

Therefore it is ridiculous for us to appear before The State in the humble attitude of beggars. It is utterly impossible for it to confer a specific benefit upon some of the individuals who make up the community, without inflicting a greater injury upon the community as a whole.

OUR DEMANDS, therefore, place The State in an obvious dilemma! If it refuses to grant the requested benefit, it is accused of weakness, ill-will, and incapacity. If it tries to grant their requests, it is obliged to load the people with increased taxes — to do more harm than good — and to bring upon itself general displeasure from another quarter.

So, the public has two hopes, and The State makes two promises: *many benefits and no taxes* — hopes and promises, which, being contradictory, can never be realized.

Is not this the cause of all our revolutions? For between The State, which lavishly promises the impossible, and the public, whose hopes can never be realized, there come to interpose two types of men: the ambitious and the Utopians. The circumstances give them their cue. These office seekers need only cry out to the people: "The authorities are deceiving you. If we were in their place, we would load

you with benefits and exempt you from taxes."

And the people believe, and the people hope, and the people substitute a new government for the old.

No sooner are their friends in charge of things, than they are called upon to redeem their pledge. "Give us work, bread, assistance, credit, instruction, colonies," say the people, "and meanwhile deliver us, as you promised, from the clutches of the tax gatherer."

THE NEW government is no less embarrassed than the former one, for it is easier to promise the impossible than to do it. It tries to gain time which it needs for maturing its vast projects. First it makes a few timid attempts: On one hand, it slightly expands primary education; on the other, it makes a small reduction in the liquor tax. But the contradiction always confronts the administration: If it would be philanthropic, it must attend to its treasury; if it neglects the treasury, it must give up being philanthropic.

These two promises are always and inevitably clashing with one another. To live upon credit, that is, to exhaust the future, is certainly a temporary method of reconciling them — an attempt to do a little good now, at the expense of a great deal of harm in the future. But this procedure calls forth

the specter of bankruptcy, which puts an end to credit. What is to be done then? Why then, the new government defends itself boldly. It unites its forces to maintain itself: It smothers opinion, has recourse to arbitrary measures, ridicules its former slogans, declares that it is impossible to govern except at the risk of being unpopular; in short, it proclaims itself *governmental*.

And this is what other candidates for office are waiting for. They exploit the same illusion, follow the same course, obtain the same success, and are soon swallowed up in the same abyss.

THE LATEST manifesto of the Montagnards, which they issued at the time of the presidential election, concludes with these words: — "*The State ought to give a great deal to the people, and take little from them.*" It is always the same tactics, or rather, the same mistake. The State must:

Give free instruction and education to all the citizens.

Give a general and professional education, as much as possible adapted to the needs, talents, and capacities of each citizen.

Teach every citizen his duty to God, to man, and to himself; develop his perceptions, his aptitudes, and his faculties; teach him, in short, the skill of his trade; make him understand his own in-

terests, and give him a knowledge of his rights.

Place within the reach of all literature and the arts, the heritage of thought, the treasures of the mind, and all those intellectual possessions which elevate and strengthen the soul.

Give compensation for every disaster, fire, flood, etc., experienced by a citizen. (The *et cetera* means more than it says.)

Act as mediator in the relations between capital and labor, and become the regulator of credit.

Give substantial encouragement and effectual support to agriculture.

Purchase railroads, canals, and mines — and doubtless administer them with its characteristic industrial ability!

Encourage useful experiments, promote and assist them by every means likely to make them successful. As a regulator of credit, it will have extensive control over industrial and agricultural associations in order to assure their success.

The State *must* do all this, in addition to the services to which it is already pledged! For instance, it is always to maintain a menacing attitude towards foreigners. The signers of the manifesto say that: "Bound together by this holy union, and by the precedents of the French Republic, we carry our wishes and hopes beyond the barriers which despotism has raised between nations. The rights which