its maladies, as well as the body natural; if it has its grandeur, it has also its declension; and it is a subject most worthy the continual

attention of those who govern, for understanding the evil, its causes, and the remedies which should be used.

The first object of this attention is to be certain of the fact of depopulation? Is it real? Is it considerable? It is this that strikes the eye at once after a plague, a war, or a famine, of which the ravages are felt by the least attentive. Would you know exactly what is lost; what increase or decrease is successively experienced by the state? They should be numbered from time to time, for forming judgments of comparison, and for this it seems very proper to have fixed epochs; for instance, at least every fifty years. For making this catalogue in a satisfactory manner, and truly useful, there should be numbered not only the men of each district; but also all that belongs to them, habitation, land, and cattle. With regard to the lands, they should observe in what proportion they are found with regard to men, mountains, and plains, lands cultivated with those uncultivated, and divers sorts of culture by themselves. What parts of a country are the most healthy, the most peopled, and at the same time what parts might be improved, or rendered more healthy, by draining marshes, by cutting down woods, or by breaking up wastes. It would be seen how population is connected with each species of culture, according

according as the one or the other predominates in the country. It would be observed, for example, where men perform the work of animals, the culture of the earth becomes an immense manufacture, and consequently a source of population. It is observed in *France*, that the great quantity of vineyards, is one of the greatest causes of the number of people; and they have remarked in *England*, that the augmentation of culture, substituted for commons and waste pastures, has sensibly multiplied the number of inhabitants. By the work which I propose, it would also be seen what proportion there is between the lands, and the divers sorts of cattle, which ought to make improvements by their labour and their dung. Nor ought they to neglect the roads, those in particular which serve to facilitate culture, or to give a serious attention to the waters, to those which may serve to transport things necessary to life and commerce, or for which they might be made to serve, as has been done in *France*, by the admirable work of the royal canal of *Languedoc*, by that of *Briare* and others. They might also carry their views to the quality of the waters, whether minerals for baths, for dyeing manufactures, &c. for common drink, for that of cattle, and the watering of land. There might thus be gained, a full knowledge of the surface

of the soil, of its various uses, and defects : they would know the number of men, and of animals which employ and nourish them ; the number of houses, and above all, relative to cultivation ; the number of acres of each kind, vines, grass, corn, wood, pasture, wastes, and uncultivated lands, belonging to each city, borough, and community. All this would conduct to the knowledge of the consumption, or exportation of divers products, in observing if the one or the other did not slowly absorb some species for repairing its own losses ; such as woods, or the contrary. Lastly, there should be exact tables of marriages, of baptisms, of deaths, and emigrations of each district, and in distributing the inhabitants of a district by classes, this interesting point would be enlightened, and we should know what kinds weakened themselves, and what were strengthened ; with labourers, artizans, merchants, and soldiers, to what degree they encreased or diminished, the classes of arts and sciences. The result of all these operations would procure for the chief of a state, a complete and minute knowledge of the strength and weakness of the various parts ; and of its population relatively to agriculture, and to all the other arts more or less necessary, to the prosperity of the publick, and of individuals. What utility would result from such a work, if annotations.

tations were ranged by the classes, and connected each with its object? What lights would it not give for perfecting legislation? But to keep to the article of which we treat, a catalogue made in the extent which I have proposed, would discover not only the voids of population, but in what part of a country, and in what classes of the inhabitants this void was found. By the assistance of the annotations, it would be at once found from whence came the evil; if it was from the sterility of the soil, or from the idleness of the inhabitants in the culture: if it was from the intemperature of the climate, which might in certain cases be rendered salubrious; or from a disgust which might arise from a neglect of making the subjects fond of their native land, and eager in the culture of it. But let us return, that we may give more order to our reflections.

When the depopulation of a country is well known, either in a catalogue, or by the publick voice, and by daily experience from feeling the want of workmen in agriculture, and in the arts; we ought to seek the cause, and the first stroke of the eye is to the *physical* nature of it, or, the *moral*, *direct* or *indirect*; *rapid* or *slow*; and according as it acts with more or less progress; and by degrees more or less sensible.

When a country has been a long time the theatre of war; when its inhabitants have been

thinned by a plague, or by epidemical disorders, by the horrors of famine, or a civil war, they must be re-peopled by means powerfully active, or they will fall for a long time into a most sad languor. The evil being physical, direct, and rapid, must be opposed with remedies of the same kind, and as they are taken more or less, the country will be peopled, as in the case of a desert isle, or the establishing colonies in a conquered country. *France* could not but be exhausted of men in the time of *Henry IV.* and cultivation at the same time much neglected. The great *SULLY* hesitated not on the means of remedying it, *we must above all* (says his able panegyrist) *seek for hands to fertilize the lands, his voice would have called into France 800 thousand Moors, whom superstition chased from Spain.* Intoleration by politicks very different, under the reign of *Lewis XIV.* his great grandson, chased away above a million of good subjects, through a false zeal for religion.

If the depopulation has been gradual, produced by hidden causes, which in acting by little and little, do not produce great effects, but the more dangerous, as they are the least seen, and which would always increase; we must study those fatal causes to understand them well, and to get the better of them. Let us present a few of the most important, with the remedies
which

which a wise legislation should be accustomed to employ as the most efficacious.

In general it is natural, and in the order of things, that nations, and the cities and countries that compose them should experience vicissitudes. The number of those who form societies, who inhabit and sustain them, ought necessarily to vary, and these variations result from divers causes, whereof the one are purely *natural*, and the other *political*, or *moral*; and others which participate both of the moral and the physical. All that has an influence on life and health, upon the corporal welfare, upon the security of persons and things, has a very great influence on the people; whether they breathe a pure air, find a temperate climate, a fertile land; whether they enjoy the inestimable welfare of peace, must all encrease the number of the people, or at least maintain their population; as a country exposed to frequent intemperatures, subject to accidents which destroy the crops, or which produce epidemical maladies, must experience frequent diminutions in the number of the inhabitants. Such are the physical causes of depopulation.

All that has an influence on the mind, on procuring tranquillity, calmness, an interior joy, a kind of freedom from the passions, and

the troubles which they excite, the injustice they produce, much augments the desire of settling in a country, which enjoys these advantages. Thus a good and wholesome constitution of the government, wise laws applied with judgment and justice, an honest liberty and a declared favour for merit and for talents, encouragements for industry, &c. are *the moral causes of the population of a state*, as an arbitrary government, interested or captious laws, a partial justice, a burthening rigour, heavy taxes, an inattention to patriots, good citizens, or strangers, who distinguish themselves, talents neglected, or reduced to leave the country, are the circumstances which become *the moral causes of depopulation*.

LIBERTY being one of the blessings most dear to man, and liberty of conscience being generally wished by those who know it to be the most precious of all, civil toleration in matters of religion becomes always a sure means of increasing the people; as intoleration can never fail of depopulating the country, where it is exercised. We may be convinced by throwing our eyes over *Holland* and *Spain*; in the first, toleration allows her to form establishments throughout all the world, without depopulating herself; in the last, intoleration by bigotry cannot furnish

furnish her *American* states, without being quite dispeopled. What man of sense will hazard his life or his liberty, in a country where the barbarous inquisition reigns? *Venice*, where it is rendered dependant on the state, is become more populous; and *France*, when she ensured religious liberty, found her provinces flourishing with millions of faithful citizens.

If intoleration places a great obstacle to the population of a monarchy, it has a yet stronger effect in republicks, and popular states; because in the first of these situations, ambition balances at least the softness of liberty; we sacrifice as often to the views of fortune, which open themselves on a great theatre; besides that the people are accustomed to the blind submission, in a monarchical government. It is not thus in popular or republican governments, where they so well understand the soft word liberty, and where they are naturally so fond of feeling its mildness. It is therefore the most sensible of all blessings, and that which may balance all others. It is for these reasons without doubt, that the author of the *Spirit of Laws* says, *That in a small territory there must be a great degree of felicity for gaining a great population.* It was, adds he, *the case with the Greeks, who without ceasing sent forth colonies; they sold themselves for soldiers as the Swiss do at present; nothing was neglected that*
could

could prevent the too great multiplication of children*.

We have said that there are *causes of population, and of depopulation, which participate of the moral and the physical*, and which might be properly called *political causes*, those which result from a fixed system, or from the general regulations of a state, whereof the effect is necessarily to augment or diminish the number of citizens. Thus the advantages which belonged by the *Julian Laws* to married men, and those who had children; and the same with the pains and deprivations decreed against celibacy, are to be considered as means conceived by prudence, as in effect they were designed by *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, for repairing the breaches that had been made by the civil wars, and the proscriptions.

If we compare those laws with the others which granted the rights of children to vestals, we shall find a surprising contrast; those which granted a pre-eminence to celibacy balanced and weakened, at least in that respect, the privileges which the other laws granted to marriage.

We

* *M. de Montesquieu* would perhaps have expressed himself in other terms, had he been better instructed in the constitution of the *Swiss* republicks, and the motives of their politicks,

We may say the same of the catholick states, where legislation favours marriage, while the ecclesiastical constitution neglects nothing for turning the attention towards the great benefits granted to celibacy.

