

WORLD-SYSTEM, WHERE THE DISGRACES OF TODAY ARE

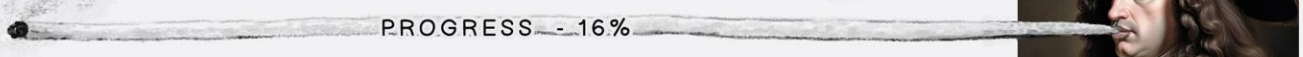
AND NOW: A HISTORIC DOCUMENTARY ARCHIVE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN

PROJECTED ONTO THE PAST, AND ANARCHO-COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IS ACHIEVED BY THE VERY ACT OF



# IDEOLOGY PROJECT

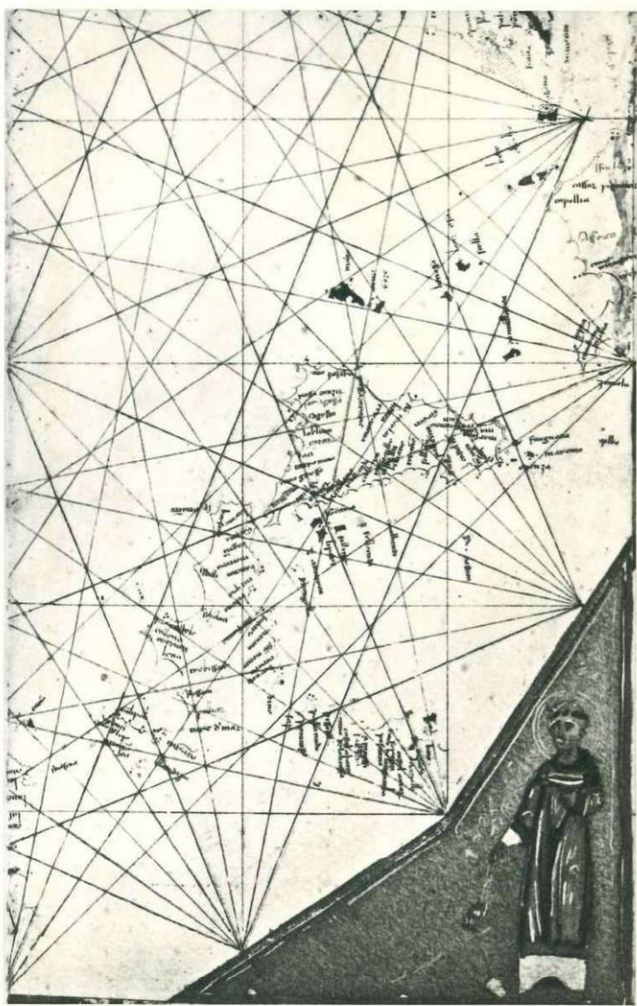
VARIATIONS ON THE FORMATION OF THE WESTERN WORLD-SYSTEM



FROM THE XV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TO TODAY

UNVEILING LONG-LASTING ANTHROPOLOGICAL TRUTHS

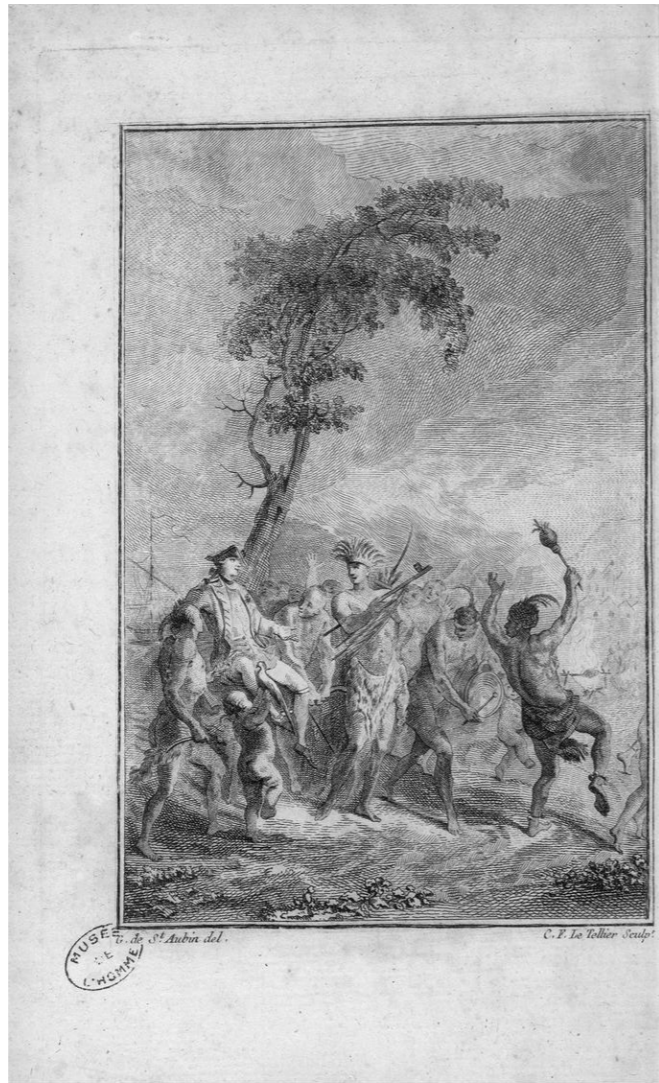
**TROMPAS-TENTÁCULO /  
LAND EXTRACTORS**



L'UNE DES PREMIÈRES CARTES MARINES CONNUES, ŒUVRE DE PIETRO VESCONTE, DE GÈNES (VERS 1320). BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LYON.



NAVIRE MARCHAND PORTUGAIS ARMÉ EN GUERRE. — NAVIGATIO LINSOTANI. HAGAE, 1599. — CL. LAROUSSE.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Médiathèque du musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac



(La tierra para Quién  
se la roba)





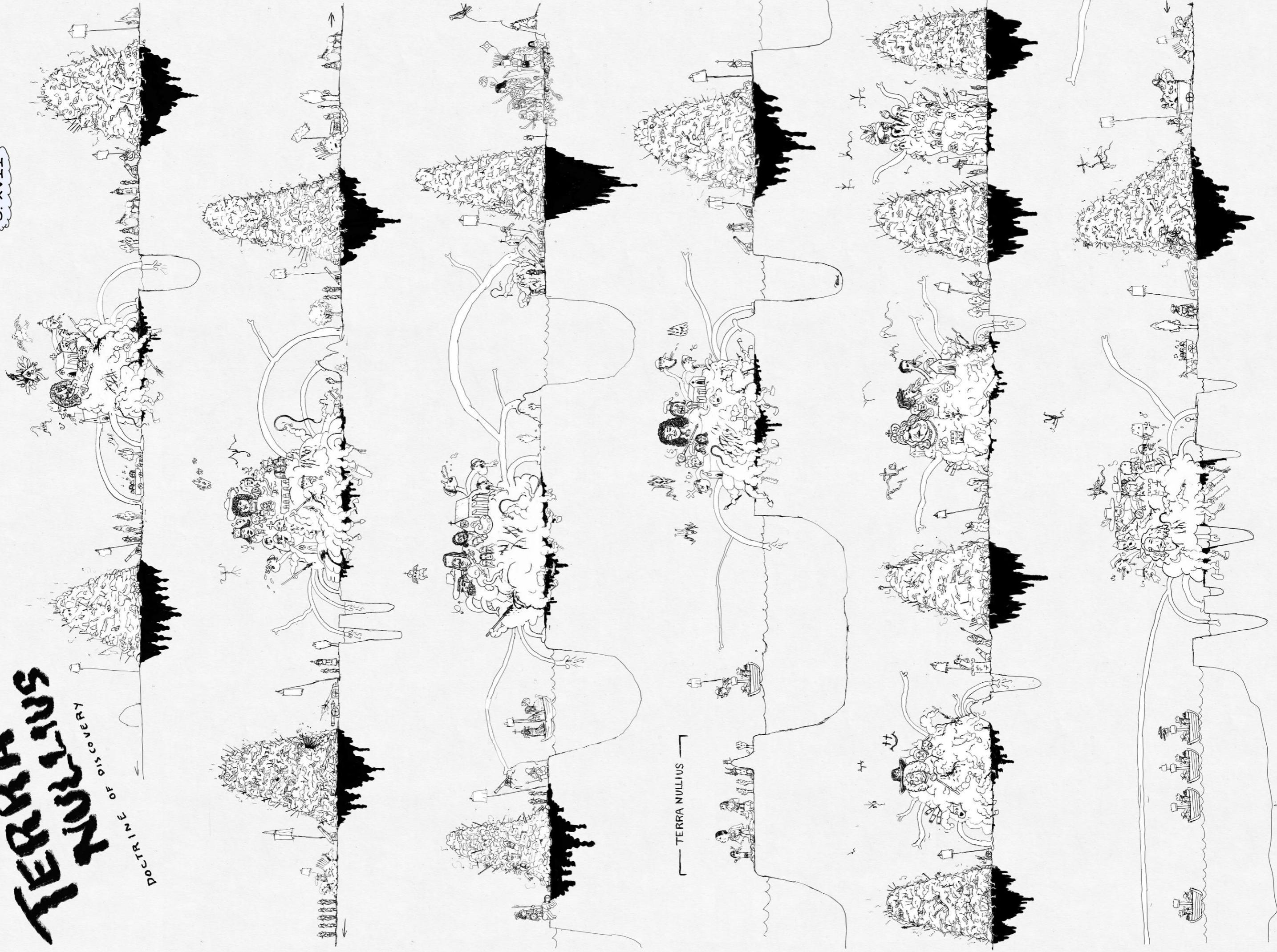
EXPANSIÓN DE LAS MONARQUÍAS GUERRERAS EUROPEAS - EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN WARMONGERING MONARCHIES

MAPAMUNDI DE PERFIL / WORLD SECTION

# TERRA NULLIUS

DOCTRINE OF DISCOVERY

S. XVII



The new possessors enjoyed an unlimited authority, and disposed of the lands. All places, both civil and military, were in their gift.

*A Philosophical and Political History...  
Abbe Raynal 1770*

for I ask, [do a **thousand acres** of] the wild woods and uncultivated waste of America, left to nature, without any improvement, tillage or husbandry, yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniencies of life, as **ten acres** of equally fertile land do in Devonshire, where they are well cultivated?

*John Locke, 1690*

Q: How does man acquire rights over things?

A: It is through his labor that he acquires property. **A fish in a river in America belongs to no one.** It belongs to me, or I have rights over it, it becomes mine as soon as, through my skill and labor, I have appropriated it. I have rights over the fruits of my field, for it is my labor and my care that have rendered them fertile, and not those of another. A father has rights over his children, for without him his children would not exist.

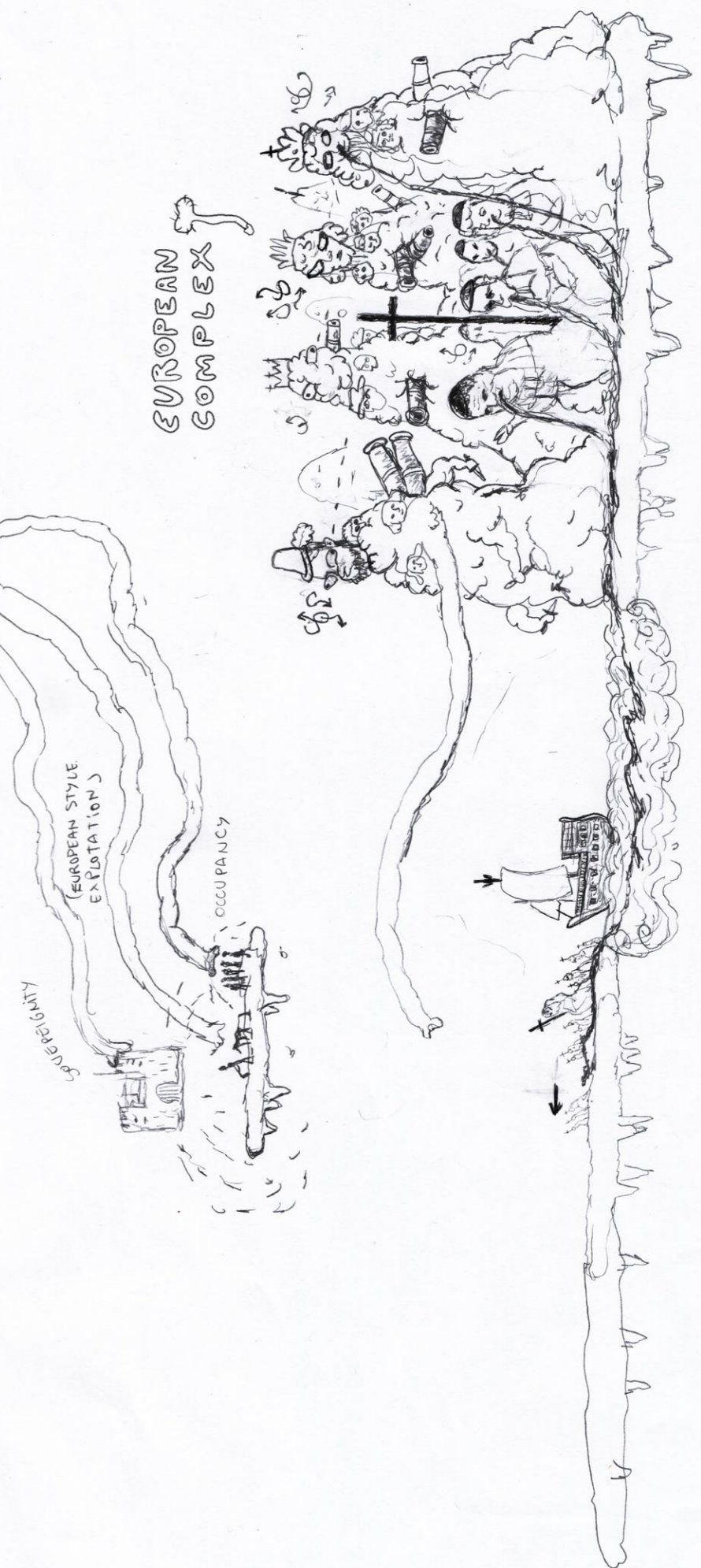
*d'Holbach Elements of  
Universal Morality or  
Catechism of Nature 1765*

Fabrication of

**LAND PROPERTY**

LEGISLATION

OF DISCOVERY



...Envió todos cuantos pudo, hombres inhumanos, los presagiadores, los magos. También envió guerreros, valientes, gente de mando.

Ellos tenían que tener a su cargo todo lo que les fuera menester de cosas de comer ... Y todo lo que aquellos pidieran, o con que su corazón quedara satisfecho ...

Y aun dice que los envió para que vieran qué casta de gente era aquella: a ver si podían hacerles algún hechizo, procurarles algún maleficio. Pudiera ser que les soplaran algún aire, o les echaran algunas llagas, o bien alguna cosa por este estilo les produjeran.

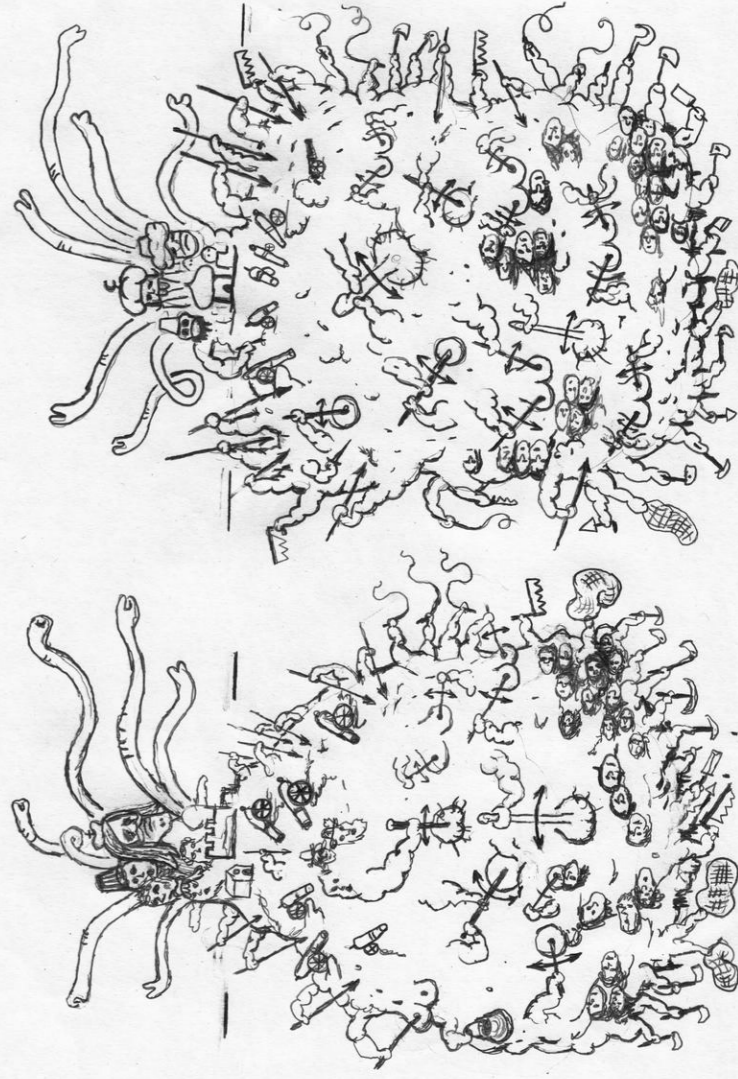
O también pudiera ser que con alguna palabra de encantamiento les hablaran largamente, y con ella tal vez los enfermaran, o se murieran, o acaso se regresaran a donde habían venido.

