

THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT

Jacques de Guenin, General Editor

*The Man and the Statesman: The Correspondence and Articles on
Politics*

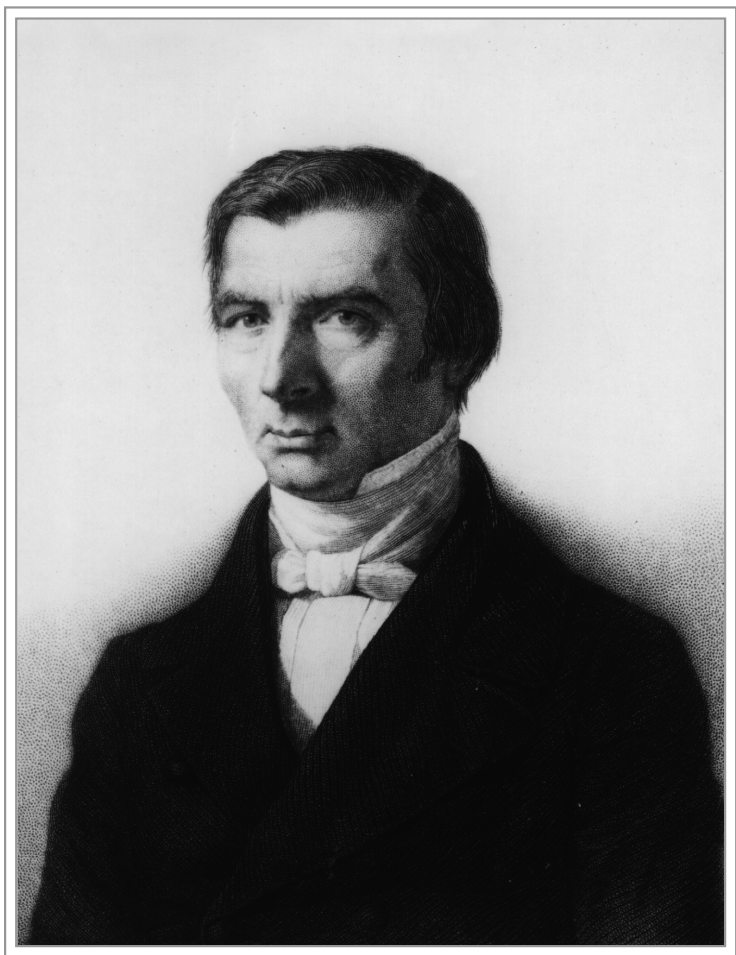
"The Law," "The State," and Other Political Writings, 1843–1850

Economic Sophisms and "What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen"

*Miscellaneous Works on Economics: From "Jacques-Bonhomme" to
Le Journal des Économistes*

Economic Harmonies

*The Struggle Against Protectionism: The English and French
Free-Trade Movements*



Frédéric Bastiat

THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN
The Correspondence and Articles on Politics

FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT

Translated from the French by
Jane Willems and Michel Willems
with an introduction by
Jacques de Guenin and Jean-Claude Paul-Dejean

Annotations and Glossaries by
Jacques de Guenin, Jean-Claude Paul-Dejean,
and David M. Hart

Translation Editor
Dennis O’Keeffe



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The cuneiform inscription that serves as our logo and as the design motif for our endpapers is the earliest-known written appearance of the word “freedom” (*amagi*), or “liberty.” It is taken from a clay document written about 2300 B.C. in the Sumerian city-state of Lagash.

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Image of the village of Mugron, France, the town where Bastiat spent most of his adult life, from a postcard at www.communes.com/www.notrefamille.com.