We may further place in the class of mixed causes, those which attract or *favour population*, by the gracious reception given to strangers, who seek a new country; the privilege, the favours, and the assistance which good politicks as well as charity, grants in certain cases to those new establishments that have been made by all the protestant powers, in favour of the professors of their religion, that are persecuted in divers states on account of religion. And for the same reason, we may place in the class of *mixt causes of depopulation* of a state, regulations which lay too burthensome restrictions on the reception of strangers, preventing great numbers of good subjects from establishing themselves; which impose too severe laws on those who would exercise their talents, and their industry, engaging them thereby to seek for other retreats.

There are few states that have not opened their eyes to a manifest depopulation caused by publick calamities; such are the wars which have laid waste *Germany*; the plague of *Marseillas* in 1720; the mortality which actually afflicted the city of *Naples*, and its territory. But there

are states wherein very little attention is given to the slow and hidden causes that undermine population, or which prevents it from being re-established. How many ages have not passed on the barbarism of *Europe* entire. What genius, what abilities, and what perseverance were exerted by *Peter the Great*, to draw forth his country from it! Can we doubt, that a people tyrannized over by their kings, by their clergy, and their nobility, held in slavery, in ignorance, and in a profound humiliation, which prevented them from thinking, were not far removed from forming any of those noble and useful enterprises, which demand liberty and courage, and which can only be formed in the heart of welfare, or in the hope of rendering themselves happy. Hence this empire reckons not more subjects than *France*, and what subjects are they in comparison with those who have knowledge and industry! What subjects for raising families, and for placing them in a state of extending themselves, and becoming useful! This single example suffices to make us feel, that the state of barbarism, commonly destitute of knowledge, manners, and conduct, deprived of honest liberty, cannot but bring on a state of declension and depopulation.

Gross ignorance is a degree and a branch of this barbarism, and at the same time an obstacle
to

to population, in leaving men unknowing of the most rational customs, and various means of rendering themselves happy; the torpid state in which it leaves all the faculties of the soul, favours neither art nor enterprize; not even that of agriculture, although it is so simple in appearance, that it seems to want only the strength of the body for being exercised. The grossness which accompanies this barbarism, sympathizes neither with industry, nor with manners. In this state of inanity, what men could communicate to a family what it wanted, or give enlightened directions to children, on the best conduct to be followed? Subjects of this sort resemble lands left waste, which wait for culture, in order to produce crops. It therefore follows, that a good education becomes the only means of giving them a value; and in this sense, education becomes a conquest over barbarism; as the culture of waste lands becomes a conquest over sterility. I say further, that it is only in raising each man according to his state, that gives him the most certain means of living happy, and of transmitting this education, and that welfare from race to race, and of turning his children on that side for which they are most proper; but further, this education gives the state, in some sort, subjects which it had not, by rendering them more active, more capable,

and more laborious. Such subjects will, without fear, and without inquietude, see their families augment: but the people left in gross ignorance become always miserable, a charge the one to the other, to the state, and to themselves. I say therefore, without fear of mistake, that the good education of subjects of the two last orders, makes population flourish as well as agriculture; and the arts, as the introduction to the sciences in favour of men of a superior class; and if we would grant the same favour to all those who are susceptible, we should produce the greatest and most solid advantages, by immediately rendering such a state necessary and respectable to the other nations.

If barbarism and gross ignorance contribute in a silent manner, indirectly, but very powerfully, to depopulation, *misery* and *begging* ought not less to be the object of the cares of a wise legislation, as one of the moral causes the most fatal to the publick good; above all, when this misery comes to be the natural effect of debauchery, dissipation, and of a conduct undoubtedly evil. This mischief arises from a depravation of manners, which we cannot be too industrious in seeking to eradicate, by turning them to agriculture with a new vigour, and by using all the arts and means of making them contribute to its perfection.

Mendicity

Mendicity is a gangrene which consumes all, because it not only suppresses workmen, but extinguishes the taste for labour. There is a sentiment of honour, without which the people can never do what they ought with fidelity and emulation. In distinguishing therefore the truly unfortunate, (always worthy of publick assistance) from those who are become uniformly so from their own fault, I say that the first merit compassion, and they ought to be the object of those means full of humanity, which may replace them in a state of rendering themselves useful to their country; the last ought to be the objects of a charitable rigour, which may force them to labours which they are in a state of supporting. The voluntary inability, and robust beggary, can never find resources in a state whose policy is good, from the care of furnishing occupations. The care of removing this evil is one of the most worthy the attention of legislation, and the vigilance of the communities. Agriculture cannot but gain much from this unhappy habit being extinguished. If at the same time we captivate to labour those who refused it before, and employ in good time the following generation, idleness would nearly be banished. What acknowledgments are not due to those excellent patriots, who first conceived and executed a plan so useful and so honourable,

for

for the places which actually observe it? What sentiments of a lively gratitude ought we not to have to a sovereign, who renders such establishments more stable by his benefactions?

Such are the principal moral causes of depopulation among a people; it cannot hide itself; when found in all the orders. Luxury and softness are an evil among classes more elevated; but they spread to persons of low estate, and and bring on indolence and beggary. This matter has been so often treated, that I shall only add two or three considerations, relative to the actual subject of depopulation.

The *first* is, that undoubtedly an excess in expence, and an immoderate taste for ease and pleasures, remove from marriage * by a dread of the burthening duties, and the expences to be sustained, incompatible with the fashion of living brilliantly, or voluptuously. The pleasure of having a family to raise and establish, is nothing in comparison. That hope is renounced, conceived slowly, or limited,

The *second* is, that the idea of luxury being a relative idea, such expence as becomes the lowest degree of luxury in a city of commerce, is found

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* Nature (says M. de Montesquieu) carries us to marriage, when it is not stopped by the difficulty of subsistence. B. xiii. ch. x.

As high a degree of luxury and prodigality in a country, where they have few or no means of repairing. In a sea-port, or by the side of a rich manufacture, luxury becomes the natural succession of opulence daily augmenting; and at the price of ability and labour. In a country which has only the produce of the lands; frugality and sparingness; a single branch of luxury may be ruinous.

The *third* is, that the taste for ease, pleasure, and a sort of luxury, is so contagious, that it gains in all states, even in those which are not made for tasting it in such a manner and in such a degree.

Most of those who live uniformly by their pains, and who place the rest of their profit in saving for their family, would at present have part in the entertainments of good cheer and pleasure. The exhausted state brought on by these divers tastes, is but too sensible: expanded among various artizans, they gain insensibly the farmer whom it debauches from his situation; and this low luxury, which is scarcely any thing in appearance, removes them by little and little from a hard life of cares; which cannot fail of enervating agriculture.

This luxury which seems so trifling, in its effects is very great. It gives envy to those who do not enjoy it, and effeminacy to those who do.

It causes *in small*, the well-being of a people; as it says *in large*, the most considerable fortunes. This dissipation bordering on corruption of manners, removes from marriage, as virtue carries to it; by the charms which are attached to regularity and innocence; and it is certain, that a person in celibacy, who is held down by libertinism, becomes inevitably the moral (and very vitious) cause of a great depopulation; it then certainly results from it.

• A considerable diminution in the number of marriages.

• Marriages late, and unfruitful, or in which a prudence, unknown to our ancestors, limits the number of children, according as the father or mother desire it.

• Many emigrations, more frequent in all orders for seeking their fortunes.

• For stopping the progress of an evil, which may become greater, legislation has divers means, which I shall content myself with indicating, according to the abundance of my subject, and the bounds which this discourse ought to have.

• Wherever there is an evil, moral or physical, to combat, we should go to the source, without stopping to palliate it; and in the case of which we are speaking, it is not sufficient to repress those who live in an excess contrary to frugality, modesty, and the measures agreeable

to

to each state: we may make sumptuary laws, well considered, which will force at least those who otherwise would not, contain their passions, and which will prevent many men ruining themselves by imitation. But this wise rigour is not sufficient, if we would seek at the same time, to form a new generation, in which the ancient manners are to be re-established. I know not if this enterprize would become entirely chimerical; but I have no doubt but it might be done, at least in part, by an education more attentive to give the principles and habit of a frugal and laborious life, and by the example of a certain number of families of divers orders, who distinguish themselves by a way of living as simple, as modest, and as usefully employed as possible; to which I may add, that those who conduct themselves in this manner by reason, and system, instead of being less considered than others, ought to be more. If at any time we see esteem and favour attached to such a conduct, and to persons of this character, it would surely augment the number.

Respecting the diminution of marriages; besides their returning insensibly in proportion as the vices and defects of which I have spoken, are corrected; legislation might facilitate them, and grant certain favours to marriage; either by suppressing some of the charges attached to the

permission of marrying; or by granting some privileges to marriage; or some advantages to the number of children, in imitation of the *Roman* laws, without however following them in the punishments and penalties against those who had none, or were unmarried, or at least who lived in an avowed libertinism; the laws ought never to be severe, nor ought they to be in such matters coercive, but excitative and encouraging.

The article of *emigrations* is delicate, and demands distinctions in the way of treating the most considerable variations of conduct.