Por su parte ellos hicieron su oficio, su comisión para con los españoles, pero de nada fueron capaces en absoluto, nada pudieron hacer.

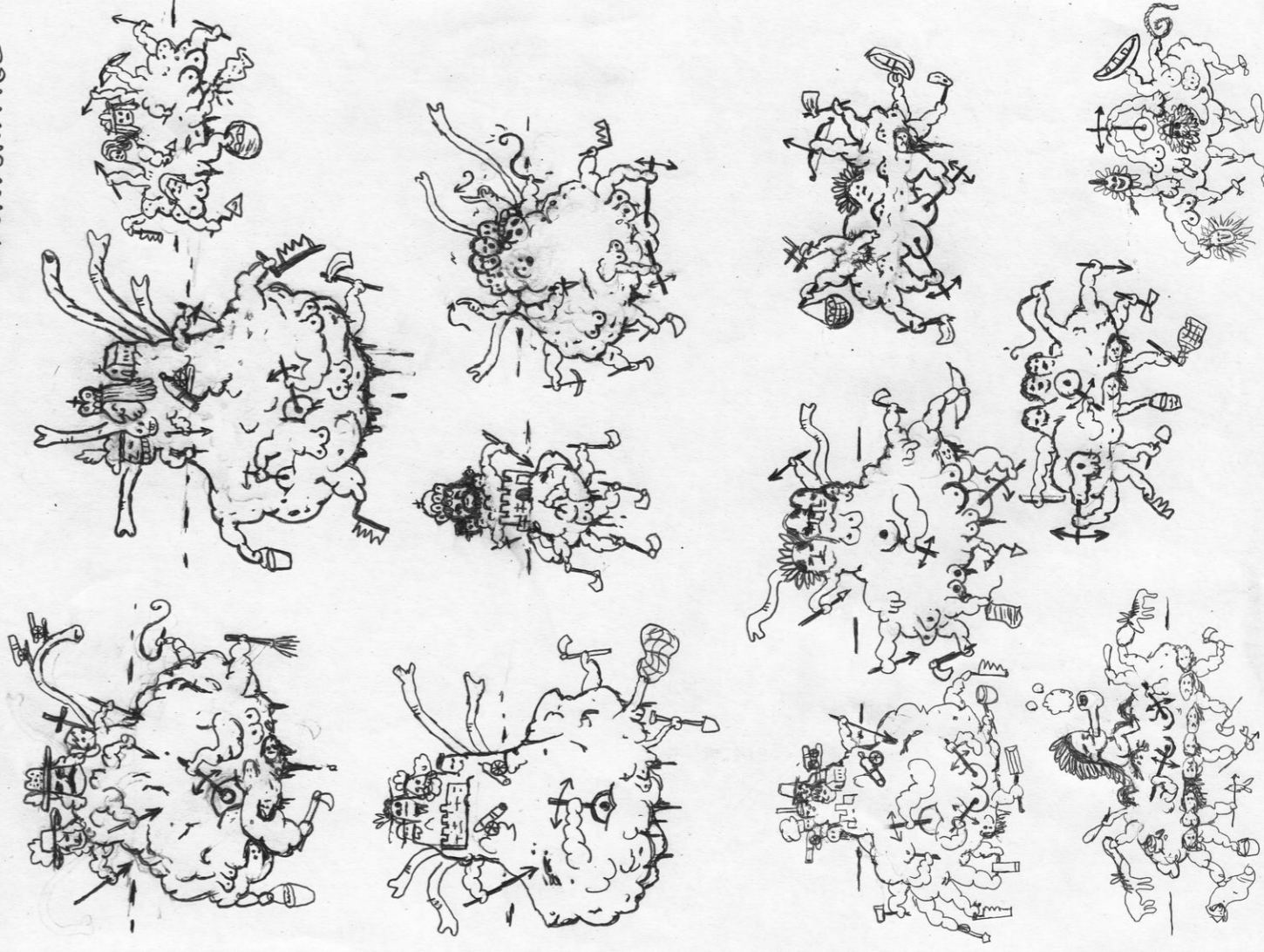
Historia general de las cosas de nueva España

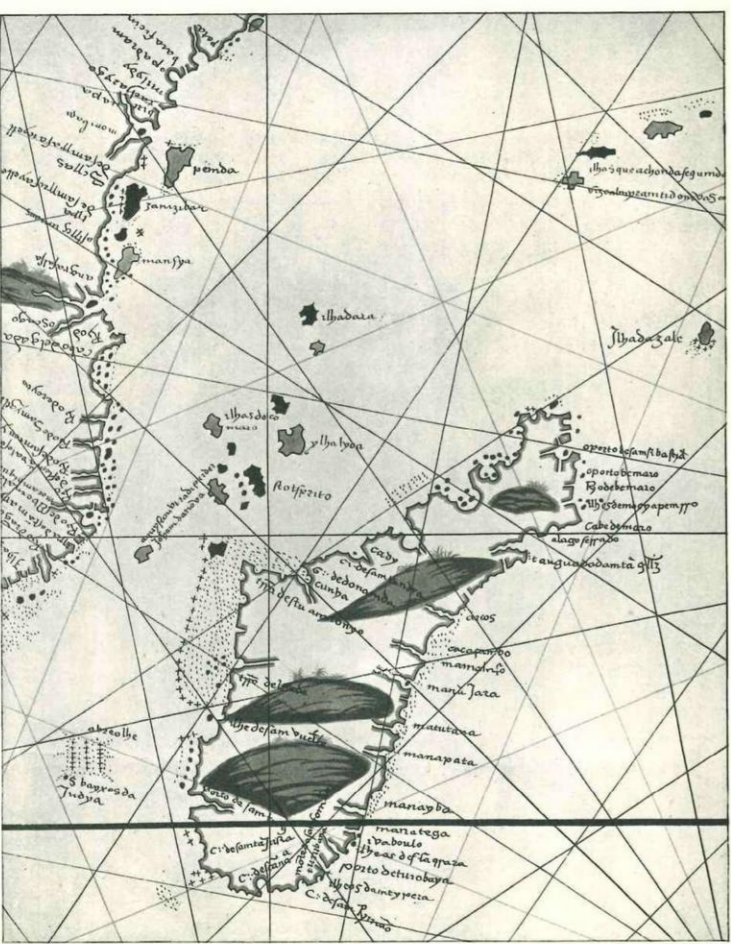
Bernardino de Sahagún, alrededor de 1577

IMPERIAL COLONIAL  
NATIONS



NATIONS  
DON'T NEED TO BE  
EQUAL  
IN RIGHTS OR  
OPPORTUNITIES





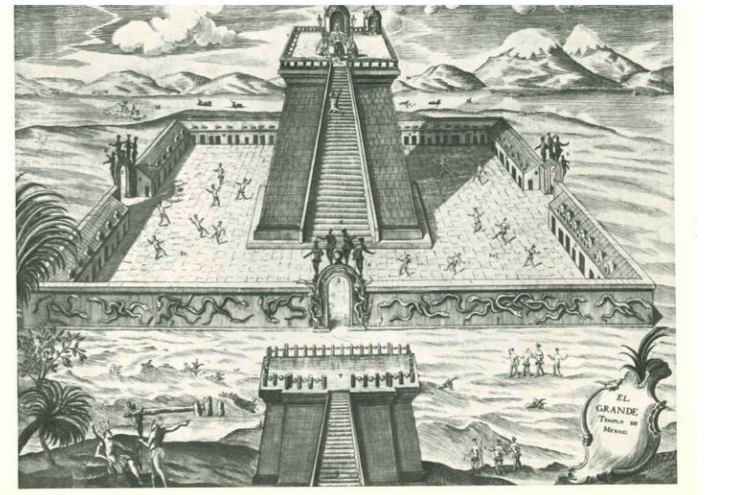
CARTE DE MADAGASCAR ET DE LA CÔTE ORIENTALE D'AFRIQUE, PAR PALESTRINA (1511).



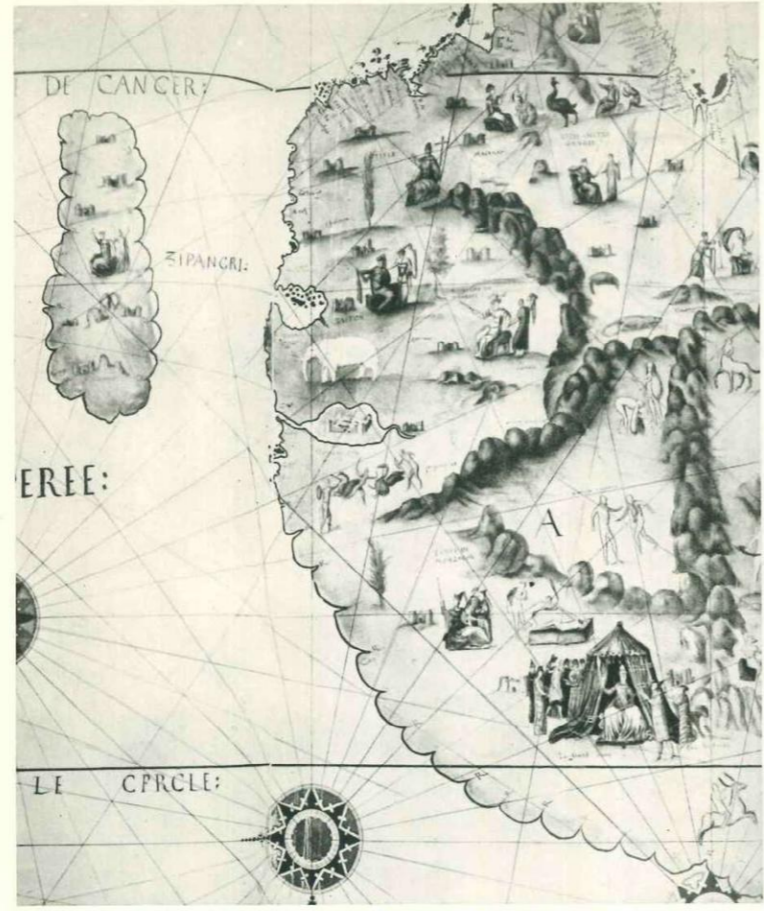
DÉBARQUEMENT DE JACQUES CARTIER ET DES COLONS FRANÇAIS À STADACONÉ (QUÉBEC) EN 1541. — ATLAS DE VALLARD (1946). HENNINGER LIBRARY (CALIFORNIE).



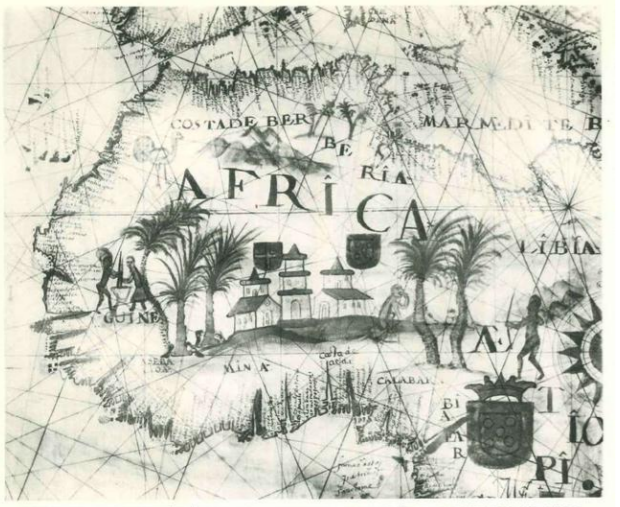
MEXICO AU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. GÉOGRAPHIE. — CL. LAROUSSE.



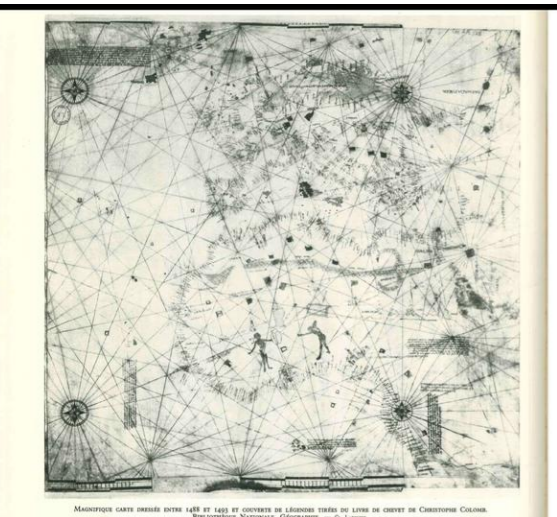
LE GRAND TZOCCALI DE MEXICO. — DON F. A. LORENZANA, ARCHEVÊQUE DE MEXICO, HISTORIA DE NUEVA ESPAÑA, MEXICO, 1770. — C. LAROUSSE.



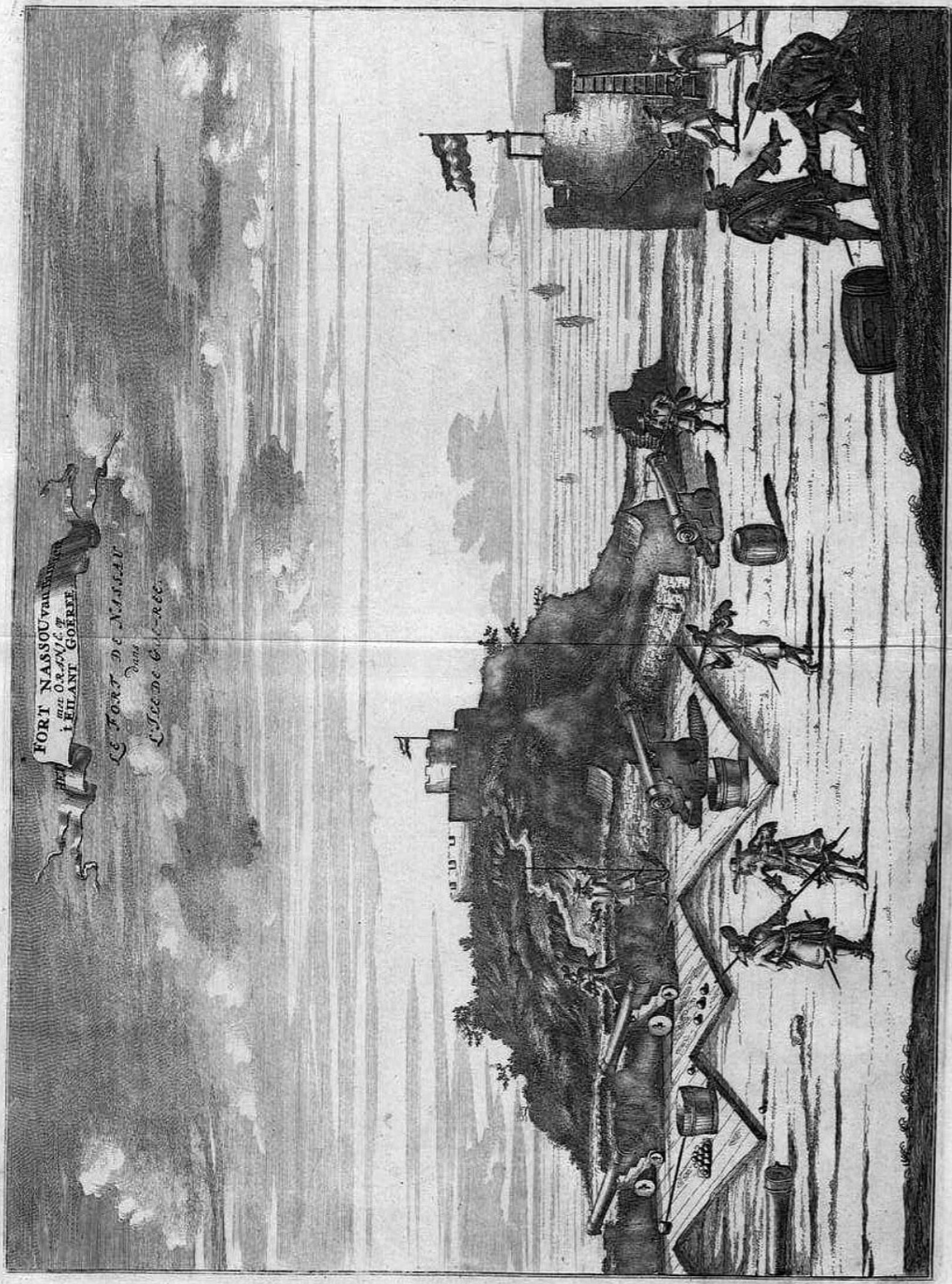
CARTE DE DESCÉLIERS (1553), ORIENTÉE SUD-NORD, FIGURANT LES PAYS QUE COLOMB CROYAIT ATTEINDRE AU COURS DE SES VOYAGES TRANSATLANTIQUES VERS L'OUEST. ON DISTINGUE, À GAUCHE, LE JAPON (ZIPANGRI); À DROITE, EN BAS, LE CATHAY OU PAYS DU GRAND KHAN, REPRÉSENTÉ, ICI, SOUS SA TENTE. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. GÉOGRAPHIE. — CL. LAROUSSE.