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General Editor's Note

The Collected Works of Frédéric Bastiat will be the most complete edition of Bastiat's works published to date, in any country or in any language. The main source for this translation is the *Œuvres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat*, published by Guillaumin et Cie. in the 1850s and 1860s.¹ The additional sources used in this edition are the following: *Lettres d'un habitant des Landes, Frédéric Bastiat*, collected by Mme Cheuvreux (Paris: Quantin, 1877); articles published in *La Chalosse*, a local newspaper of the Landes, an area, or *département*, in southwestern France where Bastiat spent most of his life; articles published in *La Sentinelle des Pyrénées*, a newspaper printed in Bayonne; and various unpublished letters or articles gathered by the historian Jean-Claude Paul-Dejean, a Bastiat scholar, who has also collaborated in writing the introduction to this volume and the notes of the whole edition.

Although the Guillaumin edition was generally chronological, the volumes in this series have been arranged thematically:

*The Man and the Statesman: The Correspondence and Articles on
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"The Law," "The State," and Other Political Writings, 1843–1850
Economic Sophisms and "What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen"
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Journal des Économistes*
Economic Harmonies
*The Struggle Against Protectionism: The English and French
Free-Trade Movements*

1. For a more-detailed description of the publication history of the *Œuvres complètes*, see "Note on the Editions of the *Œuvres Complètes*" and the bibliography.

The initial Guillaumin edition of the *Œuvres complètes*, published shortly after Bastiat's death, comprised six volumes. Later on, Prosper Paillottet, Bastiat's editor and executor, inherited a number of unpublished letters and articles, some of which were drafts, sometimes not even complete, but always meaningful enough to be of interest. After due consultation with Bastiat's intellectual friends, including Richard Cobden, Paillottet decided to publish everything in a seventh volume. The drafts themselves were regrouped under the heading *ébauches* (drafts), and this volume contains some of them.

There are three kinds of notes in this edition: footnotes by the editor of the Guillaumin edition (Prosper Paillottet), which are preceded by "(Paillottet's note)"; new editorial footnotes to this edition, which stand alone (unless they are commenting on Paillottet's notes, in which case they are in square brackets following Paillottet's note); and source notes, which are given in the last line of the heading for each letter or article. For those items taken from the *Œuvres complètes*, which constitutes the source for the majority of the items, the source note consists of the volume number and the beginning page number² plus any additional source information if the item has been previously published in a journal or similar publication.

In the text, Bastiat (and Paillottet in the notes) makes many passing references to his works, for which we have provided an internal cross-reference if the work is found in this volume. For those works not in this volume, we have provided the location of the original French version in the *Œuvres complètes* (indicated in a footnote by "OC," followed by the Guillaumin volume number, beginning page number, and French title of the work).

In addition, we have made available two online sources³ for the reader to consult. The first source is a table of contents of the seven-volume *Œuvres complètes* and links to PDF facsimiles of each volume. The second source is our "Comparative Table of Contents of the Collected Works of Frédéric Bastiat," which is a table of contents of the complete Liberty Fund series. Here, the reader can find the location of the English translation of the work in its future Liberty Fund volume. These contents will be filled in and updated as the volumes come out and will eventually be the most complete comparative listing of Bastiat's works.

2. See the bibliography for a complete listing of the *Œuvres complètes*, as well as a listing of other works cited in this volume.

3. These two sources can be found at <http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/25>.

In order to avoid multiple footnotes and cross-references, three glossaries have been provided for the identification of the persons, places, and subjects and terms mentioned in the text that were important to Bastiat in his time. The glossaries also provide historical context and background for the reader as well as a greater understanding of Bastiat's work. If a name as it appears in the text is ambiguous or is in the Glossary of Persons under a different name, a brief footnote has been added to the text to identify the name as it is listed in the glossary.

It should be remembered that when the Guillaumin edition was issued a number of people who knew Bastiat personally were still alive. The ellipses added by Paillottet, which precede or end some letters and which signal the omission of expressions of politeness or affection, have been reproduced in this edition. Ellipses are also used to indicate either a missing portion of the drafts or a deliberate cut by Paillottet when he thought that the passage in question was too private in nature. Finally, original italics as they appear in the Guillaumin edition have been retained.