1. I say first, of *distinctions*; because that all transport, and absence of inhabitants from a country, ought not to be considered as emigration; not only from there being no law which interdicts it, except in the countries where the subject is fixed to the land by a corporal servitude, in which he may be brought back by force; which is a remnant of the antient tyranny: I do not only say, that there is no law which prevents it in countries where they enjoy an honest liberty; but these goings forth of the people are advantageous in many respects; to young men, by evaporating the fire of youth, and for gaining a knowledge of the manners of other nations; to others, for cultivating their talents, and perfecting themselves in some art,

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in places where they can have more assistance. Although all who part in this manner do not return to their country, it is incontestible that those who do return are commonly more able, and more useful to themselves. Those who go to foreign parts, to open new branches of commerce, or to procure new correspondencies, are not less so. Although a great number of those who go to make their fortune, are disappointed, yet it is found from time to time, that there are real and considerable fortunes made; it is this which engages other subjects who have less abilities, to imitate them; sometimes they make a chain of useful establishments; a man so established, may be able to give to his countrymen a support and facility of placing their families at ease. In general, nothing is more natural than to seek what is wanting among ourselves; above all, when the country where he was born, is found destitute of the means of augmenting its welfare, or of raising a family; or the same when he finds in himself talents which might as well be extinguished as to remain at home.

It is therefore plain, that the going forth of men from their country is not always disadvantageous, when it is a consequence of an honest liberty, and ought not properly speaking, to be called an *emigration*, which is abandoning one's native country with a design to quit it for ever,

which is rarely the case or design of those who inhabit *Switzerland*, for whom its citizens and its inhabitants in general, have an affection. Nor is it customary to call an emigration the transplantation of some families; it is only a great number that can become a subject of solicitude; for in that case it is natural to suppose, that those who leave a country dear to its inhabitants, will return sooner or later; the one with a wife, whom they desire to place at ease, and the other with the honourable fruits of their industry and their labours.

But suppose, that by a species of contagion, a people through disgust at their situation, or ambition, fired by the success of some fellow countryman, we should see a sort of emigration, considerable enough for making a void, and capable of occasioning others, in this case the arbiters of legislation must assuredly be sensible, that it is not by strokes of authority that we must seek to stop the evil, which would be an almost sure means of augmenting it; the lively impression made by all restraints against natural liberty, could not but produce a very bad effect; a stroke which would give to those who had the least idea of quitting their country absolutely, apparent advantages, more considerable than those they first hoped. It seems to me, that the means employed against this evil ought to be
mild,

mild, as the cause of it is the hope of welfare, which cannot be overcome but by a real welfare. We must in such cases, oppose to the attraction of this prospect, often deceitful, other attractions more powerful, capable of giving them a preference to their native country.

Among these divers kinds of emigrations, there is one, which it is difficult not to foresee, because its principle acts strongly every day, and in the shelter of an authorized system. This principle is the military taste of the nation; and the system which favours it, that of letting troops to various princes, with whom the republics of *Switzerland* are in treaties of alliance. This kind of emigration, to which the subjects are invited by the permission of enrolling them for foldiers, a proof of ancient population, but sensibly exhausts the present. *Switzerland*, was without doubt more in a state of making this sacrifice in former times, as we see by history, and the armies she sent into *Italy*; but at present it appears to be far removed from regorging with inhabitants. She is less populous, because she has fewer marriages; nor do we see any more of those numerous families, so common heretofore, with whom the father laboured, trusting to their strength, under Providence: there is another cause which renders more visible the want of men from the service; it is, that heretofore war

was predominant, and favourable to the nation; those who returned and those who remained in their country, knew no other occupation than that of arms, except the culture of the earth, and the care of their cattle. They were at the same time so attached to their country, that they had the most lively pleasure at living in the midst of their families: but at present their views are extended to many more objects. The arts employ more men, and commerce is considerably extended. The *Swiss* have surmounted the repugnance with which they lived at a distance from their fairs, they are spread through divers countries of *Europe*, and various other parts of the world; from whence it manifestly results, that the military service employs more men than heretofore; a good part of these men must necessarily be taken from agriculture; and in effect, there are few recruits which are not raised among the labourers and vigneron, the loss of whose robust sons leaves them to languish and almost renounce their labour; the pay of these young soldiers is no recompence. It is the choice of youth that enroll themselves, and a part never return. When we join to this, the abuses without number, and the irreparable loss caused by the services not avowed, by means of a strong engagement to which they are tempted, carry off silently thousands of men from their country,

We cannot doubt of this truth, it is, that in general, many parts of *Switzerland* are not in a state of being so prodigal of their blood, and of giving subjects that ought not to be superfluous, to serve foreigners.

I make on this occasion, one reflection which, common as it may be, may not have struck those sufficiently who feel the influence.

Switzerland, by a singular favour of Providence, and by the effect of a balance, of which this good Providence holds the equilibrium, never makes war for herself; nevertheless there is scarcely any war in which her troops are not employed, and hardly any cause that does not exhaust her. That which an antient writer said of the *Gauls*, *nullum bellum sine milite Gallo*, is true to a letter with our nation; and it is too common by the greatest fatality, that the *Swiss* troops find themselves opposed to one another, and in the fatal necessity of destroying each other, as was the case at *Ramillies*, and as it was on the point of being at *Fontenoy*.

From hence it results, that notwithstanding the profound peace enjoyed in our happy climate, *Switzerland* experiences almost always, in respect of population, the losses and disgraces of war, unless peace be general, which is very rare, and never of long duration. And as the national troops always serve in climates different from
their

their own, it is inevitable that maladies, joined with desertions and other accidents, must make great diminutions; when all is well considered, it will be found perhaps, that even the avowed services, cost the nation more men, than if she had from time to time maintained wars on her own account.

I am on my guard not to carry my observations on this subject too far; but I had it not in my power to omit this source of depopulation, which ought naturally to produce a void in agriculture more than any other; and which should invite at the same time, seriously to reflect upon the means of repairing it.

It is for legislation to compare the causes which exhaust a people, with the means in its power of filling the voids; but from the time this balance becomes exact, when the causes which depopulate are most strong, it only remains to examine in what manner they can render to their country a return for what they have suffered by the divers canals, which have depopulated them. The most natural means without doubt are the readiest, if they are powerful enough; whatever exhausts the resources in the interior of the state, by divers ways which I have indicated; either in correcting the vices which weaken; or neglecting nothing to repress abuses; establishing the antient manners; attach-

ing favours and encouragements to marriage, improving education; exciting to labour; favouring honest enterprizes; and multiplying whatever may add to resources.

If it was possible for a nation to keep itself free from any mixture, it is undoubted that it would better preserve its manners, and its character. A nation, simple, frugal, laborious, faithful, valiant, runs the risque of degenerating, and of becoming an aggregate body of all other nations. The *Greeks* would have been in pain for their liberty, if the *Persians* had been admitted to the rank of their citizens. Most of the cities of *Switzerland*, above all, the sovereign ones, never admit princes. There should in general be the same distance with foreign women, who insensibly alter manners, by their commerce, and more still by the education of their children. *Simler* said, in speaking of the cantons that had no cities, *Uri*, *Schwoitz*, *Undervald*, that none were admitted to advise the people but citizens of the country: when according to the antient custom of their ancestors, they escaped new mixtures, they thereby guarantied their republicks from changes which alter the constitution; but nevertheless, there are numbers of inhabitants, *veteribus colonis novos admiscere nolunt* (says *Simler*), he calls them *coloni*, because the priviledged citizens were the same as the antient cultivators.

as the individuals of colonies are only cultivators newly collected. It is not surprizing, that the republicks who had bought their liberty at the price of their blood, and by such great exploits, should fear to see weakened in their own bosoms, patriotism, the spirit of union, and the love of liberty; that they should apprehend foreigners, becoming citizens, would alter their manners, their laws, their customs, their views, and their policy. This fear appears to be very natural, above all, in small states, whose constitution is purely popular. But to consider states in general, and countries of a greater extent for preserving the patriotic genius in its purity, we must suppose alterations which the fear cannot prevent, and which would be introduced by a number of other paths, such as the military service of other nations, travels, commerce, the residence of strangers, the connections and marriages that are formed with them. It must be supposed also, that a nation might gain by an alliance with foreign manners, which might come to temper courage with politeness, unite a taste to agriculture and the arts, refinement to industry, probity and candour.

But suppose they were to lose more than they gained by such a mixture, such measures must be taken that the people should preserve the numbers necessary for their welfare, without depending

depending on strangers; or at least, that the supply wanted came by such insensible progressions, as not to change the mass of the people, their nature or character.

It must be agreed that the considerations, the maxims, and the processes, ought to be much varied, according as the people of which we speak are rich or poor; the soil naturally fruitful or sterile; proper for commerce or deprived of that advantage. They should be varied also according to the constitutions of the cities, especially the sovereign ones, or the habitations in a country being rendered more fixed by the privilege of naturalization. In general, there are few countries in which strangers do not introduce themselves, and particularly strangers of the same religion, especially if they have talents which they are admitted to exercise. But where depopulation is sensibly felt; where luxury has corrupted the ancient simplicity, fired ambition, debased small profits; where more men go forth, than come in; where the deaths gain ground on the births; where in one word, the natives of the country do not produce a greater number than are taken off by death, military services, emigrations, it must necessarily submit to the loss, and see it constantly increase, or find a balance to those who escape, in the class of new comers. There must always be many present
themselves

themselves in a country where peace reigns, where the government is mild, where there is a freedom from imposts, hospitality, and liberty of exercising the arts, easy access to rich and industrious strangers, so as to attach them by choice rather than restrictions; the more we aim at the general end of this population, so useful in so many respects, and so particularly necessary to animate the works of agriculture, the more we augment products, and with them the riches of which they are the source.

P A R T III.