L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE D'APRÈS UN PORTULAN PORTUGAIS DU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE : ON DISTINGUE, AU CENTRE, LE SITE D'ELMINA (MINA).



MANUSCRIT CARTE DRESSÉ ENTRE 1485 ET 1492 ET COPIÉ DE L'ÉDITION TRAVAILLÉE DU LIEU DE CHEF DE CHRISTOPHE COLOMB. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. GÉOGRAPHIE. — CL. LAROUSSE.



# ΚΑΤΟΛΙΚΟ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΣ UNIVERSAL







Quis perfectus esse vult, quae habet et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in celo. Mat. 19.

STELLA MARIIS  
 Non ergo venit testamentum, ut in stellis repererit...  
 Mariae...  
 non dicitur conuersationis exemplum. Deo. Imperatoria eius orationis...  
 non dicitur conuersationis exemplum. Deo. Imperatoria eius orationis...

Vos qui reliquistis domum aut fratres aut sororem aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum, et scripturam accipietis et vitam aeternam possidebitis. Mat. 19.

PALMA OBEDIENTIAE

Peregrinus in contemptu domini et in amore eius. Phil. 3.

PORTVS SALVTIS

DONVM TERRORIS.

SPES NON CONTINENS.

DONVM SAPIENTIAE.

CHARITAS NO QUERENSQV SVS SVNT.

DONVM INTELLECTVS.

FIDES HOPE RANS.

SUPERBIA VITA

CONCUPISCENTIA CARNIS

MARE VIVS SECVLI

CONCUPISCENTIA OCVLORVM

OBDIENTIA

CASTITATIS

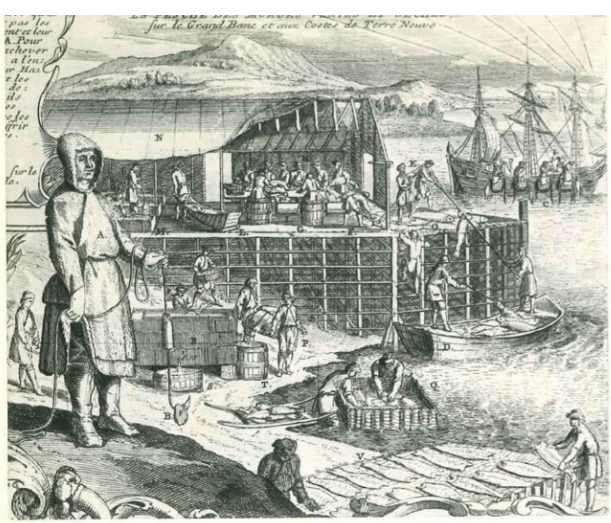
IN SERVTIVM REDIGNVM

NAVIS IN GREDIENTIVM RELIGIONEM

INTENDERVNT ARCVVM PARAEVERVNT SAGITTAS IN PHARETRA VT SAGITTENT IN OBSCVRO RECTOS CORDE. 161

QVA MIHI OPERVNTI IVON HAC ARBITRATVS SVM PROPTER COS TVM DETRIMENTA ET AMITTAQV VT STERECORAVT CHRISTVM CV CAUSA CLAM Ad Philip. 3.

SAGITTE PERVLORVM FACTA SVNT PL AGE FORVM ET INFRMATA SVNT CONTRA EOS LIN GVA FORVM



L'HABILLAGE DE LA MORUE SUR L'ÉCHAFAUD, À TERRE-NEUVE.  
 C'est-à-dire le travail de l'Asphodèle de N. de F. (1688) — C. Lacroix



[El Pontífice Clemente VI designa a fray Bernardo, de la Orden de Monte Carmelo, obispo de las Islas Afortunadas, para que propague la fe de Cristo en ellas con la ayuda de indígenas neófitos. Al mismo tiempo otorga al lugar que eligiere por sede el rango y título de ciudad]\*

Al venerable hermano Bernardo, obispo en las Islas Afortunadas, salud, etc. El rey celestial de reyes y señor cuya es la tierra y su plenitud, el orbe de las tierras y todos los que en él habitan, para establecer a la santa madre Iglesia, su esposa, en la perfección de la verdadera fe por todo el mundo, destinó a sus apóstoles para que predicaran su evangelio a toda criatura, para que predicando mostraran la luz de la verdad y les abrieran la puerta de la salvación. Siguiendo su ejemplo, Nosotros, que aunque indignos ejercemos sus funciones en la tierra, con cuidado vigilante y solícito nos esforzamos por conducir a todos los errantes al redil del Señor y llamar a cualesquiera descarriados a la comunión de los fieles. Ciertamente ya hace tiempo la fama pública y también el relato fidedigno de muchos llegaron a oídos de Nuestro Apostolado que dentro de los límites del mar, entre occidente y mediodía, hay ciertas islas, no separadas entre sí por gran espacio de mar, que vulgarmente se llaman Afortunadas, fértiles ciertamente en abundancia de bienes y pobladas de gentes, pero aún no imbuidas en la doctrina salvífica de la verdadera fe, cuya conversión, según supone la devota creencia, seguirá con el paso del tiempo, si alguna persona instruida en costumbres y vida por la ley del Señor fuere establecida como obispo en esas mismas islas, especialmente cuando algunos fieles en número competente, encendidos por el loable fervor de esa misma fe, y ciertos otros que moran en la isla de Mallorca, oriundos de dichas otras islas, que fueron regenerados por la onda del bautismo e instruidos en su propia lengua catalana, están preparados para trabajar fielmente contigo en esas mismas islas para tal empresa. Nosotros, pues, deseando con plenos deseos dar obra eficaz para que de esto pueda provenir felizmente el beneficio de tanto bien, considerando también que es necesario y saludable tener para esto una persona idónea e instruida, finalmente, después de la deliberación diligente que sobre esto tuvimos dentro de Nosotros mismos y con nuestros hermanos, dirigimos los ojos de nuestra mente hacia ti, profesor de la orden de los hermanos de la bienaventurada María del Monte Carmelo, constituido en el sacerdocio e instruido en la sagrada escritura, loable en costumbres y vida y prudente en lo espiritual y circunspecto en lo temporal y distinguido en otros múltiples méritos de virtudes, según recibimos por testimonios de personas fidedignas. Pesadas todas estas cosas con debida meditación, por consejo de esos mismos hermanos nuestros y por la plenitud del poder apostólico, te establecemos como obispo y pastor en dichas Islas Afortunadas, y por medio de nuestro venerable hermano Bertrando, obispo de Ostia, hicimos que se te confiriera el don de la consagración ante la Sede apostólica en virtud del Señor de quien provienen los dones de todos los carismas, confiando en que, ayudándote la gracia divina cuyo negocio se trata principalmente en esta parte, trabajarás con estudios infatigables en la conversión de los pueblos que viven en dichas Islas Afortunadas y por el ministerio de la predicación de la palabra de Dios borrarás de sus corazones las tinieblas de la ignorancia para que vean y veneren la gloria de Jesucristo, alimentarás a los neófitos con la leche de la fe y con el tiempo a los adultos en ella los saciarás con el pan sólido de esa misma fe, les conseguirás el premio de la salvación y para ti un lugar en la gloria de los cielos. Soportando, pues, humilde y devotamente la solicitud del oficio pastoral que te fue confiado por Dios, acude a dichas islas con la gracia de nuestra bendición y cuando, con la ayuda de Dios, hayas comenzado a progresar en la conversión de esos mismos pueblos que viven allí, en una de dichas islas, en el lugar que reconocieres más apto para esto, por la autoridad apostólica que te enviamos en esta parte, fundarás una iglesia y la erigirás en Catedral, y al lugar en que la hayas erigido lo distinguirás con el título de ciudad, con cuyo nombre queremos que tú y tus sucesores obispos, que allí estén en su momento, seáis llamados perpetuamente, y en cuanto a la ordenación de otras iglesias parroquiales, cementerios y otras cosas que sobre estos asuntos vieres convenientes, ejecutes prudente y fielmente el deber de tu oficio. Así pues, muéstrate en lo antedicho vigilante sin interrupción, para que a ese rebaño, precediendo la misericordia divina, lo introduces allí donde el sol de justicia no conoce ocaso, y tú seas colocado allí entre las huestes de los bienaventurados, destinado al consuelo de la felicidad eterna; y no obstante, mientras seas superviviente de la vida presente, merezcas conseguir más abundantemente nuestra gracia y la bendición de la Sede apostólica entre las demás cosas. Dado en Aviñón, a 7 de los idus de noviembre, año décimo.

Clemente VI Aviñón, 7 de noviembre de 1351.

Archivo Vaticano: "Serie de Aviñón", tomo 206, fols. 19 v.-20 (\*Rumeu de Armas 1960)

BEFORE  
PA AMB TOMAQUET

1351



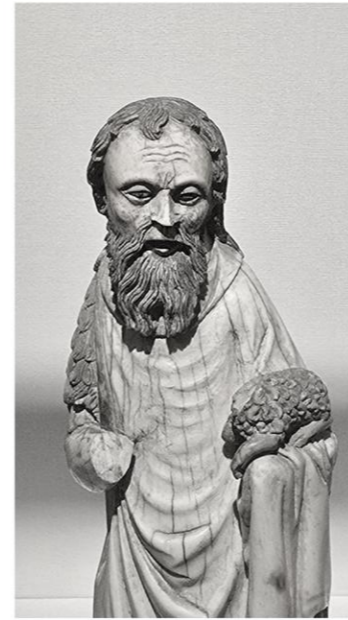
ENTRETIEN ENTRE INDIENS ET EUROPÉEN EN HAMAC.  
Th. de Bry, AMERICA PAR V. — Cl. Larousse.



EMPLOYÉS À L'EXTRACTION DE L'OR DANS LES MINES  
D'ESPANOLA (HAÏTI).  
Th. de Bry, AMERICA PAR V. — Cl. Larousse.



INTERIEUR DU TEMPLE DE TOSCANI, VILLE DES MICHICHI — Th. de Bry, AMERICA PAR V. — Cl. Larousse.



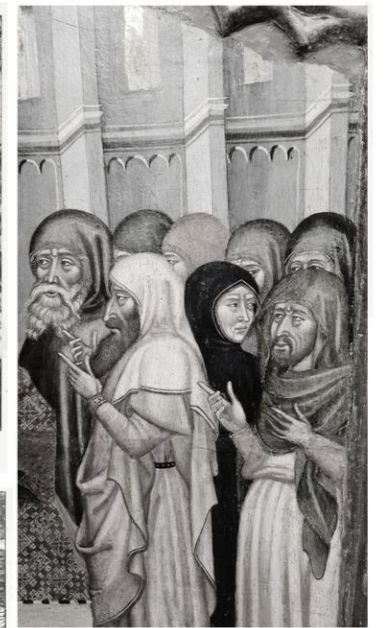
MEXICO AU XVIÈME SIÈCLE. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. GÉOGRAPHIE. — Cl. Larousse.



L'AFRIQUE CONSIDÉRÉE D'APRÈS UN PAYSAGE ENVOYÉ EN 1597 PAR UN HOMME DE MER, AU ROY.  
LE SITE D'ELMOR (MEXICO).



LES CALENGÉES À SIERRA-LEONE.  
DURAND, VOYAGE AU SÉNÉGAL. PARIS, 1802. — Cl. Larousse.



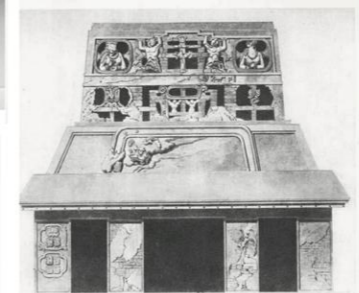
DANS UN QUARTIER DES CARAIÈRES, AUCUNES LEURS PRÉFÈRES-BOUCIERS, LES « BUVES »,  
SOUFFLENT LE COURAGE AU MOYEN DE FUMÉE DE TABAC. — Th. de Bry, AMERICA PAR V.  
— Cl. Larousse.



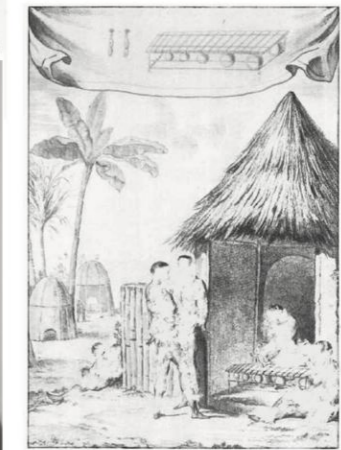
AUBADE DES HOLLANDAIS AU ROI DE TOURAN.  
J. Th. de Bry, FRANCOIS, 1601. — Cl. Larousse.



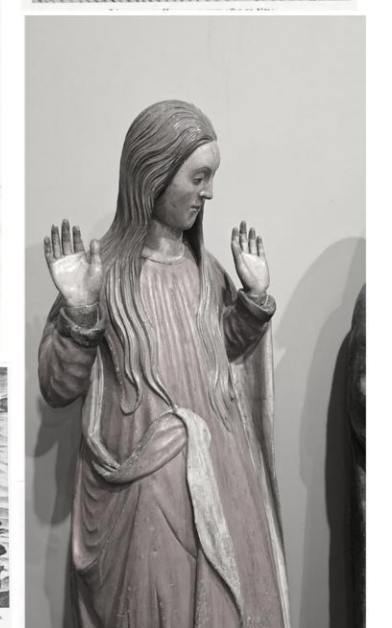
DIVINITÉ DES AZTÈQUES.  
WALDECK ET DAMEN DE BONNEN. PALÉOÉTH. PARIS, 1866.



TEMPLE DU SOLEIL À PALÉOÉTH. — TAMER ET DAMEN DE BONNEN. PALÉOÉTH. PARIS, 1866. — Cl. Larousse.



GRIOT JOUANT DU BALAFON.  
HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DES VOYAGES. PARIS, 1746. — Cl. Larousse.



LE GRAND TEMPLE DE MÉROË. — Th. de Bry, AMERICA PAR V. — Cl. Larousse.