Jacques de Guenin
Saint-Loubouer, France

Note on the Translation

In this translation we have made a deliberate decision not to translate Frédéric Bastiat's French into modern, colloquial American English. Wherever possible we have tried to retain a flavor of the more florid, Latinate forms of expression that were common among the literate class in mid-nineteenth-century France. Bastiat liked long, flowing sentences, in which idea followed upon idea in an apparently endless succession of dependent clauses. For the sake of clarity, we have broken up many but not all of these thickets of expression. In those that remain, you, dear reader, will have to navigate.

As was the custom in the 1840s, Bastiat liked to pepper his paragraphs with exclamations like "What!" and aphoristic Latin phrases like *Quid leges sine moribus?* (What are laws without customs?). We have translated the latter and left most of the former as a reminder that this was written in a by-gone age when tastes were very different. We have also kept personal names, titles of nobility, and the like in their original French if the persons were French; thus, "M." instead of "Mr."; "Mme" instead of "Mrs."; "Mlle" instead of "Miss"; and "MM" instead of "Messrs."

Because Bastiat was a political theorist and an economist, he used many technical terms and expressions in his writings, some of which need explanation as they have no exact translation into today's speech. One example is *liberté*, which could be translated as either "liberty" (if one wanted to retain a more eighteenth-century flavor) or "freedom" (if one wanted a more modern sense). We have used both depending on the context and how it sounded to our ears. Another is *pouvoir*, which we have variously translated as "power," "government," or "authority," again depending on the context. A third example consists of the words *économie politique* and *économiste*. In both French and English throughout the eighteenth, and for most of the nineteenth, centuries, the term *political economy* was used to describe what we now call "economics." Toward the end of the nineteenth century as economics became more mathematical, the adjective "political" was dropped

and not replaced. We have preferred to keep the term *political economy* both because it was still current when Bastiat was writing and because it better describes the state of the discipline, which proudly mixed an interest in moral philosophy, history, and political theory with the main dish, which was economic analysis; similarly, with the term *économiste*. Today one can be a free-market economist, a Marxist economist, a Keynesian economist, a mathematical economist, an Austrian economist, or whatever. The qualifier before the noun is quite important. In Bastiat's day it was assumed that any "economist" was a free-market economist, and so the noun needed no adjectival qualifier. Only during the 1840s, with the emergence of socialist ideas in France and Germany, did there emerge a school of economic thinking that sharply diverged from the free market. But in Bastiat's day this had not yet become large enough to cause confusion over naming. Even in 1849, when Gustave de Molinari published his charming set of dialogues, *Les Soirées de la rue St. Lazare*, between three stock characters—the socialist, the conservative, and the economist—it was perfectly clear who was arguing for what, and that the economist was of course a laissez-faire, free-market economist.

A particularly tricky word to translate is *industrie*, as is its related term *industriel*. In some respects it is a "false friend," as one is tempted to translate it as "industry" or "industrious" or "industrial," but this would be wrong because these terms have the more narrow modern meaning of "heavy industry" or "manufacturing" or "the result of some industrial process." The meaning in Bastiat's time was both more general and more specific to a particular social and economic theory current in his day.

In the eighteenth century *industry* had the general meaning of "productive" or "the result of hard work," and this sense continued to be current in the early nineteenth century. *Industry* also had a specific meaning, which was tied to a social and economic theory developed by Jean-Baptiste Say and his followers Charles Comte and Charles Dunoyer in the 1810s and 1820s, as well as by other theorists such as the historian Augustin Thierry. According to these theorists there were only two means of acquiring wealth: by productive activity and voluntary exchanges in the free market (i.e., *industrie*—which included agriculture, trade, factory production, and services) or by coercive means (conquest, theft, taxation, subsidies, protection, transfer payments, or slavery). Anybody who acquired wealth through voluntary exchange and productive activities belonged to a class of people collectively called *les industriels*, in contrast to those individuals or groups who acquired their wealth by force, coercion, conquest, slavery, or government privileges.