Of the Arts relative to Agriculture.

IF population is essential to agriculture, and if the arts are proper for augmenting population, agriculture cannot but reap very great profit from the favour given to the arts. It is certain that a country cannot be populous, and at the same time well cultivated, without the arts, which augment consumption. They produce this effect in two ways; by the number of workmen they employ, and by the number of admirers or of merchants which they draw into the country where they are cultivated.

The arts present a number of objects which sharpen the mind, and solicit all the talents. These multiplied objects draw men in general from indolence, idleness, ignorance, and misery. Uniformity produces disgust; and disgust without employment produces the most gross vices.

The mechanical arts employ a class of men who hold the medium between the labourer and the merchant. This class is numerous, and must be employed in order to be supported.

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The favour granted to the arts of this species augments this class, and thence favours the market of the farmer.

A people are only happy as their occupations tend to fulfil the various wants; and to exercise with advantage their different abilities. Men have wants, both of *necessity*, *utility*, and *agreeableness*. If they cannot find these in one country, they will seek for them in others; and it may happen at the same time, if the artizan has not abundance, a good market at which to buy his necessaries, he will not hesitate to transplant himself to other countries, which offer these advantages; so true is it that there must be a harmony between wants, and the means destined to answer them.

We call agriculture the first of the arts, because it supplies the first of wants. We should recommend the practice therefore to all people, as the basis of their welfare, the support of their liberty, the mother of industry, the source of publick prosperity, and of all riches, since it sustains the arts and the commerce they produce. We should neglect nothing to protect it, to perfect its divers branches; not that all other arts should be sacrificed in order to make that flourish, or that all endeavours should be condemned as abuses, if they tend not to cultivation. If man wants to be fed, he wants not less to be clothed,
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lodged, served, and assisted, according to his age, his state, and condition. Each of these essential objects is subdivided into an infinity of branches, which become necessary, in proportion as men remove from barbarism. Luxury, which the moralists condemn, at the very time that they enjoy this luxury, augments the refined taste for pleasures, and the illusion of its wants forms a good, which austere moderation cannot. It employs a dangerous leisure, and scatters hoards which had been amassed. It is therefore necessary, that the arts should be cultivated, and there necessarily will be found, geniuses for all.

We find their destination extremely limited, and are extremely bounded ourselves; we ought not to limit an entire order of persons to a single art, while abilities, so to speak, are sown through all the orders of humanity.

If too great a number of men were employed in the culture of the earth, the grain would want consumers; it would partly perish or fall much below the price which it ought naturally to yield; the farmers would be repulsed, and the art itself of agriculture fall into a decay by discouragement. Population, which is so necessary, demands the arts, which by the variety of their labours, animate employ, ornament and support society.

All these views must therefore be combined; and a kind of counterpoise made among them, which places each kind, if not in a perfect equilibrium, at least upon an equitable balance; by means of which, assistance will be in proportion to the want, a void will not be suffered without filling it, the weak parts will be fortified, from whence must result the vigour and health of the body politick, as the equilibrium of the solids and the liquids, make the force and the health of the body corporal.

For completing this fine idea, there is little to be done, but to leave nature to act, which provides by the immense variety of abilities, and of tastes which she every where expands, so that nothing needs to be neglected. Wisdom, in leaving it to act, may nevertheless assist it by a prudent legislation.

The first maxim of a good legislation is incontestibly to advance agriculture before manufactures. This was the favourite principle of the great SULLY, who gave to the latter only the second rank. COLBERT, a minister otherwise so able, committed a great fault in assigning to manufactures the first place in the oeconomical order of his administration. He greatly protected the arts, which are the means of working up the raw materials, and employed himself little in agriculture, which furnishes the materials and
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the food of the state. Nevertheless, the principal utility of all fabrication, is the price which it gives, and the market it procures for the products of the soil.

Another fault, which was a consequence of the first, was preventing the exportation of corn, that the artizan might buy at a cheaper market, and work for a lower price. Thus he brought a great evil on the farmers and their art; which occasioned a great loss and weakness to the whole kingdom. This first maxim equally embraced the arts and the manufactures.

The arts have certainly a gradation of merit and utility, which ought to regulate their degree of protection and favour. The arts the most necessary, those which supply the greatest wants, and consequently the nearest connected with agriculture, and those which occasion the greatest consumption ought to be preferred. In a growing society it is particularly to be wished, that the cultivator may go before the merchant, and that he who makes ploughs should be more esteemed than the maker of coaches; the workmen in iron are more to be sought for than the manufacturers of ivory, toys, &c. those who cloath one for the necessity itself, should precede the embroiderers, and the inventors of fashions: the makers of linens are more valuable than the

workmen of ribbons and laces; as the builders of walls and roofs are to be preferred to those of columns and statues.

In a state newly formed, and which has received its first legislation, the founder might with reason imitate the conduct of *Mentor*, who in giving a policy to *Salentum*, counselled *Idomeneus* to banish the arts which were maintained by shew. *All the artizans* (says the wise *Mentor*) *who are employed in these pernicious arts, should be employed in the necessary ones, which are of small number, or in commerce or agriculture.* I may avow, that if population is too weak we should give a preference to the arts truly necessary; and for the strongest reason the preference is thus due over those, who like the *Spaniards of Mexico* and *Peru*, depopulate the country of labourers.

In a monarchy, and in a society long established, where the people are numerous enough for furnishing every thing, it is another combination. The most rigid *Mentor* cannot disapprove or blame a part of such people from applying their industry almost indifferently to all the arts; whether they are employed to furnish luxury, and above all, the luxuries which other nations introduce.—Since the defect is equal, only the work and the profit center in other hands. This case should otherwise be examined particularly;

particularly; if the liberal arts, which are without contradiction the ornaments of a state, and other mechanical arts, which are a consequence of luxury and ease, are not at the same time powerful movers of opulence in attracting from foreigners a part of their superfluity.

It is true that the epocha's the most brilliant of the arts, either at *Rome* or *Athens* in making the splendor of those states, have almost always been inseparable from their corruption, and the forerunners of their fall. We may add that those ages of refinements for the arts and luxury, were not so favourable to agriculture as the golden age of simplicity and innocence, or the firm and severe manners of a republick. The universal ardour testified at present for its prosperity, becomes therefore a true phænomenon; above all, in seeing this solid and serious art make such considerable progress in an age, filled by turns with war and luxury, frivolity, sciences, and pleasures. In truth, there is a secret sympathy between all the arts, and when legislation favours the agreeable arts, they are perhaps to be considered as canals, which circulate riches; or as a drain that takes off the products of agriculture, which is certainly more advantageous than exporting them beyond sea.

We make, and ought to make, an apprenticeship to all the arts, it is therefore surprising that

that agriculture, the most necessary art, should be the only one not regulated. All its operations are nevertheless founded on principles which cannot be followed without being known. There ought to be schools of theory mixed with practice *; but use has established a routine, that each should follow blindly the steps of his father and mother; a habit so strong and inveterate, that it has consecrated the worst customs and the greatest errors. Here is a defect indicated which gives place to reflections on the means of correcting it.

The arts have generally a great advantage from giving a fashion to materials, not only greatly augmenting the price, but often in surpassing the value; consequently it is the worst part of bad oeconomy to sell such materials unwrought, and by their going out of the country, in that state, is lost not only the gain arising from working them, but also we lose the advantages

* It was an idea of divers celebrated *English*, such as *Evelyn*, *Bradley*, *Miller*, *Full*, &c. who esteemed it very advantageous to form societies, mixed of labourers and philosophers, who had a seat, and correspondents in divers parts of the kingdom, for making experiments on various soils. This society was each year to chuse associates, for collecting observations, &c. and distributing prizes to those who discovered new improvements,

tages of labour, which gives a living to the inhabitants, who consume the commodities, and to whom the sale of a merchandize, cannot but be a source of prosperity.

From hence it appears, that population is necessary to agriculture, and that the favour given to the arts contributes to it; but laying an expence or burthen on them, destroys this end; thus all impost, either direct taxes on manufactures, or exclusive privileges, which consolidate the profits of workmen of the same profession; apprenticeships of seven years, so burthensome to families, and which were introduced into *England* for the profit of masters; the immoderate rights of masters, who under pretext of augmenting the perfection of an art, remove and limit the number of workmen, charging a useles expence on their profession, and rendering themselves masters of the price, which repulses the purchaser; at the same time that a small number of regulations would suffice for fidelity and confidence. The number of feasts, which in catholick countries the least bigoted, such as *France*, rob all the workmen of the state of a twelfth part of their time. All the changes and restitutions of this nature, tend to diminish the number of workmen, of buyers, and sellers; the facility of working, and of living,

diminishes emulation, and at the same time, the interior consumption, so encouraging to agriculture, and so essential to the art.

An article very important in the arts, relative to the subject of which we are treating is, that of machines, which accelerates the work, and lowers the expence of labour, and which has given place to a controversy on a parallel of these two ideas. Give to an art a great number of workmen, you augment in their favour the means of living: suppress half, and you give hands to agriculture.