ANTECESOR:

# MADEIRA

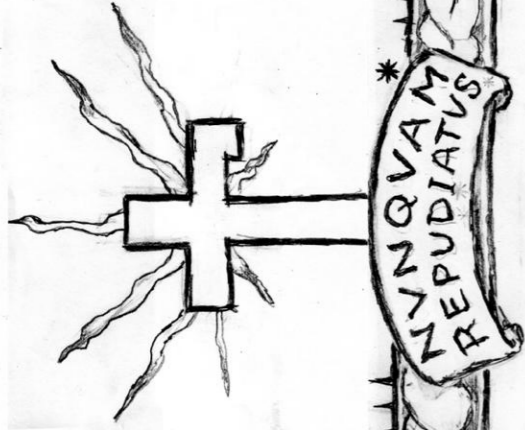
ISLA DE



1440

~ 1490

ARQVETIPO  
GENERAL



## ALEJANDRO Obispo, Siervo de los Siervos de Dios: A los ilustres carísimo hijo en Cristo Fernando Rey y carísima en Cristo hija Isabel Reina de

Castilla, León, Aragón, Sicilia y Granada, salud y apostólica bendición. Entre todas las obras agradables a la Divina Majestad y deseables a nuestro corazón, esto es ciertamente lo principal: que la Fe Católica y la Religión Cristiana sea exaltada sobre todo en nuestros tiempos, y por donde quiera se amplie y dilate, y se procure la salvación de las almas, y las naciones bárbaras sean sometidas y reducidas a la fe cristiana. De donde habiendo sido llamados por favor de la divina clemencia a esta sagrada cátedra de Pedro, aunque inmerecidamente; reconociéndonos como verdaderos Reyes y Príncipes Católicos, según sabemos que siempre lo fuisteis, y lo demuestran vuestros preciares hechos, conocidísimos ya en casi todo el orbe, y que no solamente lo deseáis, sino que lo practicáis con todo empeño, reflexión y diligencia, sin

perdonar ningún trabajo, ningún peligro, ni ningún gasto, hasta verter la propia sangre; y que a esto ha ya tiempo que habéis dedicado todo vuestro ánimo y todos los cuidados, como lo prueba la reconquista del Reino de Granada de la tiranía de los sarracenos, realizada por vosotros en estos días con tanta gloria del nombre de Dios; así digna y motivadamente juzgamos que os debemos conceder espontánea y favorablemente aquellas cosas por las cuales podáis proseguir semejante propósito, santo laudable y acepto al Dios inmortal, con ánimo cada día más fervoroso, para honor del mismo Dios y propagación del imperio cristiano. Hemos sabido ciertamente, como vosotros, que desde hace tiempo os habéis propuesto buscar y descubrir algunas islas y tierras firmes remotas y desconocidas, no descubiertas hasta ahora por nadie, con el fin de reducir sus habitantes y moradores al culto de nuestro Redentor y a la profesión de la Fe Católica, ocupados hasta hoy en la Reconquista del Reino de Granada, no pudisteis llevar al deseado fin, tan santo y laudable propósito vuestro. Mas, reconquistada por fin el predicho Reino por voluntad divina, y queriendo poner en ejecución vuestro propósito, designásteis al caro hijo Cristóbal Colón, hombre apto y muy conveniente a tan gran negocio y digno de ser tenido en mucho, no sin grandes trabajos, peligros y gastos para que nos navíos y hombres aptos y preparados a tal empresa, buscase las tierras firmes e islas remotas y desconocidas, por el mar donde hasta ahora no se había navegado; quiénes con el auxilio divino, navegando por el Mar Océano han descubierto ciertas islas remotísimas y además tierras firmes, jamás halladas hasta ahora por nadie; en las cuales habitan muchas gentes, que pacíficamente viven, y que según se dice andan desnudos y no comen carne;

a lo que vuestros enviados antedichos pueden conjeturar, las tales gentes, habitantes de las antedichas islas y tierras, creen en un Dios Creador que está en los Cielos, y parecen bastante aptos para recibir la Fe Católica y serles enseñadas buenas costumbres, confiándose en que se instruyeran, fácilmente se introduciría en dichas islas y tierras el nombre de Nuestro Salvador y Señor, Jesucristo; y el citado Cristóbal, hizo ya, en una de la principales islas referidas construir y edificar una torre bien fortificada en la que situó varios cristianos de los que había llevado consigo para su custodia, y para que desde ella buscasen otras tierras firmes remotas y desconocidas; en las cuales islas y tierras ya descubiertas se han encontrado oro, especias y otras muchísimas cosas preciosas, de distinto género y diversa calidad. Por donde, habiendo considerado diligentemente todas las cosas y capitalmente la exaltación y propagación de la fe católica como corresponde a Reyes y Príncipes Católicos, decidisteis según costumbre de nuestros progenitores, Reyes de ilustre memoria, someter a vosotros las tierras firmes e islas predichas y sus habitantes y moradores y convertirlos con el auxilio de la divina misericordia a la Fe Católica. Nos alabando mucho en el Señor ese vuestro santo y laudable propósito, y deseando que sea llevado a su debida finalidad, de que el nombre de nuestro Salvador sea introducido en aquella regiones, os rogamos insistentemente en el Señor y afectuosamente os requerimos, por el sacro Bautismo en que os obligasteis a los mandatos apostólicos, y por las entrañas de misericordia de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, para que decidíndonos a proseguir por completo semejante emprenda empresa, con ánimo y celo ferviente hacia la fe ortodoxa, queráis y debáis conducir a los pueblos que viven en tales islas y tierras a recibir la religión católica, sin que nunca os intimiden peligros ni trabajos, teniendo gran esperanza y confianza de que Dios omnipotente os auxillará felizmente en vuestras empresas. Y para que más libre y valerosamente aceptéis el encargo de tan fundamental empresa, concedido liberalmente por la Gracia Apostólica *«motu proprio»*, y no a instancia vuestra ni de otro que Nos lo haya sobre esto pedido por vosotros, sino por nuestra mera liberalidad, de ciencia cierta y con la plenitud de nuestra potestad apostólica, por la

autoridad de Dios Omnipotente concedida a Nos en San Pedro, y del Vicario de Jesucristo que representamos en la tierra, a vosotros y a vuestros herederos y sucesores los Reyes de Castilla y León, para siempre según el auxilio divino, navegando por el Mar Océano han descubierto ciertas islas remotísimas y además tierras firmes e islas remotas y desconocidas, no descubiertas hasta ahora por nadie, con el fin de reducir sus habitantes y moradores al culto de nuestro Redentor y a la profesión de la Fe Católica, ocupados hasta hoy en la Reconquista del Reino de Granada, no pudisteis llevar al deseado fin, tan santo y laudable propósito vuestro. Mas, reconquistada por fin el predicho Reino por voluntad divina, y queriendo poner en ejecución vuestro propósito, designásteis al caro hijo Cristóbal Colón, hombre apto y muy conveniente a tan gran negocio y digno de ser tenido en mucho, no sin grandes trabajos, peligros y gastos para que nos navíos y hombres aptos y preparados a tal empresa, buscase las tierras firmes e islas remotas y desconocidas, por el mar donde hasta ahora no se había navegado; quiénes con el auxilio divino, navegando por el Mar Océano han descubierto ciertas islas remotísimas y además tierras firmes, jamás halladas hasta ahora por nadie; en las cuales habitan muchas gentes, que pacíficamente viven, y que según se dice andan desnudos y no comen carne;

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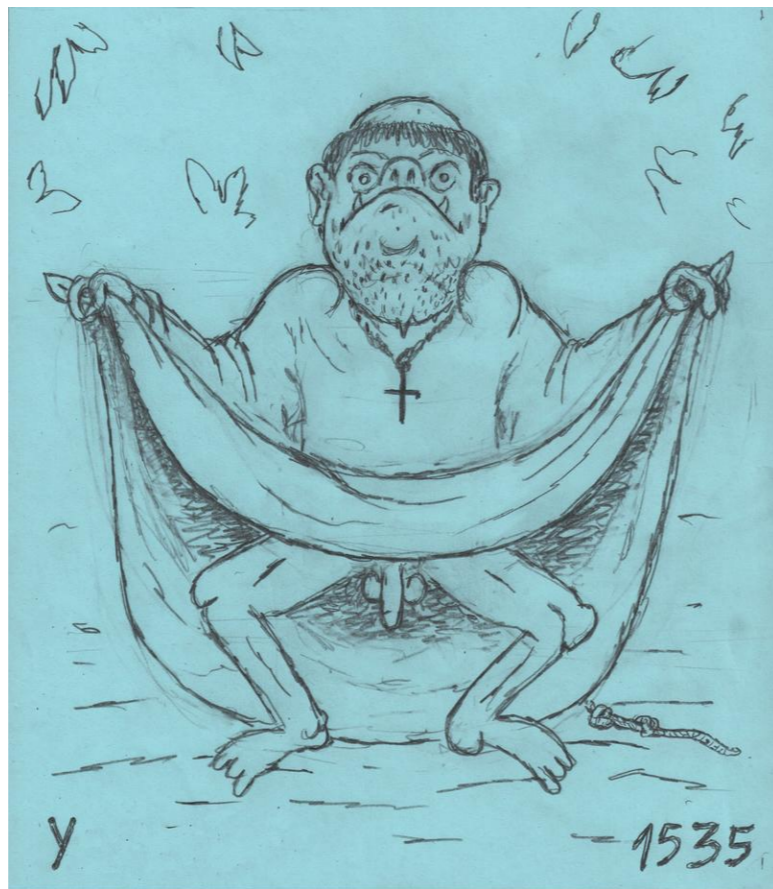
HEREDES ADAMI



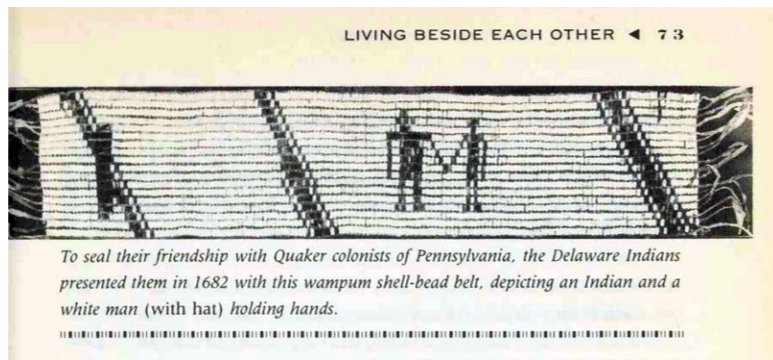
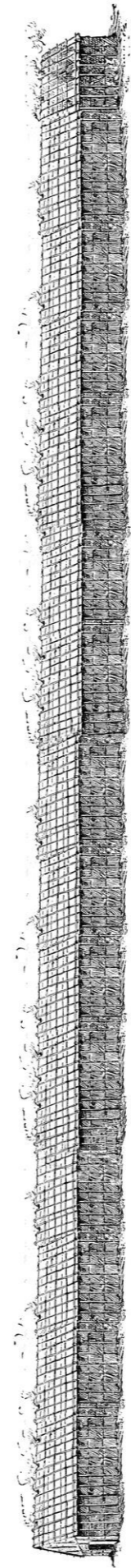




[RENOVATION OF THE FASCISTOID]



DO NOT LEAVE THE LONGHOUSE!





YUCATAN  
1562

FRY DIEGO DE LANDA

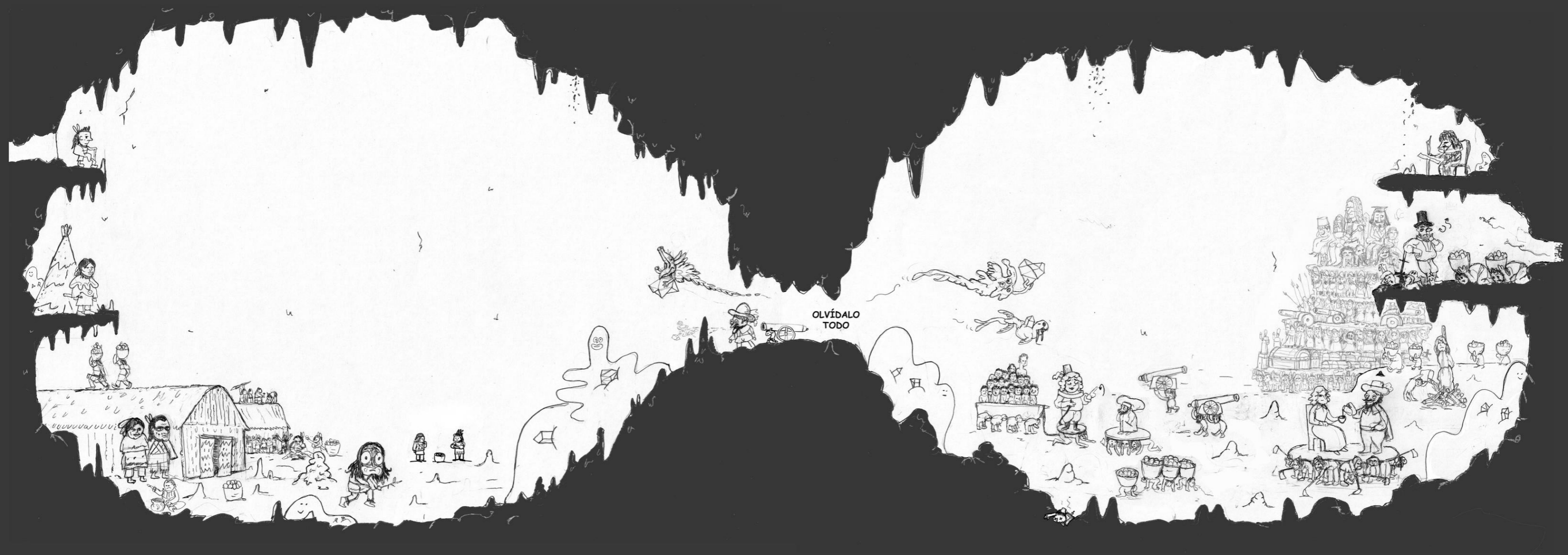


SAN CISNEROS GRANADA  
1493

VIGILÁRLO HASTA QUE SOLO QUEDEN  
CENIZAS



B.R.D.L.D.D.I.I.



OLVÍDALO  
TODO



[CASTILLO INTERIOR]



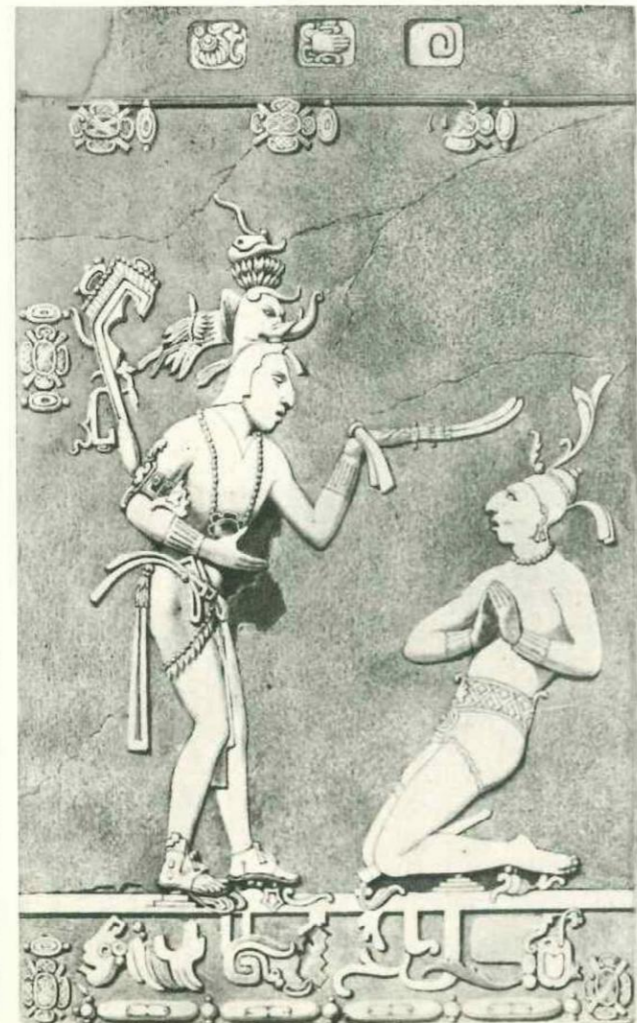
DIVINITE DES AZTEQUES.  
WALDECK ET BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, PALENQUÉ. PARIS, 1866.



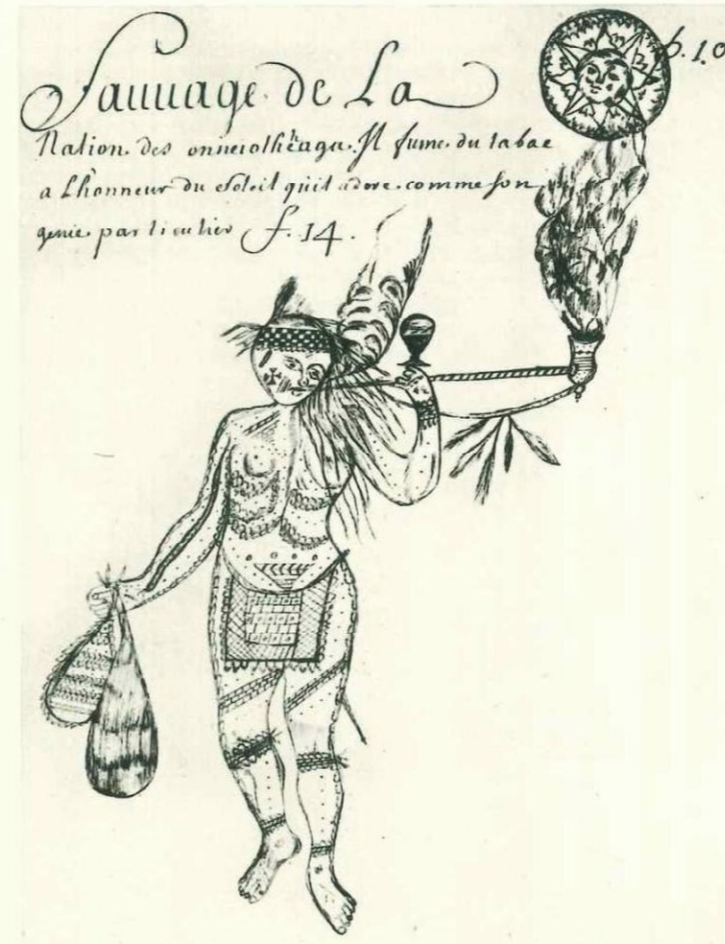
Cet Jcy un  
depute debourg degannachion  
ave pou Altes invites au feu les  
Musieurs de gandaouyacha  
Ils tiennent que le res point est  
le dieu du soleil linuoquent  
le tenant en main en dansant  
et chantant.