The latter group were seen as a ruling class or as “parasites” who lived at the expense of *les industriels*.

Bastiat was very much influenced by the theories of Say, Comte, and Dunoyer and adopted their terminology regarding *industry*. So to translate *industrie* in this intellectual context as “production” (or some other modern, neutral term) would be to ignore the resonance the word has with the social and economic theory that was central to Bastiat’s worldview. Hence, at the risk of sounding a bit archaic and pedantic, we have preferred to use *industry* in order to remain true to Bastiat’s intent.

When Bastiat uses an English word or phrase, we have mentioned this in a footnote, with one exception: Bastiat frequently writes such terms as “free trade” and “free trader” in English, especially in his correspondence with Richard Cobden, and thus we have not noted these occurrences.

A final note on terminology: in Bastiat’s time, the word *liberal* had the same meaning in France and in America. In the United States, however, the meaning of the word has shifted progressively toward the left of the political spectrum. A precise translation of the French word would be either “classical liberal” or “libertarian,” depending on the context, and indeed Bastiat is considered a classical liberal by present-day conservatives and a libertarian by present-day libertarians. To avoid the resulting awkwardness, we have decided by convention to keep the word *liberal*, with its nineteenth-century meaning, in the translations as well as in the notes and the glossaries.

Note on the Editions of the Œuvres Complètes

The first edition of the *Œuvres complètes* appeared in 1854–55, consisting of six volumes.¹ The second edition, which appeared in 1862–64, was an almost identical reprint of the first edition (with only minor typesetting differences) but was notable for the inclusion of a new, seventh volume, which contained additional essays, sketches, and correspondence.² The second edition also contained a preface by Prosper Paillottet and a biographical essay on Bastiat by Roger de Fontenay (“Notice sur la vie et les écrits de Frédéric Bastiat”), both of which were absent in the first edition.

Another difference between the first and second editions was in the sixth volume, which contained Bastiat’s magnum opus, *Economic Harmonies*. The first edition of the *Œuvres complètes* described volume 6 as the “third revised and augmented edition” of *Economic Harmonies*. This is somewhat confusing but does have some logic to it. The “first” edition of *Economic Harmonies* appeared in 1850 during the last year of Bastiat’s life but in an incomplete form. The “second” edition appeared in 1851, after his death, edited by La Société des amis de Bastiat (most probably by Prosper Paillottet and Roger de Fontenay) and included the second half of the manuscript, which Bastiat had been working on when he died. Thus the edition that appeared in the first edition of the *Œuvres complètes* was called the “third” edition on its title page. This practice continued throughout the nineteenth century, with editions of *Economic Harmonies* staying in print as a separate volume as

1. *Œuvres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat, mises en ordre, revues et annotées d’après les manuscrits de l’auteur* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1854–55). 6 vols.: vol. 1, *Correspondance et mélanges* (1855); vol. 2, *Le Libre-échange* (1855); vol. 3, *Cobden et la Ligue ou L’agitation anglaise pour la liberté des échanges* (1854); vol. 4, *Sophismes économiques. Petits pamphlets I* (1854); vol. 5, *Sophismes économiques. Petits pamphlets II* (1854); vol. 6, *Harmonies économiques* (1855). [Edited by Prosper Paillottet with the assistance of Roger de Fontenay, but Paillottet and Fontenay are not credited on the title page.]

2. Vol. 7: *Essais, ébauches, correspondance* (1864).

well as being included as volume 6 in later editions of the *Œuvres complètes*. By 1870–73, therefore, when the third edition of the *Œuvres complètes* appeared, the version of *Economic Harmonies* that appeared in volume 6 was titled the “sixth” edition of the work.

Other “editions” of the *Œuvres complètes* include a fourth edition, 1878–79, and a fifth edition, 1881–84. If there was a sixth edition, the date is unknown. A seventh edition appeared in 1893, and a final edition may have appeared in 1907. (For a complete listing of the editions of the *Œuvres complètes* that were used in making this translation, see the bibliography.)