Those who have examined this position with attention are of the last opinion, for which they give many good reasons. *It is* (says M. de Melon, in a small work much esteemed) *a means of doubling the number of citizens, when we can do with one what was before done by two.* It is clear, that the fewer we employ in one work, the more we shall have to employ on others, the more facility there will be in maintaining them, the more food and money will there be for other workmen, and the better may be supported the competition of prices. *Non debet fieri per plura quod potest fieri per pauciora,* is a maxim of good sense, and in following it we imitate the voice of God and nature. We should not complain of mills for corn and silk; why therefore should

we complain of other machines which abridge, or which simplify operations that are useful? Opposing one's self to the employment of such mechanism, is as absurd as the complaints of the watermen at *London*, at the building *Westminster* bridge, or of the cartwrights at the establishment of pavements. If it was disadvantageous to set machines to work which augment the number of hands, the *English* have already decided that question, by the magnificent recompences which they have given to the inventors of the introducers of machines of the first kind. Thus Sir *Thomas Lombe* received from parliament a present of fourteen thousand pounds, for having established at *Derby* a mill for organizing silk; which was indeed an undertaking extremely difficult; he had taken a plan of it at *Turin*, with much care, ability, and peril. We may conceive how many hands must be spared by a machine, which contains 26566 wheels, and 67746 movements, which in 24 hours winds off 247726080 ells. The effect of these means of abridging labour, in countries that abound with workmen of all sorts, is different from other countries, which enjoy but a moderate population, and which have such an interest in throwing all hands in reserve to agriculture,

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For the rest in this article of arts, we have little to say of the *liberal arts*, which in spite of their lustre, and the agreeableness they procure, neither do more honour to genius, nor more welfare to humanity. What a shame that the *mechanical arts* should be so often and so mistakenly termed base! Ought they not to be at least as noble as they are more useful?

P A R T IV.

Of Manufactures relative to Agriculture.

A Good part of the ideas and maxims relative to the arts, may and ought to be applied to manufactures. They are the arts in great, and which unite, and include most of the means employed by divers arts. They commonly employ more hands than tools and machines, and thence are more favourable to population. They are more stable, and less wandering than the arts; thus they are more certain and profitable to a country in which they find favour.

The general end of manufactures, is to give to materials a form which renders them more valuable, and a new worth to which they would be a stranger without industry—a value which becomes the source and food of a rich commerce. Manufactures well constituted and regulated, are often the splendor of a state by the riches they produce, the fortunes of those who establish them, and the welfare of the nations among whom they are found,

Relatively

Relatively to agriculture they produce divers effects manifestly advantageous. The first, in augmenting the price of the productions; the second, by procuring a quick and easy consumption of superfluous commodities; the third, by animating the culture of the earth, by a happy market for the cultivator; that which augments the mass of their productions, and throws agriculture into the benefit of the best market, and thereby exempts it from the burthen some expence of exportation.

The profit of the state in this case, is not less than the value which the manufactures bring into its coffers—the increased value they give to land—the ease of living which they give to a great number of men—and which necessarily augments her population.

Not only the value of lands already fertile is augmented, by the influence of the success of manufactures; but the lands the least fertile are improved; we may supply by industry the productions of the earth; but it never fails that the productions of the earth nourish numbers of the industrious. The more abundant they are, the more will manufactures and commerce exercise themselves in gaining good markets; and reciprocally the more manufactures flourish, the more will men apply themselves to get the better
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of a sterile soil, the more they make efforts to supply themselves by their industry.

Manufactures know no bounds but those of consumption; the nation that possesses the cheapest rate of labour, will have the most extended commerce.

The price of the necessaries of life becomes always the rule and the measure of the price of labour; we must not therefore fear augmenting the products of grains, provided the consumption occasioned by the arts comes in succour. The spirit and the great end of commercial laws, should aim at giving a living to a great number of men by labour, by procuring abundance and a good market for the necessaries of life.

The first object of manufactures ought to be the employment of the materials produced by the soil of a country, hemp, flax, wool, leather, &c. which being wrought are the interior riches. It is the perfection of political œconomy to manage so, that the material and the manufacture should find themselves united in the same place, and that the superfluity of wants should employ them.

Between the manufactures which exercise themselves upon the materials produced in the state, it has a great interest in favouring those which are the most useful in the improvement of the lands, especially in small states. It has been

observed, that the manufactures of wool are preferable, because they increase the flocks, which prove a great source of fertility to the soil; they that facilitate consumption, and the gross fabrics are the most useful. This is what determined the judicious SULLY to oppose the silk manufacture. The publick of that time hesitated not in blaming him; in the following period it was doubted whether he was not right; and at present the wisest politicians allow it. Those who know that the luxury of silks sinks the price of wool, and that the declension of the latter diminishes the flocks, and consequently, one of the sources of fertility, will not be balanced in their decision; less still would they, if they consider, that the agriculture of *France* produces but a sixth of what it rendered in those times; and that for gaining some millions by the fabrication of stuffs, they have lost some milliards in the products of their lands. Those who have calculated that two millions of cultivators may raise one milliard of productions; instead of which three millions of artists can produce to the state but 700 millions in merchandize of manufacture, will not be so ready to condemn this great man.

The interior consumption of manufactures, has appeared so important to the *English* nation, relatively to agriculture, that it was the motive
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of an act of parliament, in 1666, that no person should be buried in any thing but woollen. They well knew that such precautions are applicable in a country that has a superabundance of material, and of hands to fabricate it, and they feared a decline, if a consumption was not promoted by divers means.

The second object of manufactures is, the working up foreign materials, either for the use of the country itself, or for a sale elsewhere; and with this regard legislation renders a good office to the state, in favouring the importation, and the working a material for which they would otherwise have to pay other people. Thus, in favouring the importation of foreign materials, she may combine this favour with that which she owes to the materials of the soil, that she does not prejudice cultivation by preventing either consumption or sale; she may examine if, in favouring the cottons, their spinning and weaving, this favour might cause a neglect of wool and flocks; whether the multiplication of bees for wax, did not render tallow despised, and thereby prejudice that part of culture, which depends on cattle; as silk becoming too common might debase the flax and wool.

Agriculture and manufactures are the essence of commerce; their union is such, that without manufactures the fruits of the earth would have
very

very little value. If agriculture was neglected, the sources of manufactures and commerce would be dried up.

Export the materials of a country wrought; and import the foreign materials unwrought, to be re-exported afterwards, wrought; this is certainly the best conduct that can be held.

Politicians are not all agreed on *privileged manufactures*, the one assert, that this favour is proper for recompensing talents, and augmenting emulation. Nevertheless it is rare, that sustaining one by preference does not crush the rest, and prevents many from being set up, which might contribute more to enrich the country. The *exclusive* companies which only favour individuals, are prejudicial to all the publick, the privilege favours nothing but indolence, and sometimes avarice, to the prejudice of perfection. It stops the circulation of labour on the single principle of the circulation of money. The state is a society in which no person ought to be admitted to enjoy a single advantage which they do not procure themselves.

In cities where manufacturers are incorporated, there are often less fabrications, and poorer than in cities where they are free. They are much less favourable to population. It has been observed, that in *London*, where there are 92 privileged companies, there are fewer people than

than in *Southwark* and *Westminster*, suburbs which leave a free field to all industrious citizens.

The regulations are not better observed in manufacturing exclusive companies; besides it is very easy, and very just to subject free manufactures to necessary regulations for good workmanship, and sufficient for the reputation of the manufacturer and the merchant. Those who work the best, and the cheapest, should have the preference. Relative to the possessors of secrets, as many will boast for the sake of obtaining privileges, besides, that it is often an illusion, the possessor of a secret cannot want a privilege for *singly* exercising, and ought not to prevent other persons for seeking after it, because in the seeking for it, they may find other things more precious. Goodness of materials, celerity of labour and perfection of work are much better than all the secrets. These qualities united always carry manufactures to the highest degree of prosperity, and gain them an entire preference. Able politicians have always regarded all exclusive companies of artizans and manufacturers, as a monopoly of industry.

Some persons believe that the number of artizans or manufacturers do mischief to one another, and those which are established are almost always in fear of seeing other establishments formed. Nevertheless experience proves,

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that their fear is chimerical. It is to cities which abound with workmen of the same profession, that most commissions are addressed, because in them there reigns the most emulation, and in them are found the most complete and choice assortments. Such a number of workmen will not be found labouring in privileged manufactures, while they are found in the greatest number in free cities. The exclusive privileges of a company, of a master, of an individual, have more or less the same effect; although those of corporations have most.

But all of them have the capital effect of placing a barrier to the industry of those who have not the same prerogatives. It is one stroke levelled at, and often fatal to *national industry*, which is more deserving good management than the industry of an individual.

One great reason still for not approving them is, that an exclusive privilege is the pillow of security; industry dies at once if she is not animated by competition, and by the hope of getting the better of her rivals. Those who are privileged dream of nothing but their profits; all others for succeeding, must not only think of profit, but the glory of distinguishing themselves.

I have also another observation to make in favour of the small manufactures of the country, which may be in divers places more useful than
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the great ones in cities; not only for furnishing the countryman with assistance; but for giving him an object which will fill up all the vacancies of his time; and above all, those of bad seasons and bad days. It would at the same time become a seminary, to which his children might serve their apprenticeships; and from them they might pass into more considerable manufactures with advantage.