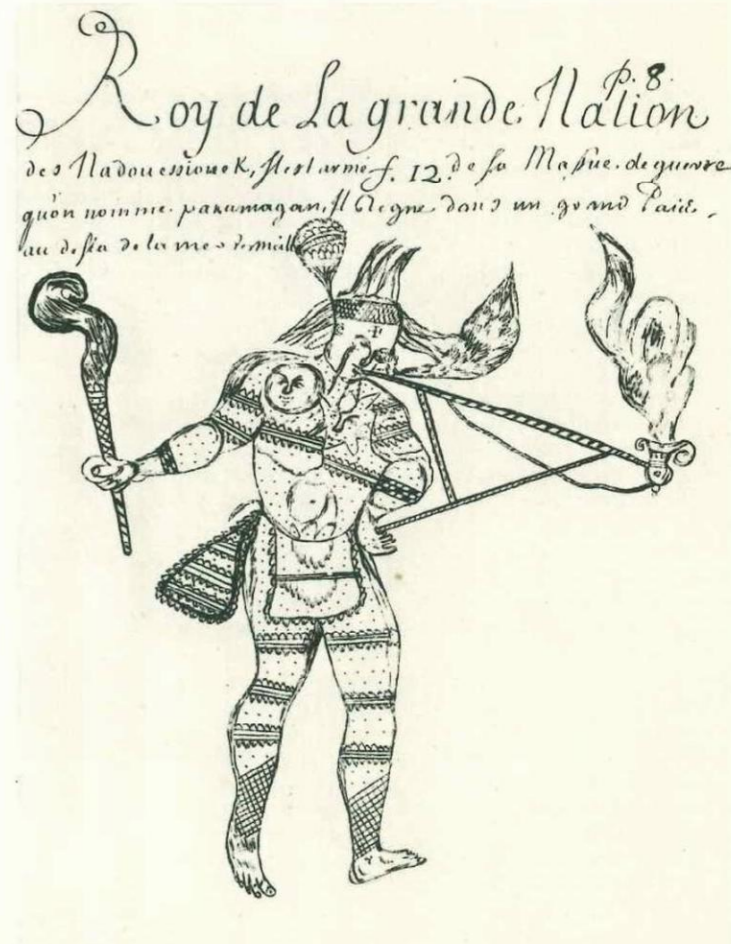
Portrait d'un Plustre  
borgne capitaine eut un oeil ebloui d'un coup de flèche  
Ma l'été grand qu'il est f. 18 et la terre de  
diverses Nation de l'usage de l'usage  
Massaque f.  
soldats au sauer  
d'un lulo d'escop  
de boulean.  
Il les ludo  
a les coutes  
Leur d'fant  
pissilaouk  
Nikanissit  
escoute mes mes  
fessé Massaké  
proua Kile que une  
dis Le K'pari alu



BAS-RELIEF DU PALAIS DE PALENQUÉ. — PALENQUÉ. PARIS, 1866. — CL. LAROUSSE.



Sauvage de La  
Nation des onuelhèaga. Il fume du tabac  
a l'honneur du soleil qu'il adore comme son  
père particulier f. 14.



Roy de La grande Nation  
des Nadouesiousk, Il est armé f. 12 de sa Massue de guerre  
qu'on nomme parumagan. Il Règne dans un grand Païs  
au d'sta de la mer de mille

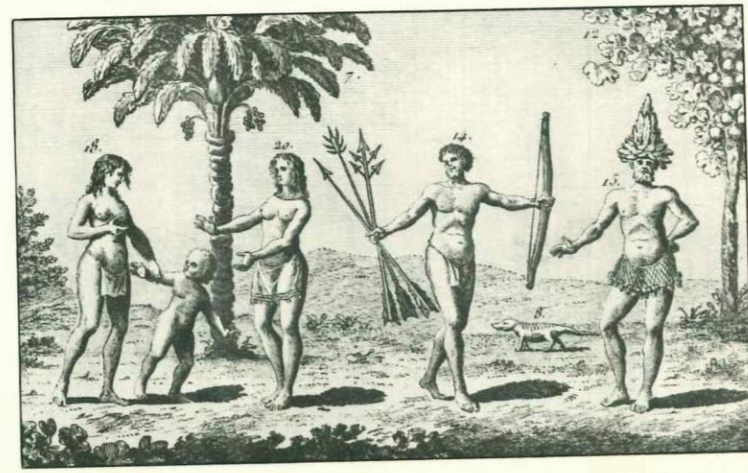
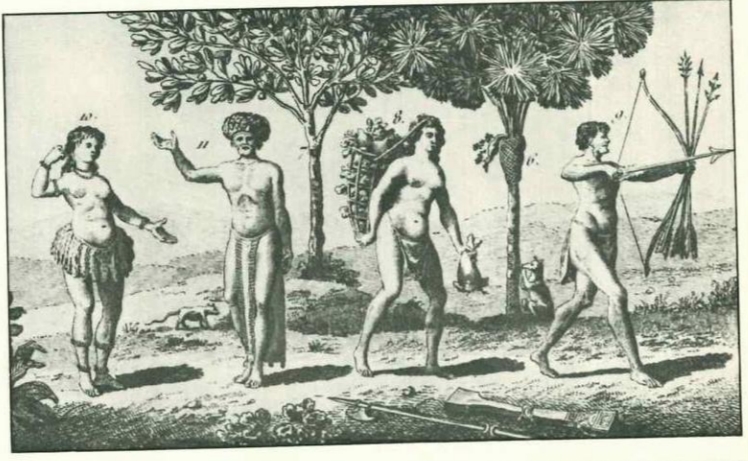
DÉLÉGUÉS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS INDIENNES À MONTRÉAL EN 1701. RARETZ DES INDES, « CODEX CANADIENSIS ». D'APRÈS L'ALBUM ORIGINAL, COLLECTION VALTAT. PARIS, CHAMONAL, 1930.

DÉCOUVERTE DE LA TERRE

[WENDAT REGION DIPLOMATS]



FIGURE 21. Nezahualpilli (Codex Ixtlilxochitl, fol. 108r). Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



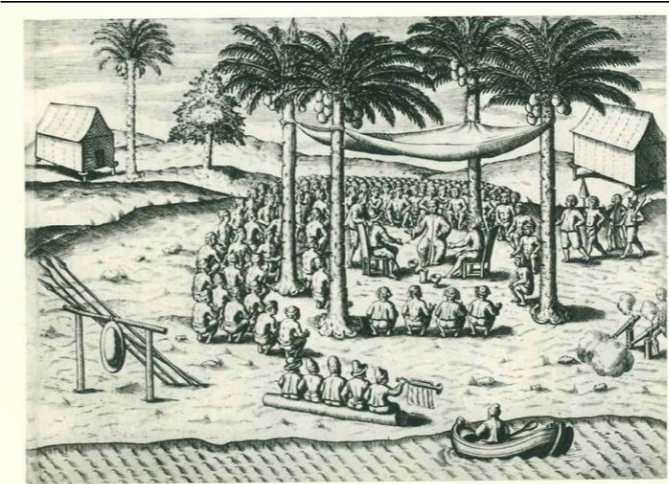
INDIENS DE LA GUYANE (EN HAUT) ET INDIENS DES ENVIRONS DE L'ORÉNOQUE. VOYAGE À LA GUYANE FAIT EN 1789. PARIS, AN VI. — CL. LAROUSSE.



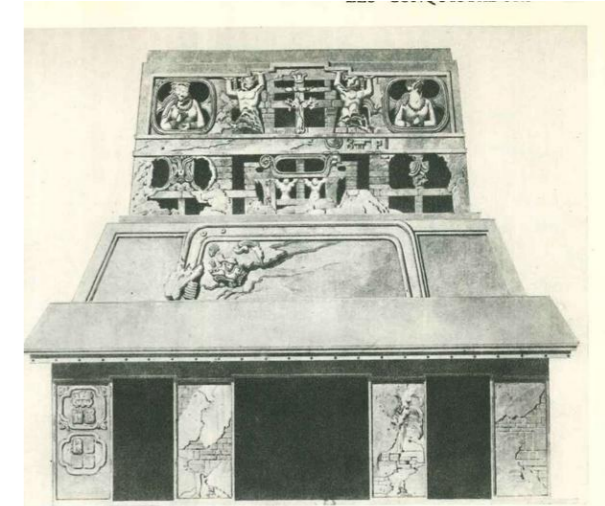
INSULAIRES DE MADAGASCAR. J. TH. DE BRY, ICONES INDIAE ORIENTALIS, FRANCOFURTI, 1601. — CL. LAROUSSE.



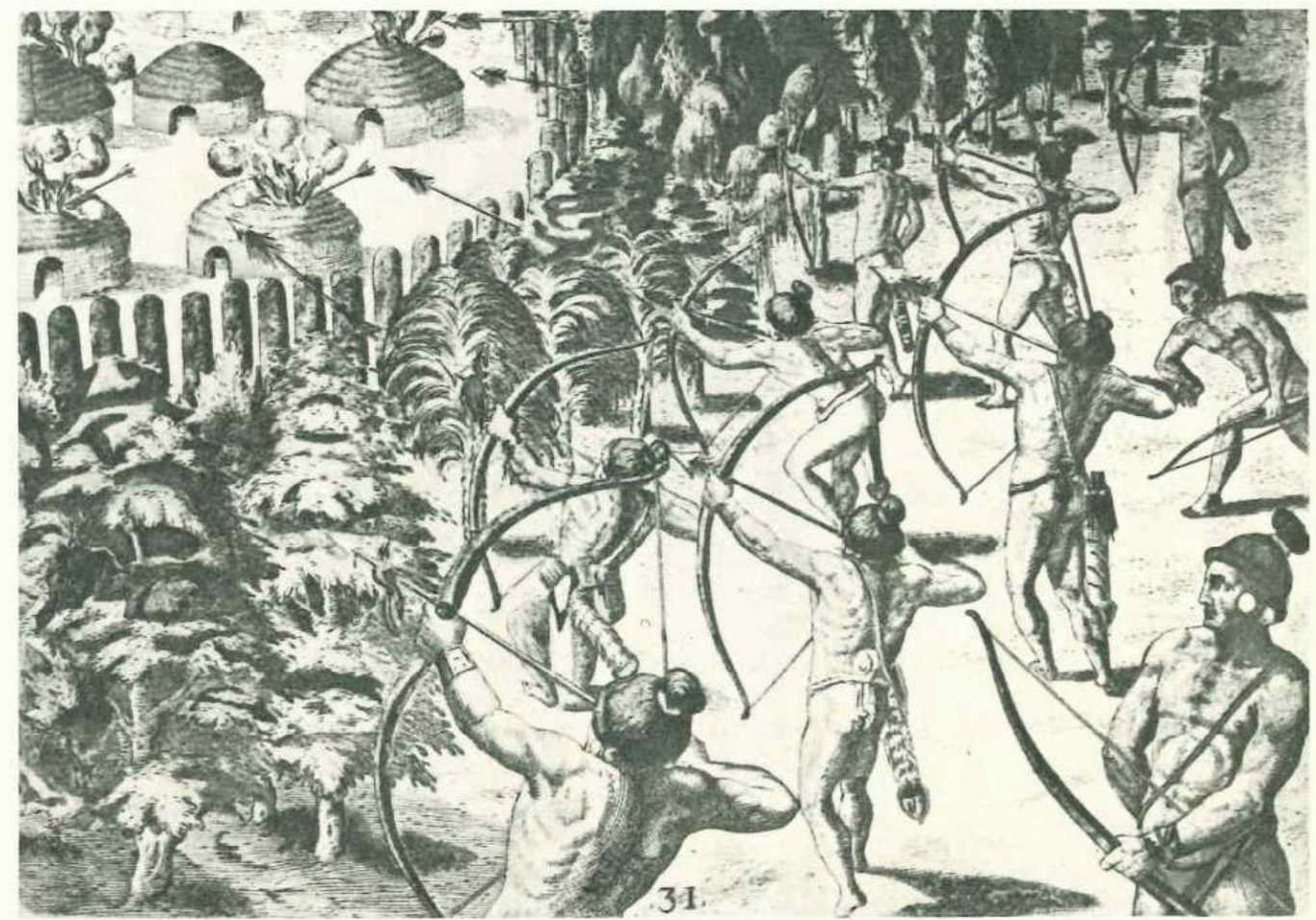
SUR LA TOMBE DU CACIQUE SURMONTÉE DE LA CONQUE QUI LUI SERVAIT DE HANAP, CHAQUE GUERRIER PLANTE UNE FLÈCHE. — MINIATURE DE JACQUES LE MOYNE DE MORGUES (1564). — CL. LAROUSSE.



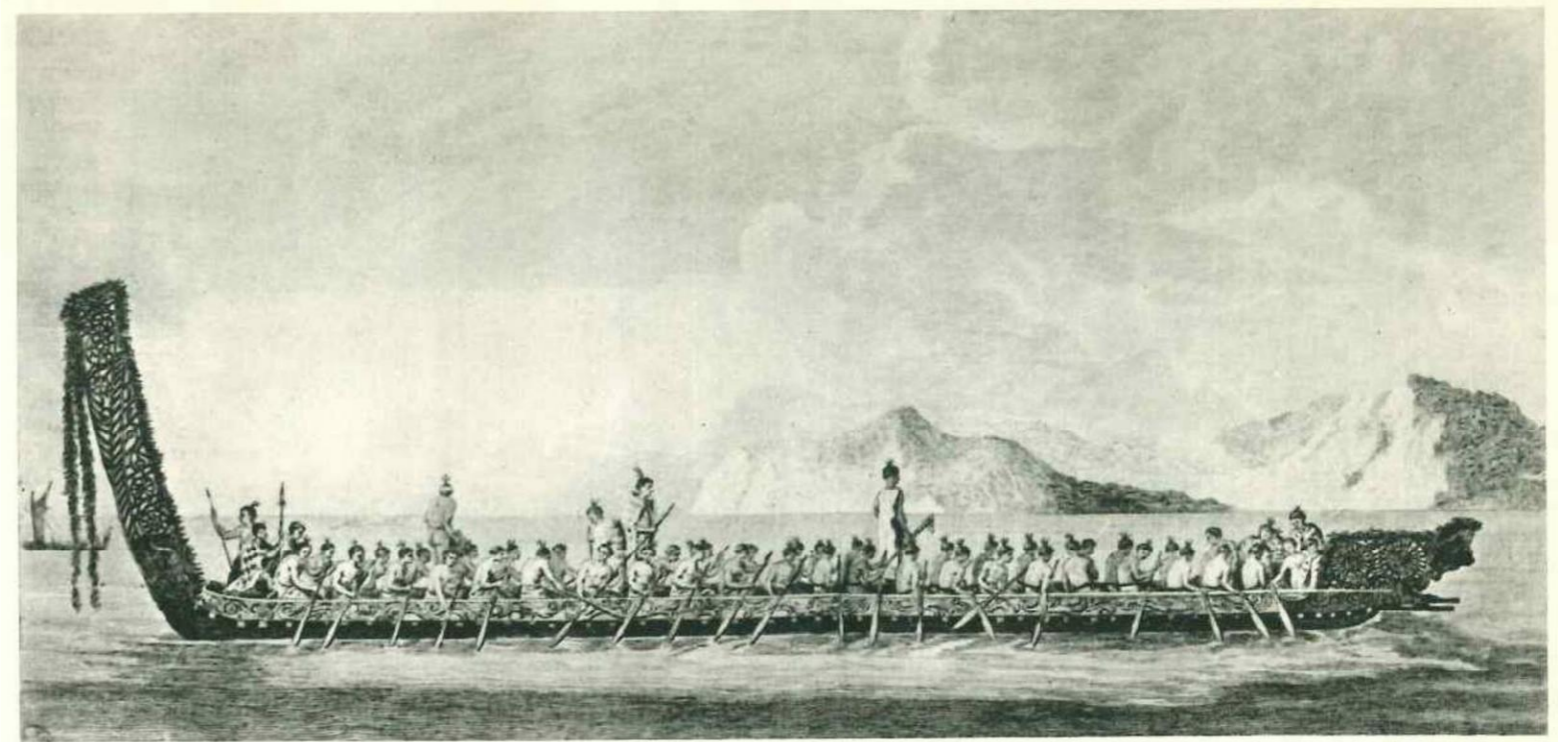
RÉCEPTION DES HOLLANDAIS DANS L'ÎLE DE NÉRA. J. TH. DE BRY, ICONES INSULARUM AB HOLLANDIS VISARUM, FRANCOFURTI, 1601. — CL. LAROUSSE.



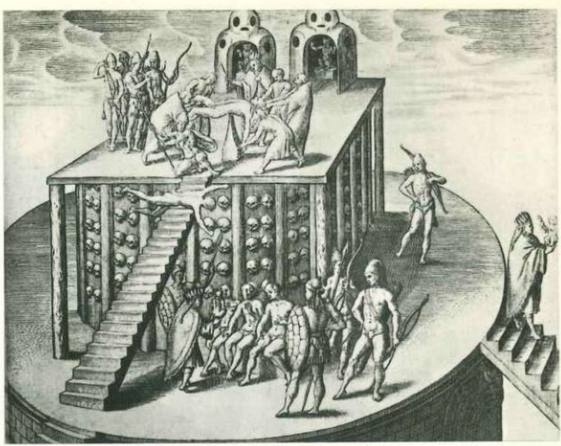
EMPLE DU SOLEIL À PALENQUÉ. — WALDECK ET BRASSER DE BOUOBOURG, PALENQUÉ, PARIS, 1866. — CL. LAROUSSE.



INCENDIE D'UN VILLAGE FORTIFIÉ AU MOYEN DE FLÈCHES GARNIES DE COTON ENFLAMMÉ. MINIATURE DE JACQUES LE MOYNE DE MORGUES FAITE EN FLORIDE (1564). BREVIS NARRATIO EORUM QVAE IN FLORIDA GALLIS ACCIDERUNT. FRANCOFURTI, 1595. — CL. LAROUSSE.