Manufactures, more peculiarly than other arts, should always be one of the objects which most attract the attention of a state, whose end is the greatest population, and the most flourishing prosperity; not only for itself, and its finances, but more still for the welfare of the people. In this view, equally political and paternal, the Spirit of Legislation neglects nothing for giving activity to the industry of the subjects of a state, and a value to whatever is capable of an advantageous fabrication. Besides the encouragement and the facilities which it gives in this respect to men dependent on it, if it grants a free and gracious access to all industrious strangers, who may give rise to emulation; above all, if the country is not peopled sufficiently: but as the manufactures attract and employ a great number of persons, who ought to be fed, and as no establishment of this kind can sustain itself in abundance, the first care must always be to favour agriculture.

P A R T V.

Of Commerce relatively to Agriculture.

COMMERCE being only the communication of the products of nature and art, this operation is inseparable from those of which we come to treat, it ought to be the motive and the recompence. If man was single it would signify little to himself, living in society he ought to work for it; but as he cannot supply his wants in necessary, useful, and agreeable matters without the assistance of other men, he should offer to others the surplus of his own necessaries, with the fruits of his industry, in exchange for what he wants. For what good should we solicit the soil to give us her rich productions, if it is not to spread them wherever they are wanted; and for what should we be industrious, if it was not for circulating the product of various talents?

The commerce of a country turns immediately on its natural productions, and upon that industry which multiplies and perfects them. The natural objects are the nourishment, cloathing

ing commodities of common and agreeable living : but agriculture is always the basis, and one of the principal branches.

The *interior circulation* comes immediately in view ; it yields divers advantages serving for the welfare and prosperity of the country, and spreading through all parts of a state, a free and easy communication, as the blood produced by nature, ought to circulate in the human body, without obstruction, for producing vigour and health.

When I say a free and easy communication, I understand also the most prompt and the least expensive ; that which necessarily requires the best routes.

The exportation of the superfluity, or the excess of what is wanted, to foreigners is the second object of the commerce of a country ; I understand by *superfluity*, the excess of wants relative to the natural productions of the fruits of industry. They ought therefore to be converted into other matters that are wanted, or into money, being properly so much gained, It is very advantageous to a state to find every thing within itself ; and nothing should be neglected for giving birth to productions, and for manufacturing as many as possible. But this is not always possible. It is not easy to find all necessaries, as corn, salt, iron, and other

subjects, and the interest which the prince or the nation may have in facilitating it, to moderate or preserve this exportation. In general, and in most cases it is advantageous, and should be encouraged.

Fertile and well cultivated countries certainly give great opportunities of exporting at a low price. It is a great motive for perfecting cultivation, and augmenting it to abundance, for commerce infallibly augments population.

If the soil of a country is not proper for the culture of corn, or quite refuses it by sterility, it must necessarily be supplied by industry and commerce, as it is in *Holland* and other places.

The productions of a country being those of nature, or of industry; the first should be improved with the utmost care, to give them the best quality possible, which (for vines above all) in augmenting reputation, raises also the price; and to give at the same time to the products of labour a value by fashion, and a credit by fabricating with great fidelity, which may be done by placing at their head people intelligent, able and industrious, capable of inventing, and of pleasing the taste of the publick. Schools of design are in this respect always the basis of all success. A wise legislation might greatly influence all these things by its regulations; but its authority would be insufficient or unfruitful,

without the ability, prudence, and good faith of undertakers.

Importation of commodities, or foreign merchandize to a state, is the third object of commerce, and one of very great importance. Naturally nothing should be received but what was to answer real wants, or at least for its utility or profit, but never for prejudicing the interests of the state or of persons dependent on it.

If importation has for its object products, it is rare but they will prejudice the agriculture of the country, in obstructing or rendering less advantageous the sale of its products, which could not fail of much discouraging the cultivator. It is proper only in case of urgent wants, and it is to prevent them, that a wise government should give all its attention; both in animating every kind of culture, and giving rise to all possible improvements, granaries of precaution, which might open themselves when wanted, to break the monopolies of private persons, and guaranty the poor people from a too great dearth in years unfortunate to the crops, as is practised in the canton of *Berne*, and other parts of *Switzerland*, which have thereby experienced at divers times the paternal care of their gracious sovereigns.

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Importation has directly and naturally for its object, those things which cannot be produced in temperate climates, as spices, drugs, coffee, tea, sugar, &c. articles unfortunately too familiar at present, and which long custom has rendered almost necessary to nourishment. Many other things, which we need not indicate here, either of the nature of those which we have named, or which are wrought in the countries from which we bring them, some of which are mixed of utility and agreeableness, others of pure luxury or vain curiosity. These various articles require regulation subject to variation, according to the state of a country, being more or less fortunate; but legislation should act in all, on general and incontestible principles.

I. By interdicting the entry of that which it judges to be evidently prejudicial to a country, such are the importation of things of the same sort as the country produces, or which may, by a superior quality discredit them, or prevent, or restrain the interior sale.

II. Interdict the entry of foreign merchandize, of the same sort as those which are fabricated at home, which must infallibly be mischievous to the national fabrications, as well as to the culture of the materials furnished to them.

III. Prevent or limit the importation of merchandize of luxury, or the mode which carries off much money; at least when the commerce of exportation is not equal to it; then this luxury may be considered as profitable by exchanges, or the fruit of industry.

IV. Favour the importation of foreign raw materials, which may be worked up at home, such as cotton and making the people of a country gain the fashion of it, which without this they pay to foreigners; above all, when these materials thus worked, are actually a part of the interior consumption, and may become an object of advantageous exportation, after having usefully employed the manufacturers. They ought to feel without pain, prohibitions of importation of things of an evident utility, or a daily consumption when it is in favour of the national establishments, to render them in a state of furnishing such necessaries.

In the case of matters simply agreeable, legislation full of goodness, might without a total prohibition, render the importation more rare, and more difficult; unless in cases of absolute necessity, we should always lay as small burthens as possible on commerce, as little, as the general interest of the state and of society well understood will permit,

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The exclusive privileges tending to burthen the liberty of great numbers, merit always the same attention. We should here recollect the principles which we have laid down in this respect in speaking of manufactures.

Companies of commerce being more extended, and embracing much greater objects, are more mischievous still, because it is rare that they do not become abuses and tyrannical, in removing or stifling all that is not for their interest, oftentimes greatly to the prejudice of the publick. The spirit of monopoly, which is almost always that of these companies, is a destructive spirit. The *Dutch* are accused of sometimes burning, or throwing into the sea great quantities of pepper, nutmegs, &c. for keeping up the price. "Such is," says an author "the spirit of a company, that it always prefers a gain of ten *per cent.* upon a thousand tons of exportation, to that of five *per cent* on two thousand tons." In a free commerce on the contrary, competition necessarily forces the merchant to content himself with moderate profits, and to augment the exportation to augment his profits.

In giving to commerce the greatest freedom that is possible, there will perhaps be made fewer great fortunes; but a greater number of moderate fortunes, and an ease more generally expanded

expanded will be the fruits; which certainly are more sure and more advantageous to a country, and which becomes at the same time the end of a good legislation, above all, in republican states, where they ought to seek whatever approaches the nearest to equality.

A prosperity more general, is always more favourable to the circulation of the profits of commerce, than the opulence of a small number. It is more proper also to raise the price of lands by competition, and so to increase the value of them, than by brilliant fortunes, who turn all they have into luxury and embellishments, besides, that moderate fortunes never give such bad examples of vices and prodigality. In fine, this mean state of ease becomes more favourable to a reasonable population, one of the great ends which ought always to be had in view.

Republicks have commonly this advantage of commerce, being the more free; we there never see, or at least very rarely, those monopolies of the state, so odious, which are only to be found in the great monarchies. In the government of *one*, (says *Montesquieu*) commerce is founded upon luxury: in the government of *many* it is founded on œconomy. We may add, that it is accompanied with more security; those fortunes less rapid, are less exposed to the strokes
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of authority, which overturn or exhaust them. The success of commerce in republics is plain, by a great number of examples, antient and modern, such as those of the cities of *Tyre, Carthage, Marseilles, Florence, Venice*, and the Hanse towns, and still more by the degree of splendor to which it has carried the *United Provinces*, who by commerce have equalled the most respectable powers of *Europe*.

In leaving much liberty to commerce, the legislature has a right to temper it by wise regulations, and above all, to require much candour and good faith: the police cannot watch too attentively to all the licences which escape the laws of commerce. The general interest demands that all frauds in weights, and measures, and mixtures or alterations of merchandize, be punished severely.

Besides the general laws which the rights of men establish; it imports much that the administration of *mercantile justice* should be summary, and as short as possible, and with that view to be freed from the forms and the delays too common and too much multiplied in the courts.

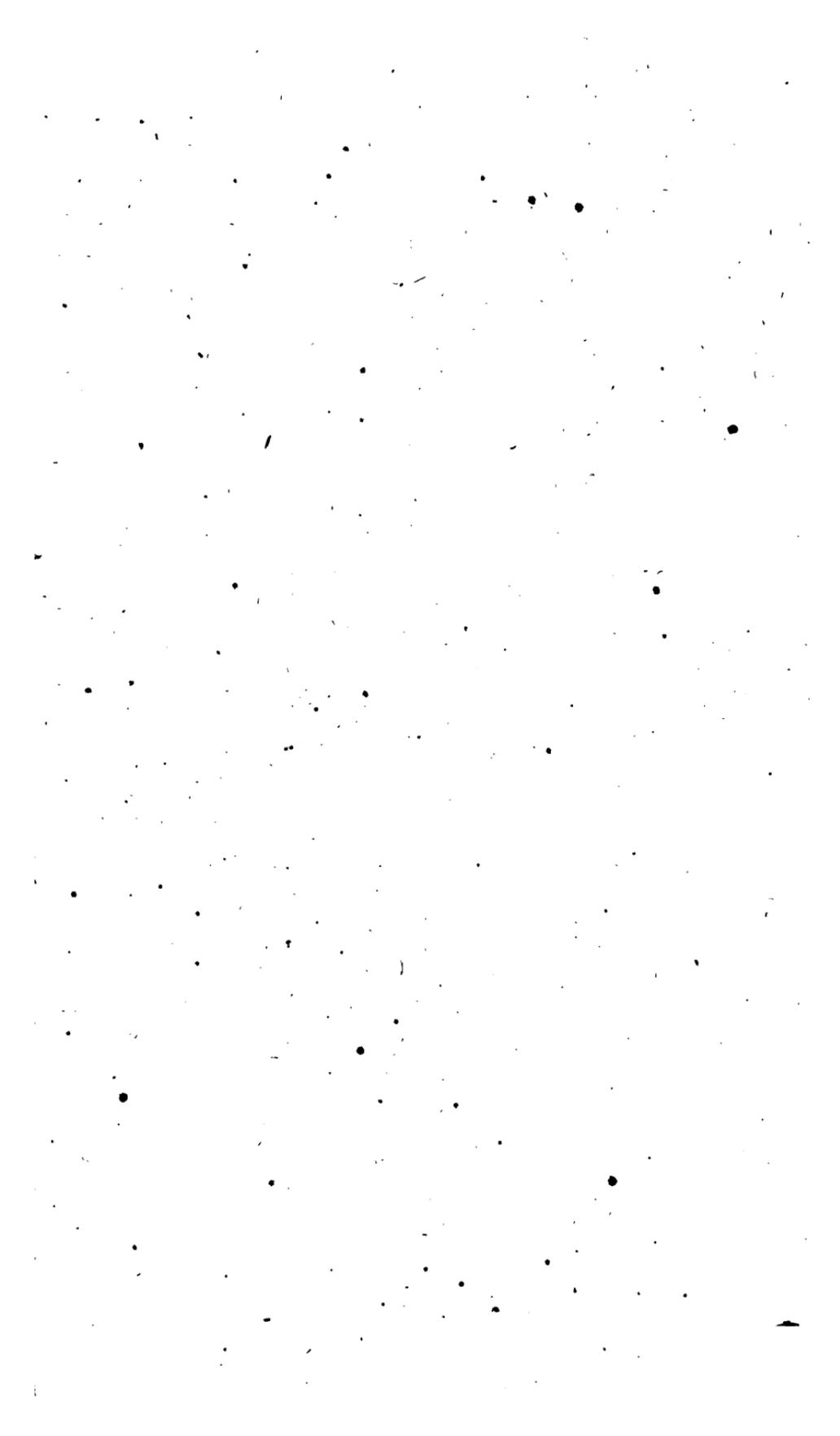
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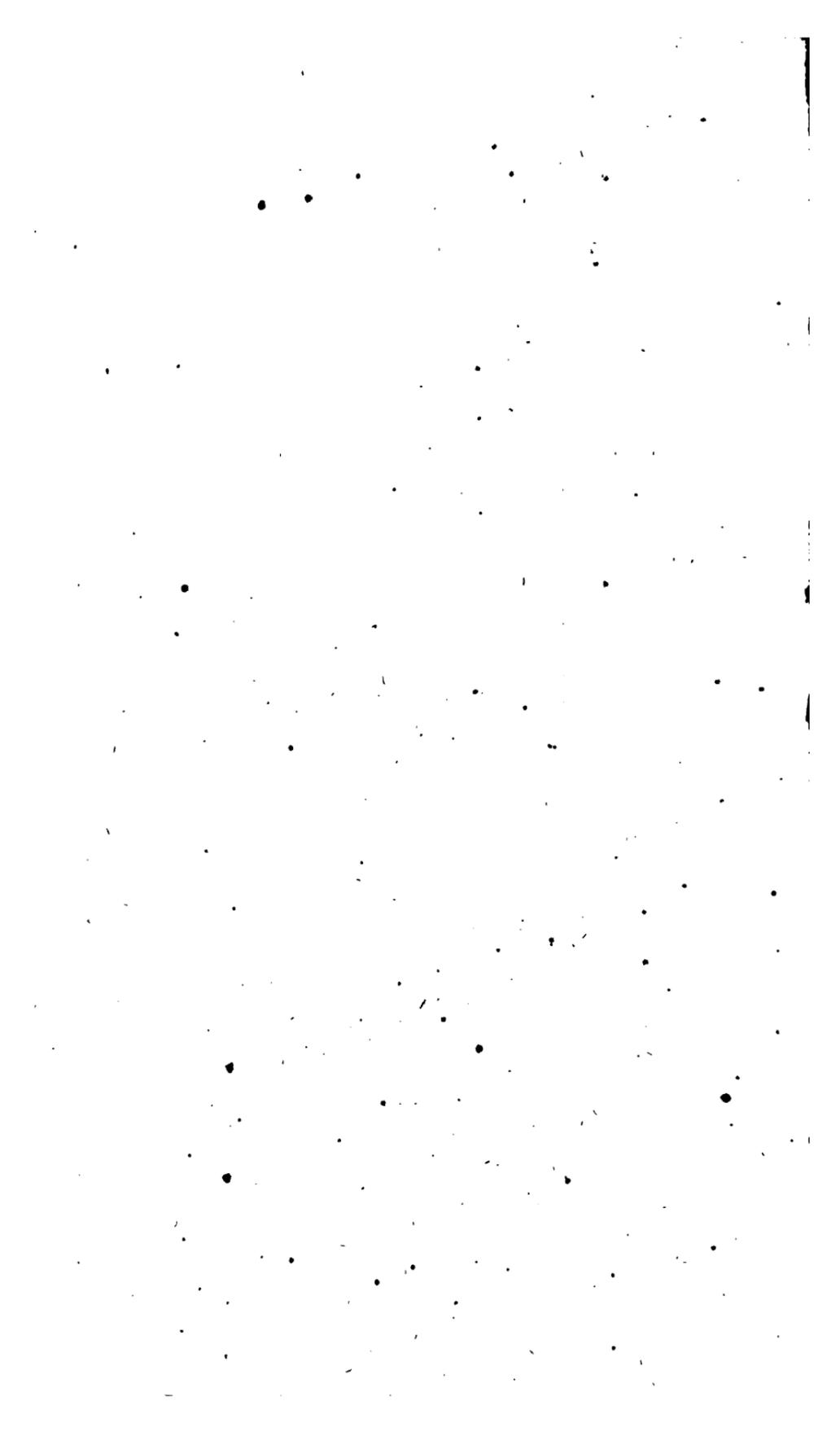
it, and above all, in a state at a distance from the sea, and which would at the same time preserve its independency, is to give birth within itself to abundance, by the *solid* and *various* resources of AGRICULTURE.

Quod patria nostra florescit, quam mihi a quocunque excoli jucundam. Plin. Tab. lib. v. epist.

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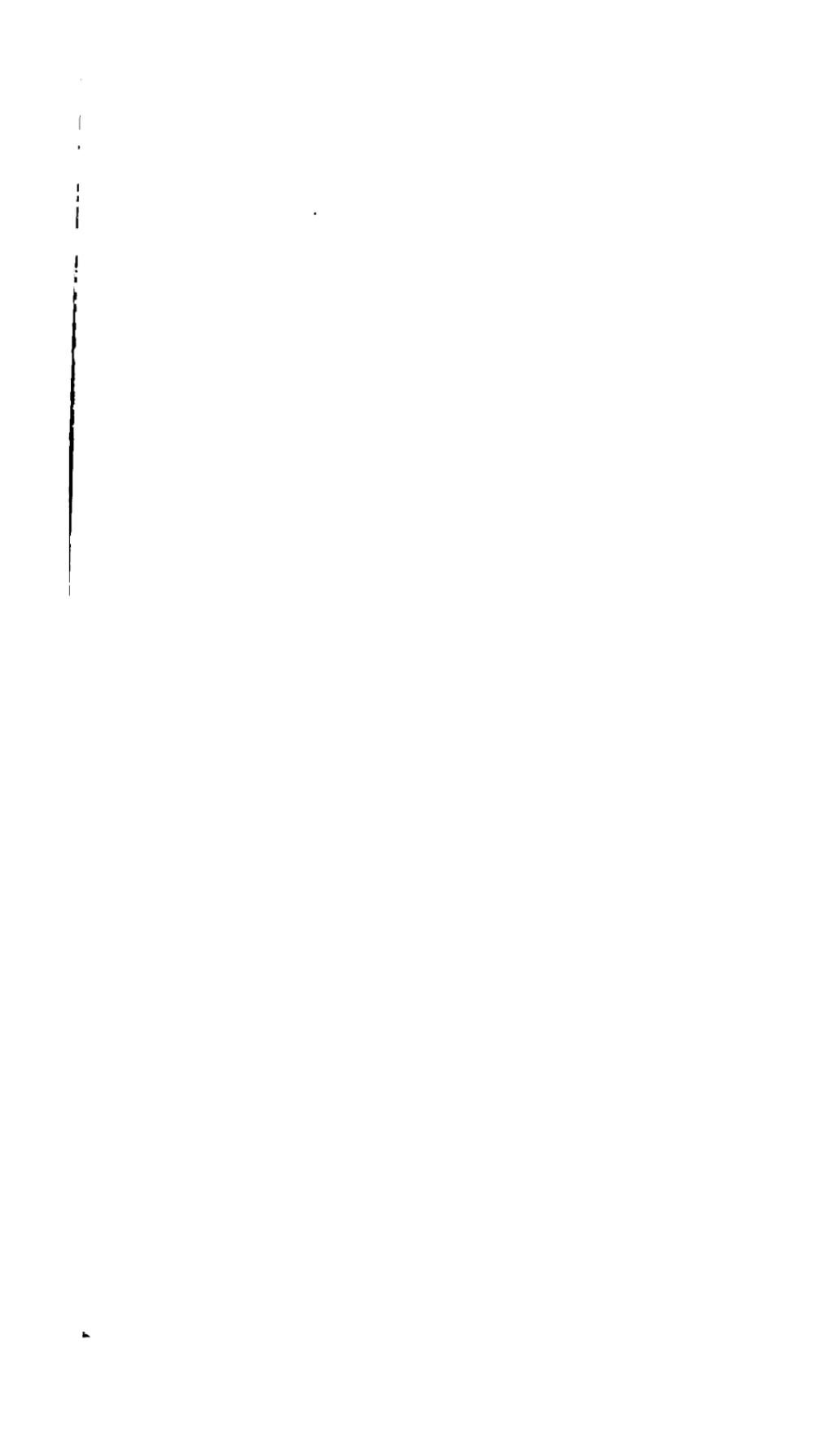