PIROGUE DE GUERRE DE LA NOUVELLE-ZÉLANDE. — PARKINSON, A JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH SEA. LONDON, 1784. — CL. LAROUSSE.



SACRIFICES HUMAINS.  
TH. DE BRY IDAEA CONSUEUDINUM GENTIS INDICAE. FRANCOFURTI, 1602. — CL. LAROUSSE.

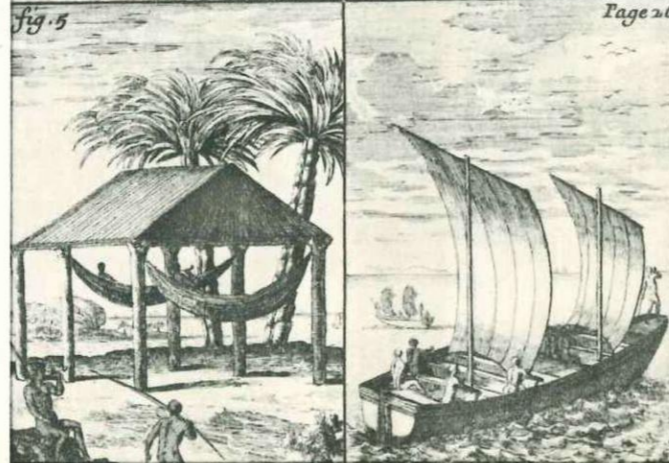
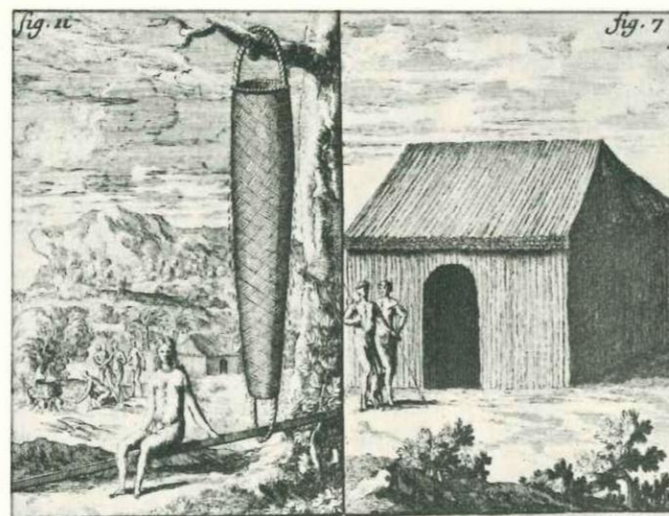
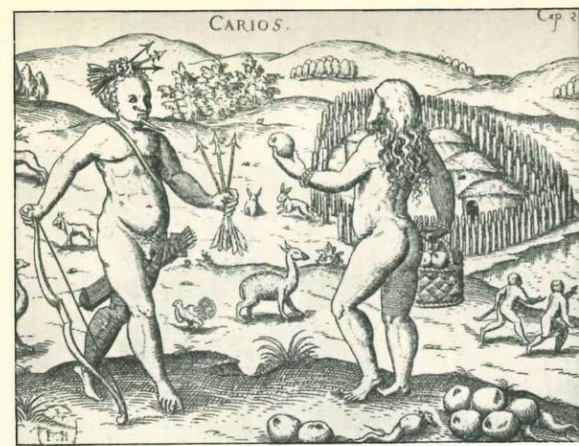
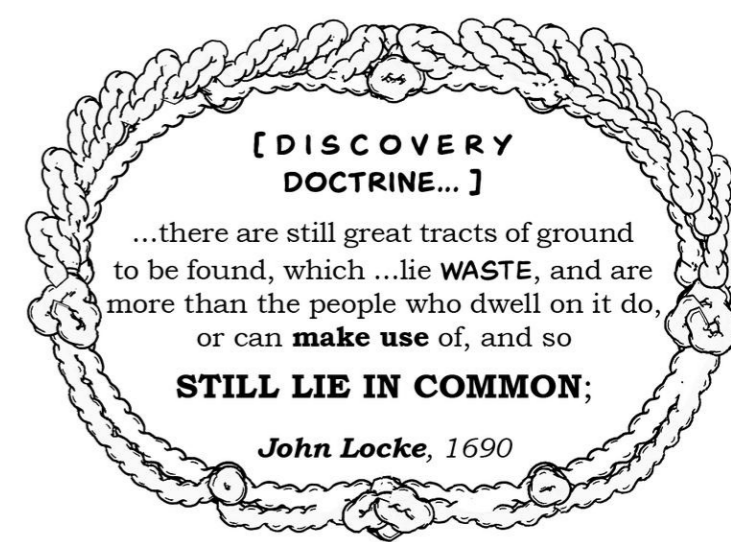


PLANCHE FIGURANT UN PRESOIR, DES CABANES, UN CANOT DES  
CARAÏBES ÉVANGÉLISÉS PAR FRANÇOIS DE LABORDE.  
RECUEIL DE DIVERS VOYAGES. PARIS, 1674. — CL. LAROUSSE.



LES CARIJOS, TRIBU QUI HÉBERGÉA, PROBABLEMENT, EN 1503,  
L'ÉQUIPAGE DE « L'ESPOIR » DE HONFLEUR. — SCHMIDEL, WARHAFFTIGE HISTORIEN  
EINER WONDERBAREN SCHIFFFAHRT (1534-1554)... RIO DELLA PLATA. NORIBERGAE, 1599. — CL. LAROUSSE.

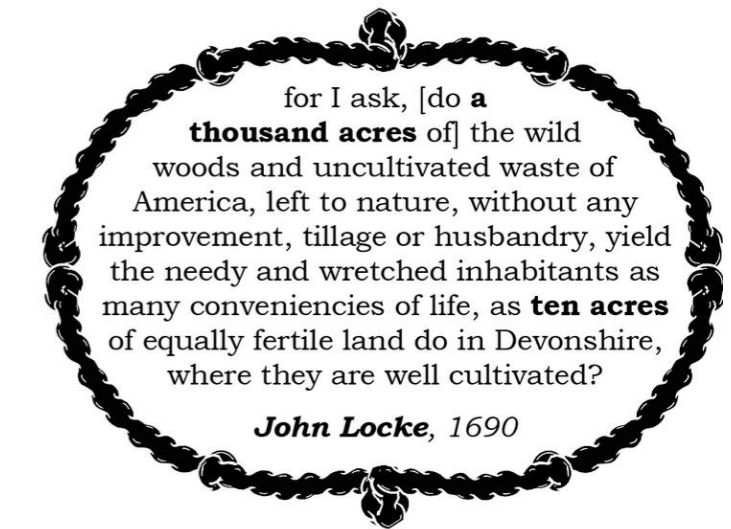


[ DISCOVERY  
DOCTRINE... ]

...there are still great tracts of ground  
to be found, which ...lie **WASTE**, and are  
more than the people who dwell on it do,  
or can **make use** of, and so

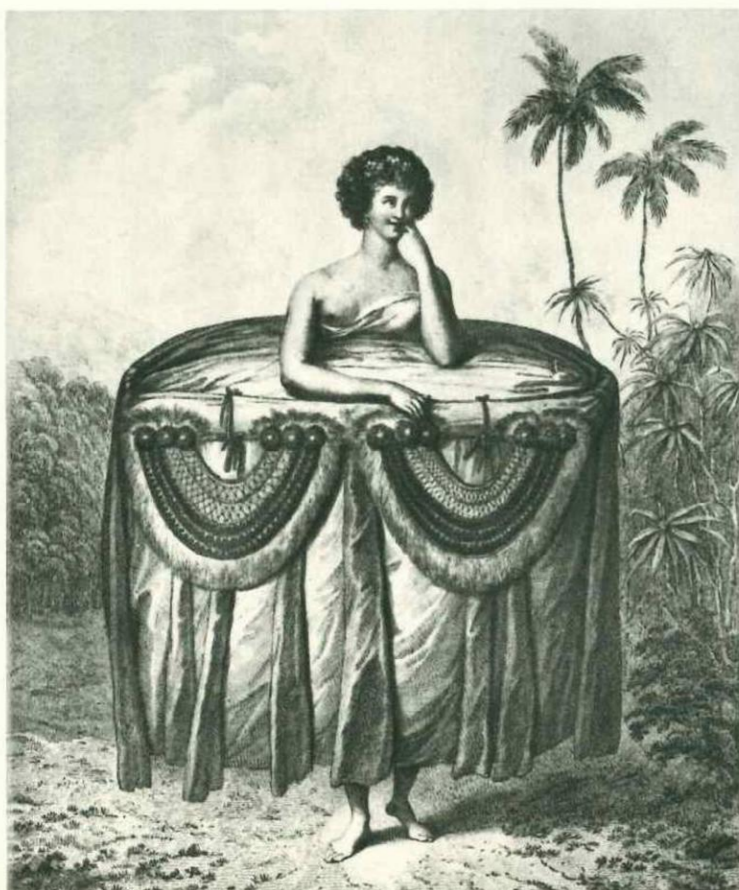
**STILL LIE IN COMMON;**

*John Locke, 1690*



for I ask, [do a  
**thousand acres** of] the wild  
woods and uncultivated waste of  
America, left to nature, without any  
improvement, tillage or husbandry, yield  
the needy and wretched inhabitants as  
many conveniencies of life, as **ten acres**  
of equally fertile land do in Devonshire,  
where they are well cultivated?

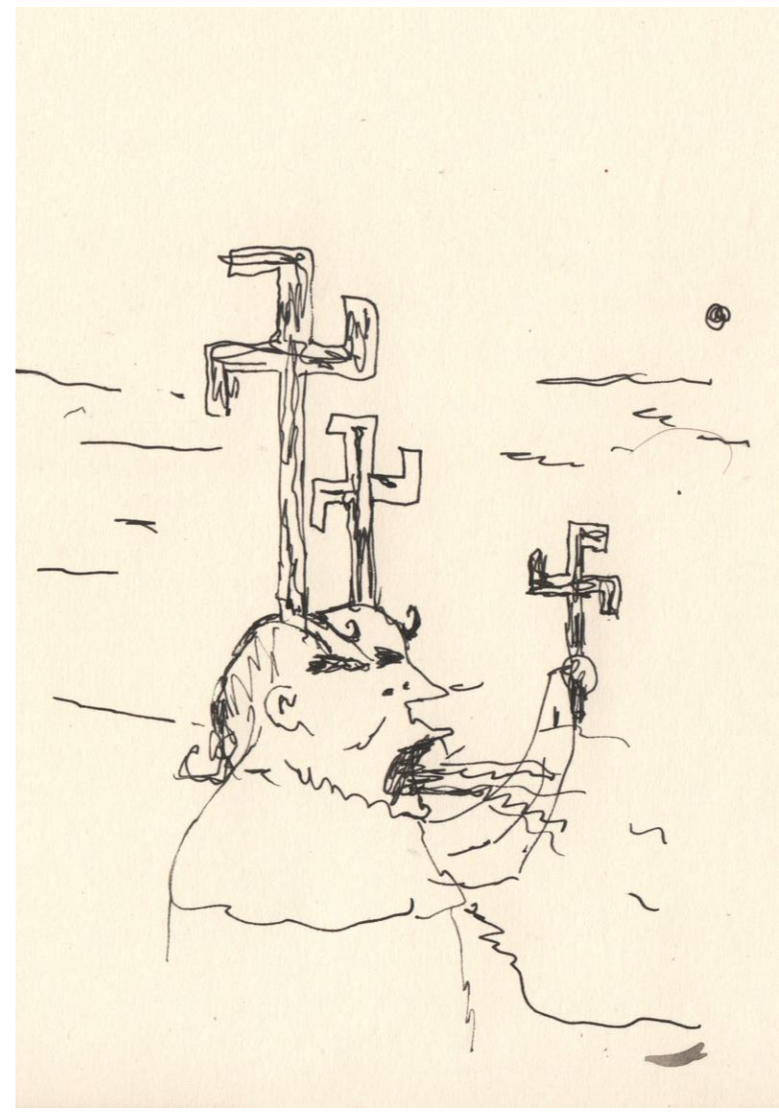
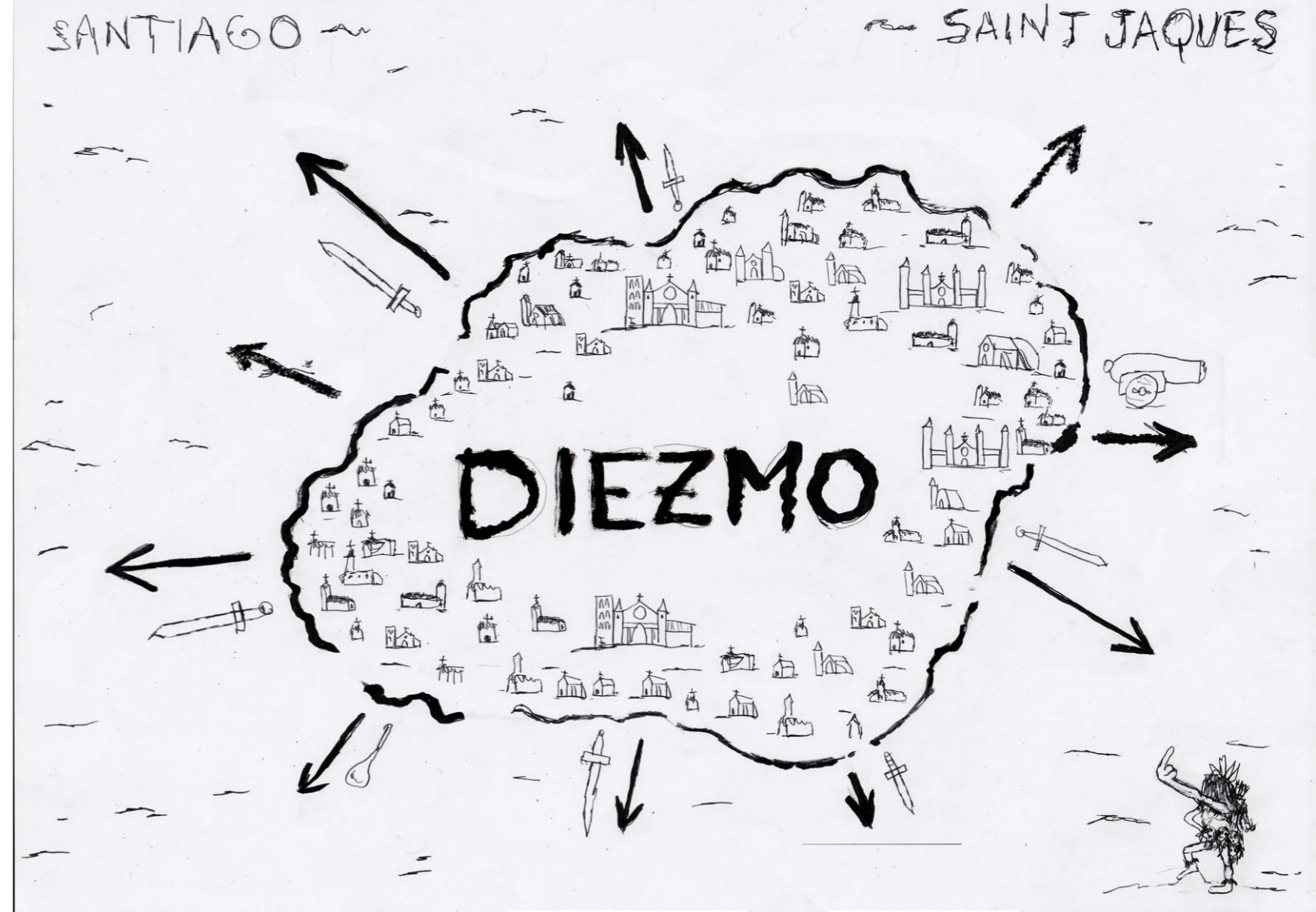
*John Locke, 1690*



UNE JEUNE FEMME TAÏTIENNE.  
COOK, A VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN. LONDON, 1774. — CL. LAROUSSE.



DANSE GUERRIÈRE DES CARAÏBES, AUXQUELS LEURS PRÊTRES-SORCIERS, LES « BOYÉS »,  
SOUFFLENT LE COURAGE AU MOYEN DE FUMÉE DE TABAC. — TH. DE BRY, AMERICA PARS IV.  
CL. LAROUSSE.