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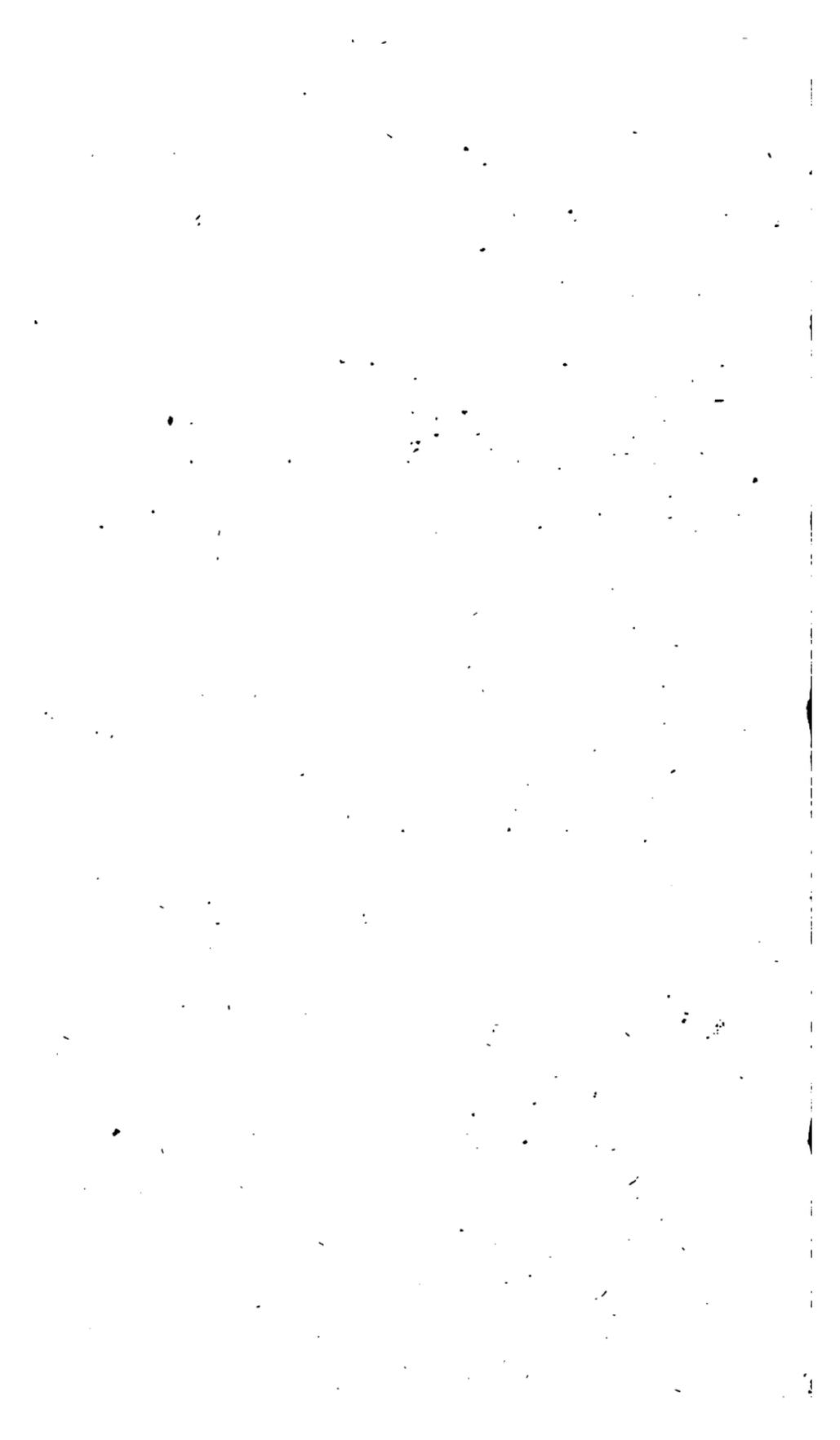
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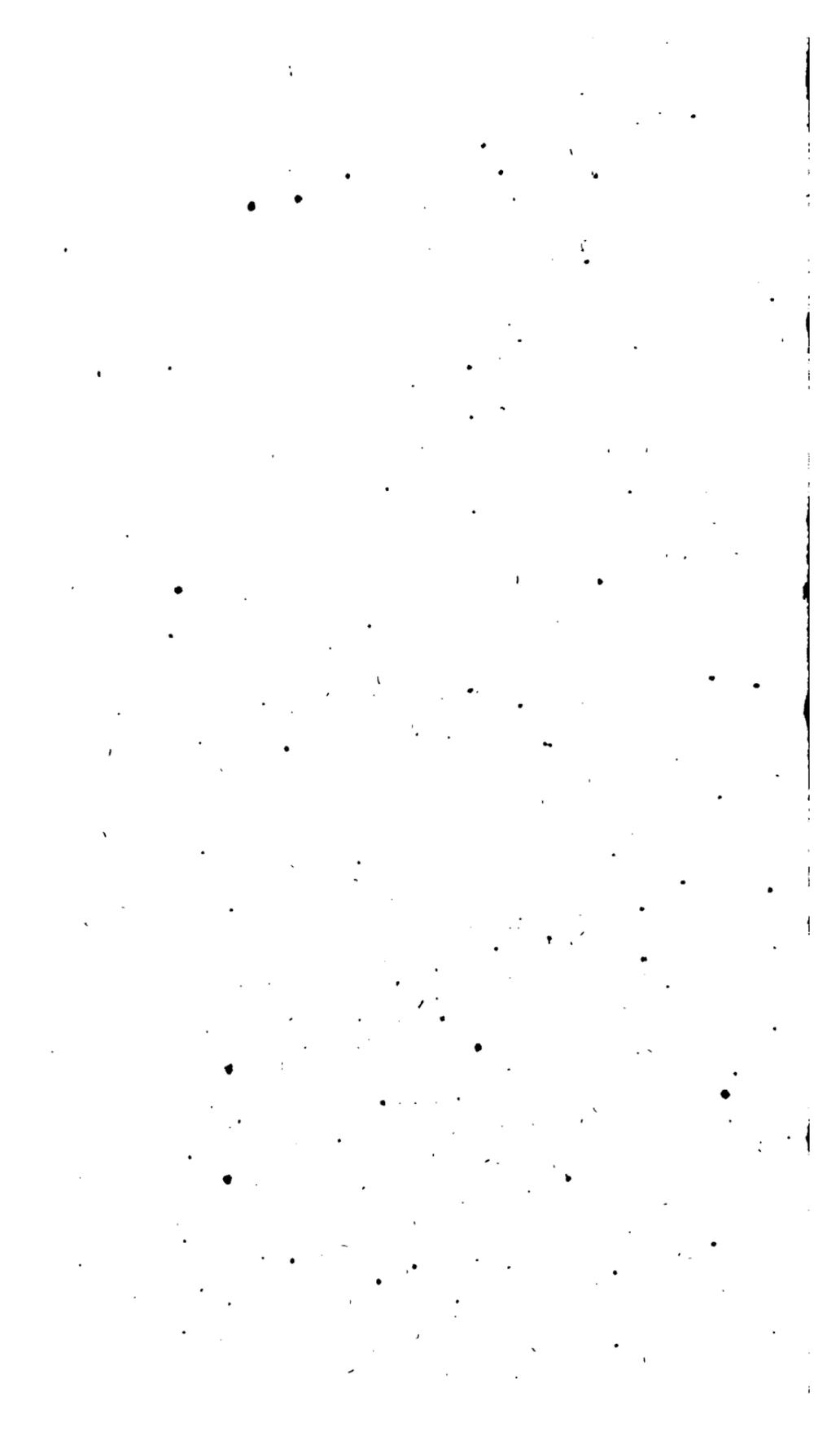
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