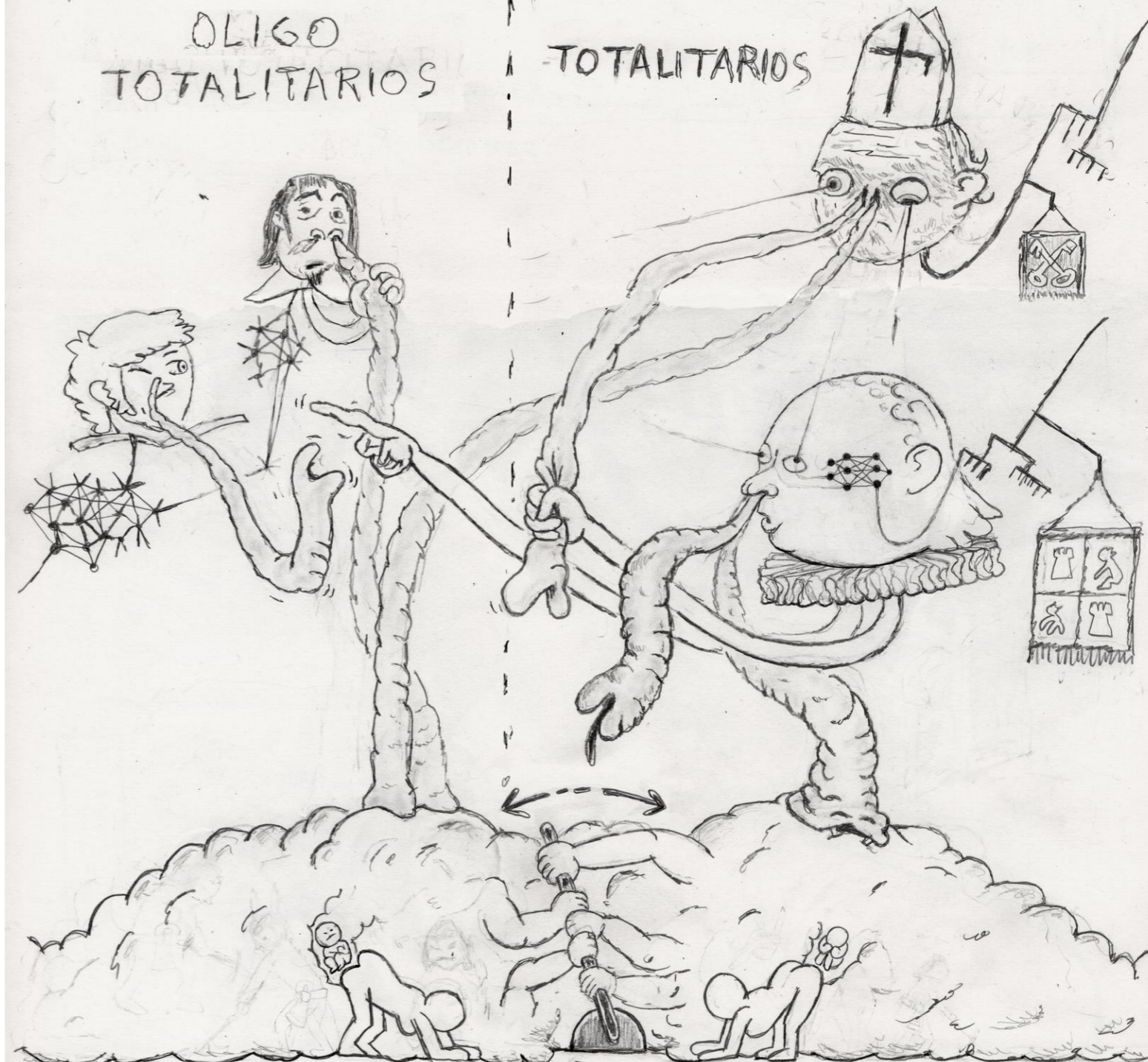
The LORD has said to me,  
"You shall not cross the Jordan.  
The LORD your God himself will  
cross over ahead of you. **He will  
destroy these nations before you,  
and you will take possession of  
their land**".

*Deuteronomy 31:1-3*

# CONFLICTOS EXTRACTIVOS

OLIGO  
TOTALITARIOS

TOTALITARIOS



EXTRACTIVOS - CONFLICTOS

FELIPE III

"NOS LLEGÓ ESTE  
TOMO PRECIOSO"



IGNORANDO EL TESORO MÁS  
GRANDE QUE VERÁ SU REINADO ...  
(HISPÁNICAMENTE)

RO CÍO  
CAPITVLO PRIME DE CÕZEDERA  
**CONZEDERA**  
dera-cristiano  
primeramente del seucio

Conzedera, cristiano, primeramente del seucio de Dios y luego del serucio de su Magestad y luego de buestros prógimos y luego de todos los males y daños que hazéys en tierra agena y luego cómo no serúis a Dios ni a la Uirgen María ni a sus santos y santas, ángeles y luego cómo os rrobáys a unos como a otros y soys soberbios y enteresables y no guardáys los mandamientos de Dios ni de la santa madre yglecia de Roma. Y saués que ay cielo y enfierno y no andáys justamente. Y acá conzederaldo de todo en buestra ánima.

Conzedera de los yndios del tienpo de los *Yngas* ydulatraron como gentiles y adoraron al sol su padre del *Ynga* y a la luna su madre y a las estrellas sus ermanos y a sus ýdulos *uaca bilca*, *Uana Cauri* y adonde salió de *Pacari Tanbo*. Y ancí mandó en todo el rreyno adorar a los demás ýdulos y domonios *guaca bilcas*; adoraron todos los yndios deste rreyno.

Con todo eso guardaron los mandamientos y buenas obras de misericordia de Dios en este rreyno, lo qual no lo guarda agora los cristianos. Aués de conzederar, cristiano, ques la causa de los malos padres.

Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615



# 2<sup>A</sup> ENCOMIENDA DEL JOVEN BARTOLOME DE LAS CASAS (ANTECESOR IV) V.0.7

J.II F. D.V.

VECTOR  
REVOLUCIONARIO

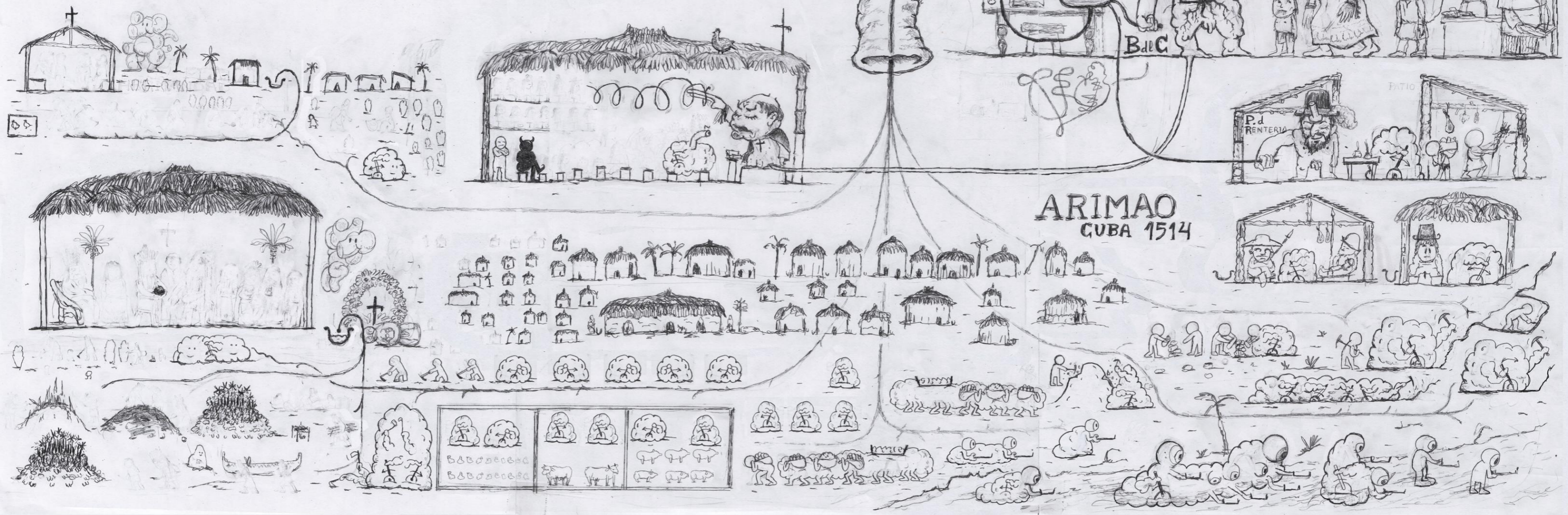
P.

BdC

ARIMAO  
CUBA 1514

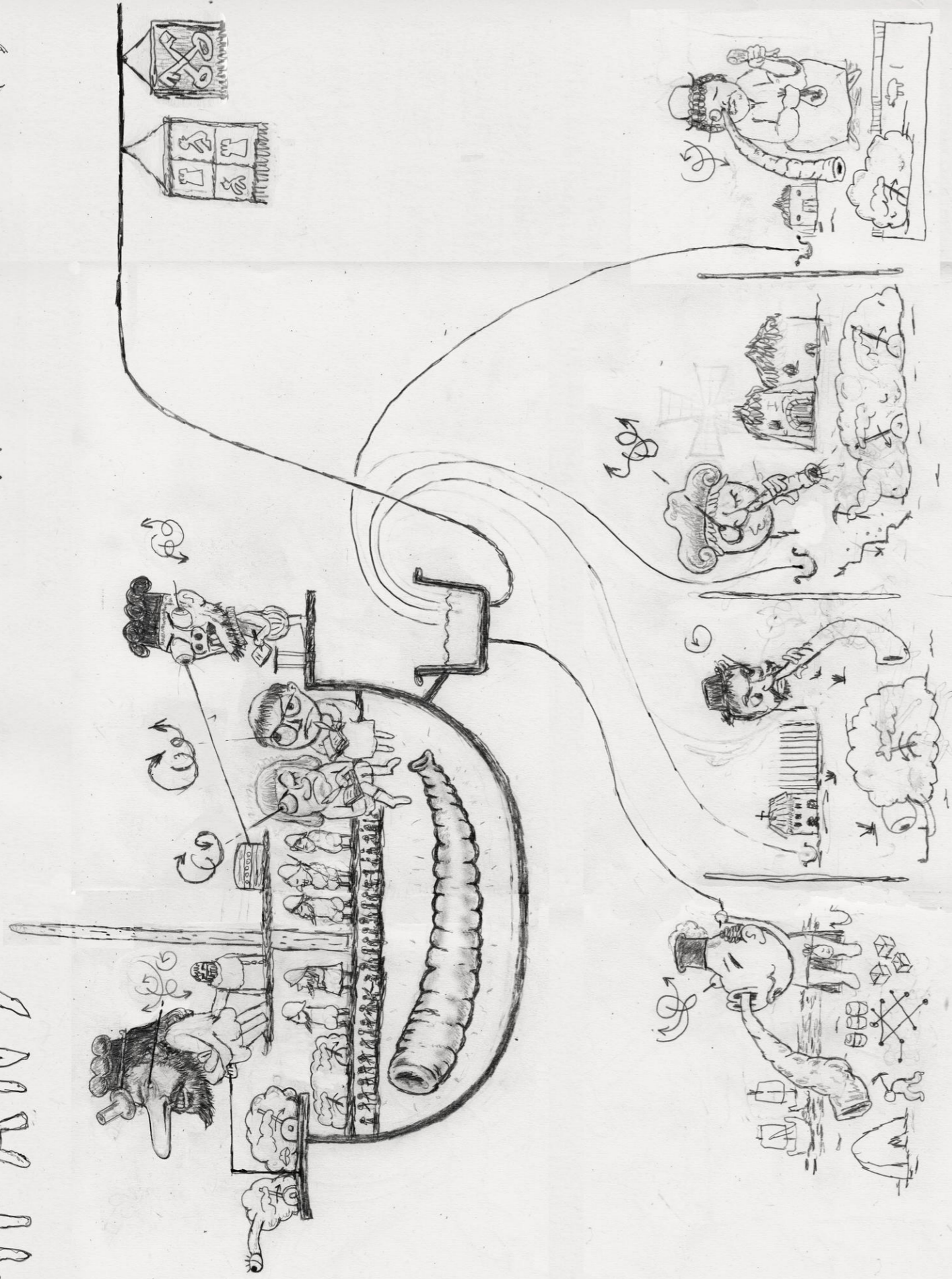
P.d  
RENTERIA

PATIO

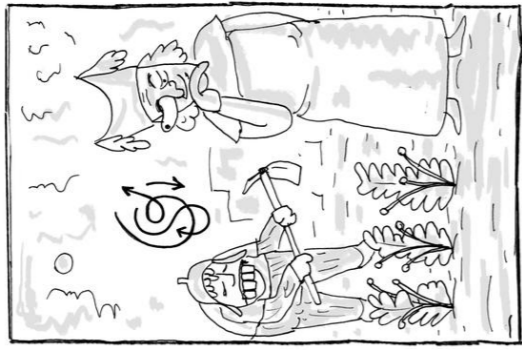


# COMPANY

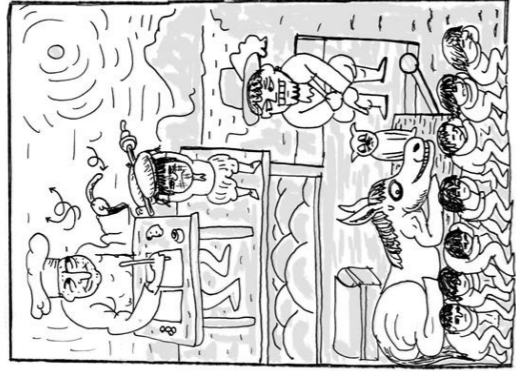
# ANTECESOR (II)



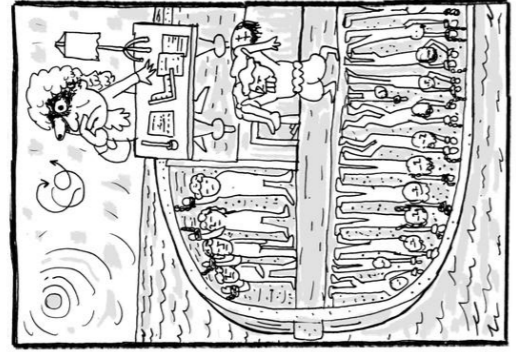
# ADVANCEMENT OF SELF-CENTRIC MAQUIAVELIC CALCULATIONS



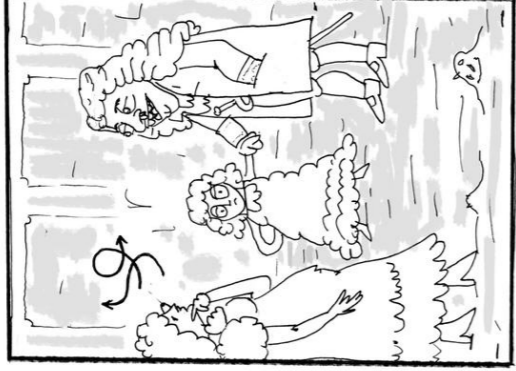
on Agriculture



on the Soul



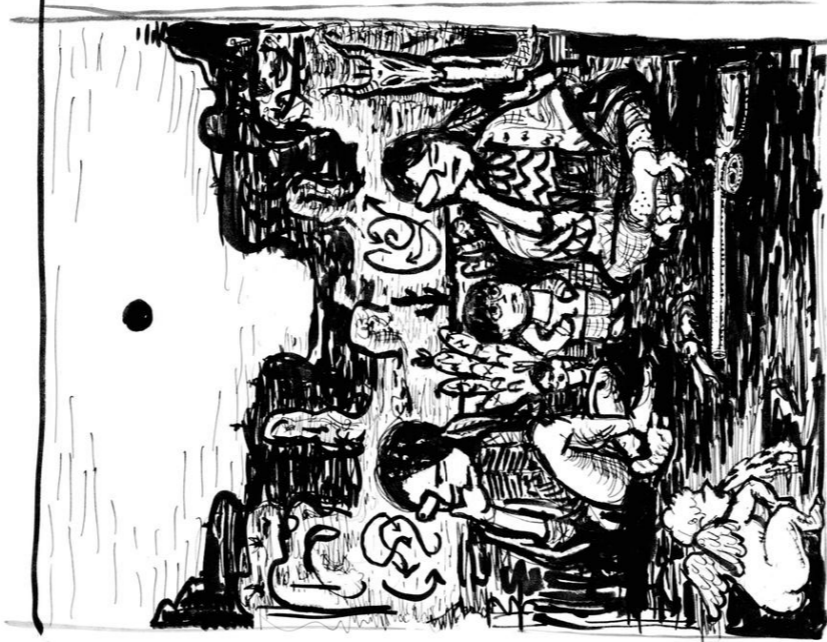
on Transportation



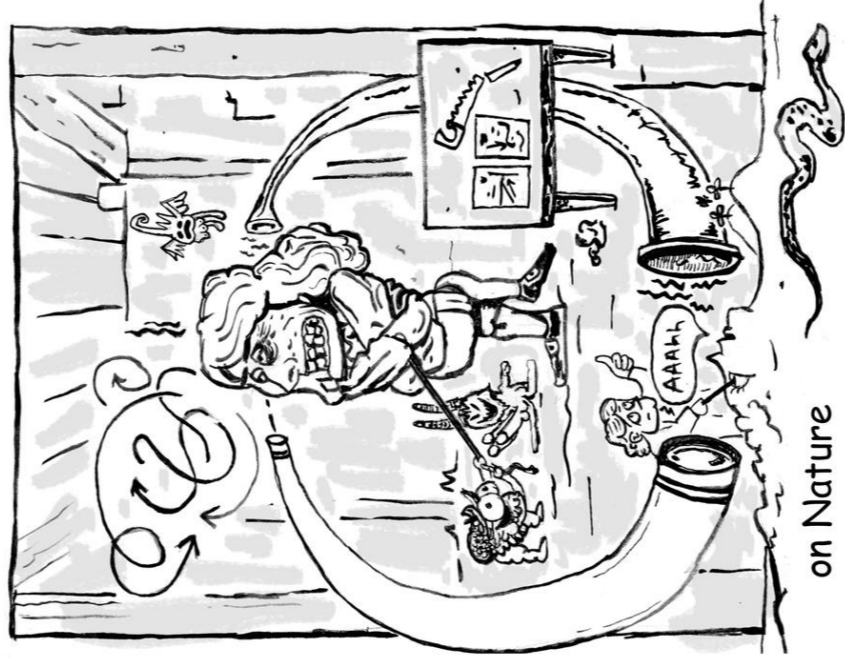
on Family



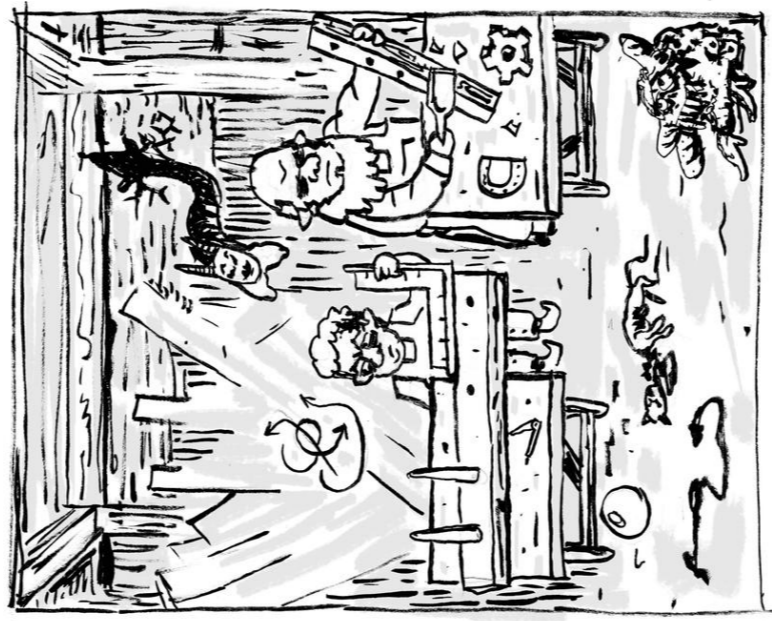
on Warfare



on Land



on Nature



on the Workshop

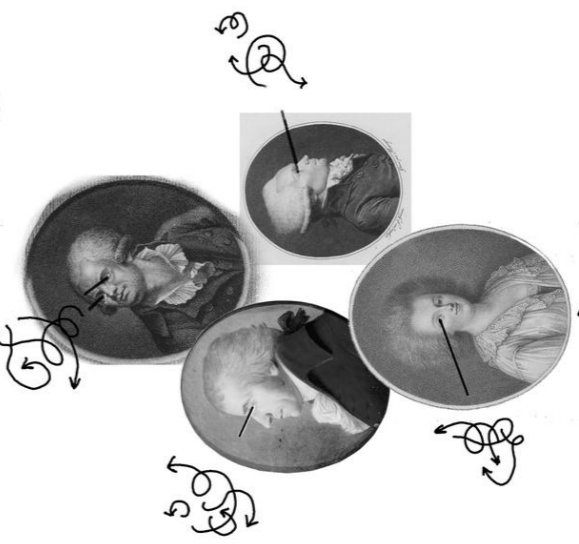


on Friendship



on Career

IN THE CAREER



on Democracy



on Literature

SELF-CENTRIC CALCULATIONS  
SELF-CENTRIC  
SELF

Where is  
this great **VIBRATION**,  
whose nature owes to her  
afflicted, oppressed, and  
tormented children? Where is **IT**?

**IT** will undoubtedly appear, **IT** will  
shew itself, **IT** will lift up the sacred  
standard of liberty.

This venerable signal will collect around  
**IT** the companions of **IT**'s misfortunes.  
They will rush on with more impetuosity  
than torrents; they will leave behind them,  
in all parts, indelible traces of their just  
resentment. Spaniards, Portuguese,  
English, French, Dutch, all their  
tyrants will become the victims of fire  
and sword.

*Philosophical History of the  
two Indies,*

**ABBÉ RAYNAL, 1770**

A  
secret fire is being  
incubated throughout Europe  
and foretells an imminent revolution....

Yes, the cry of freedom rings out in the Old  
and New Worlds. Only an Othello or a Padrejean  
is needed to awake in the soul of the Negroes an  
awareness of their inalienable rights. Seeing that  
the mixed-bloods cannot protect them against their  
despots, they will perhaps turn their blades against  
everyone, and a sudden explosion will cause their  
chains to suddenly fall. And who among us will  
dare to condemn them?

**Henri-Baptiste Grégoire 1789**

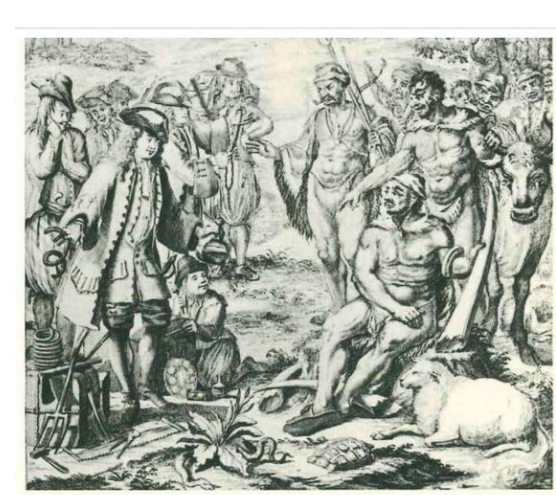
POTOSI

ESCORIAL

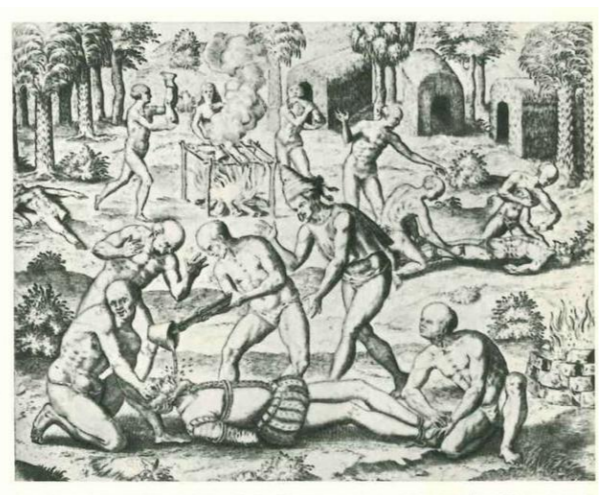
FLANDES



ES POSSIBLE UNA ALIANZA ENTRE COMUNITADES DESIGUALMENTE EXPLOTADAS?

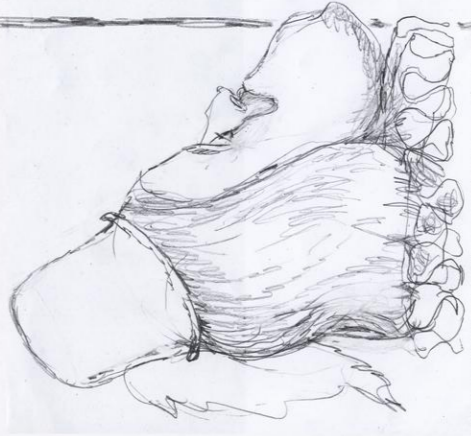


POURPARLERS ENTRE HOLLANDAIS ET NÈGRES DU CAP.  
KOLB, CAPUT BONAE SPEI HODIERNUM, NURNBERG, 1719. — CL. LAROUSSE.



LES INDIENS COULENT DE L'OR FONDU DANS LA BOUCHE DES ESPAGNOLS.  
TH. DE BEY, AMERICA PAR IV. FRANCOFURTI, 1594. — CL. LAROUSSE.





T. ∞




[OLYMPIC TERROR]

# TREES AND TREE-CYCLES



DECIENNA

ALMANACH  
ROYAL,  
ANNEE  
M. DCC. LXX,  
PRESENTE  
A SA MAJESTE  
Pour la premiere fois en 1699.



A PARIS,  
Chez LE BAYON, Premier imprimeur ordinaire du  
ROI, rue de la Harpe.

Avec APPROBATION ET PRIVILEGE DU ROI.

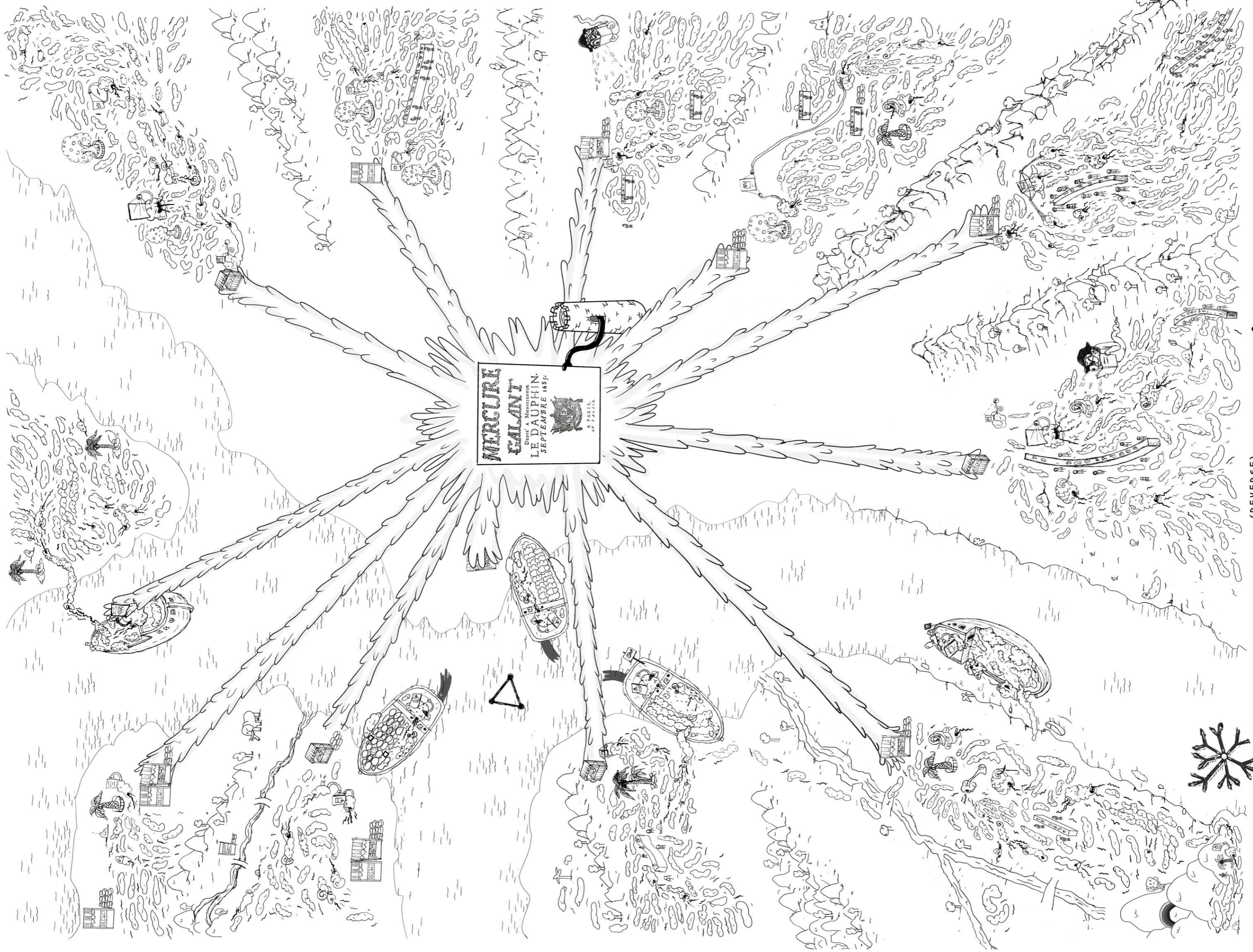
CENSEURS ROYAUX.  
De Lorraine, en Sorbonne.  
De la Langue, au Collège de Latins.  
Cuvillier, Chef de S. Laurent.  
Foucher, Principal du Collège de Navarre.  
Le Menier, en Sorbonne.  
Benoit, dans la maison des Docteurs de Navarre.  
Dupont, rue de Choiseul & André.  
Rouiller, au Collège Mazarin.  
Grenet, au Collège Mazarin.  
Chevenill, en Sorbonne.  
De Santes Grand-Maitre de Navarre.  
De Lottre, en Sorbonne.  
Allouart, Bibliothécaire de Sorbonne.  
Bouillart, Chef de S. Gervais.  
Aubry, Chef de S. Louis en l'Isle.

CENSEURS ROYAUX.  
Théologes, MESSIEURS.  
Sapin, rue de la Harpe, vis-à-vis la rue de Louis le Grand.  
Gallyer, rue Haudouin.  
Cuvillier, rue de la Harpe.  
Maignan de Saugny, col-de-lac de la rue Féro.  
Ferdinand, rue de la Harpe.  
Cuvillier de Chaulpierre, rue des deux Portes S. Serein.  
Mouret, rue Vivienne.  
MacLeod, rue de la Harpe & Germain, col-de-lac de S. Serein.  
Moulet, rue des Filles S. Germain, col-de-lac de S. Serein.  
Rouiller, Chef de S. Gervais, près le Palais.  
Regnard, rue Haudouin.  
Chef de S. Gervais, rue des vieilles Aubettes.  
De la Laine, Chef de S. Serein.  
Duchand, rue de la Harpe, Place Maubert.  
De Lappé, rue Caillotte & Faubourg S. Germain.  
L'abbé Pélé, à Vaugouin en Dauphiné.  
De Châtel, à Reims.  
Hélène Nouvelle, Médecin, & Châtel, MESSIEURS.  
Carnot, me & Thomas de Louvre.

"Royal Almanac, the Year 1769. Presented to His Majesty for the First Time in 1699." [1769]. The New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



Manège, Le galop uni à droite et le galop faux à droite.  
Equitação. O galope unido à direita e o galope falso à direita.



MERCURE  
GALANT  
DÉDIE À MONSIEUR  
LE DAUPHIN.  
LE 1<sup>er</sup> SEPTEMBRE 1685.  
A PARIS,  
AP PALAZZ.

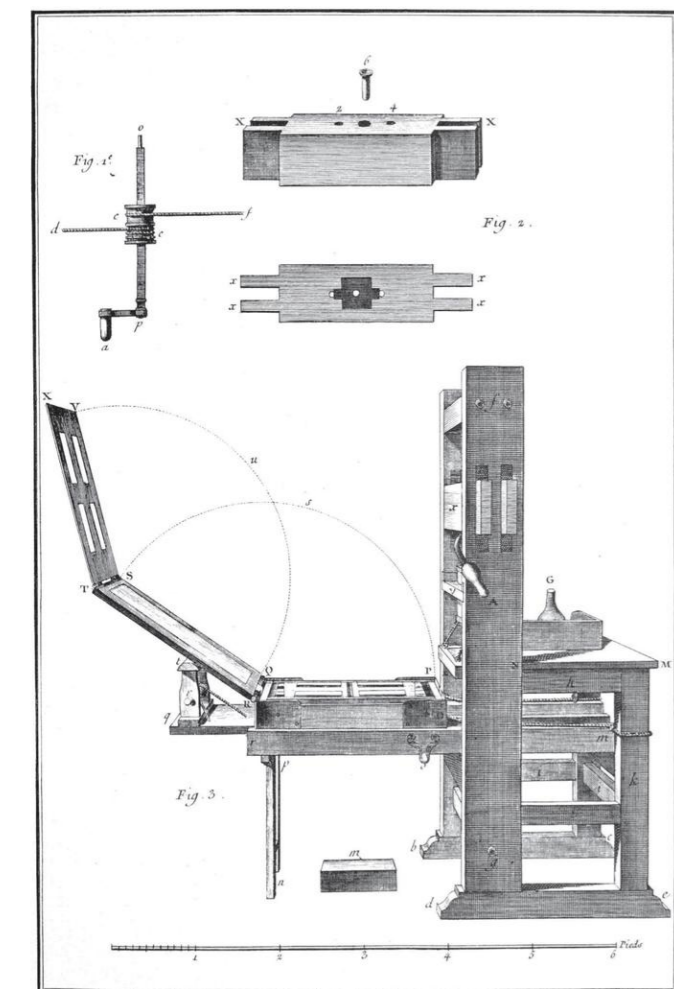
(REVERSE)

1685

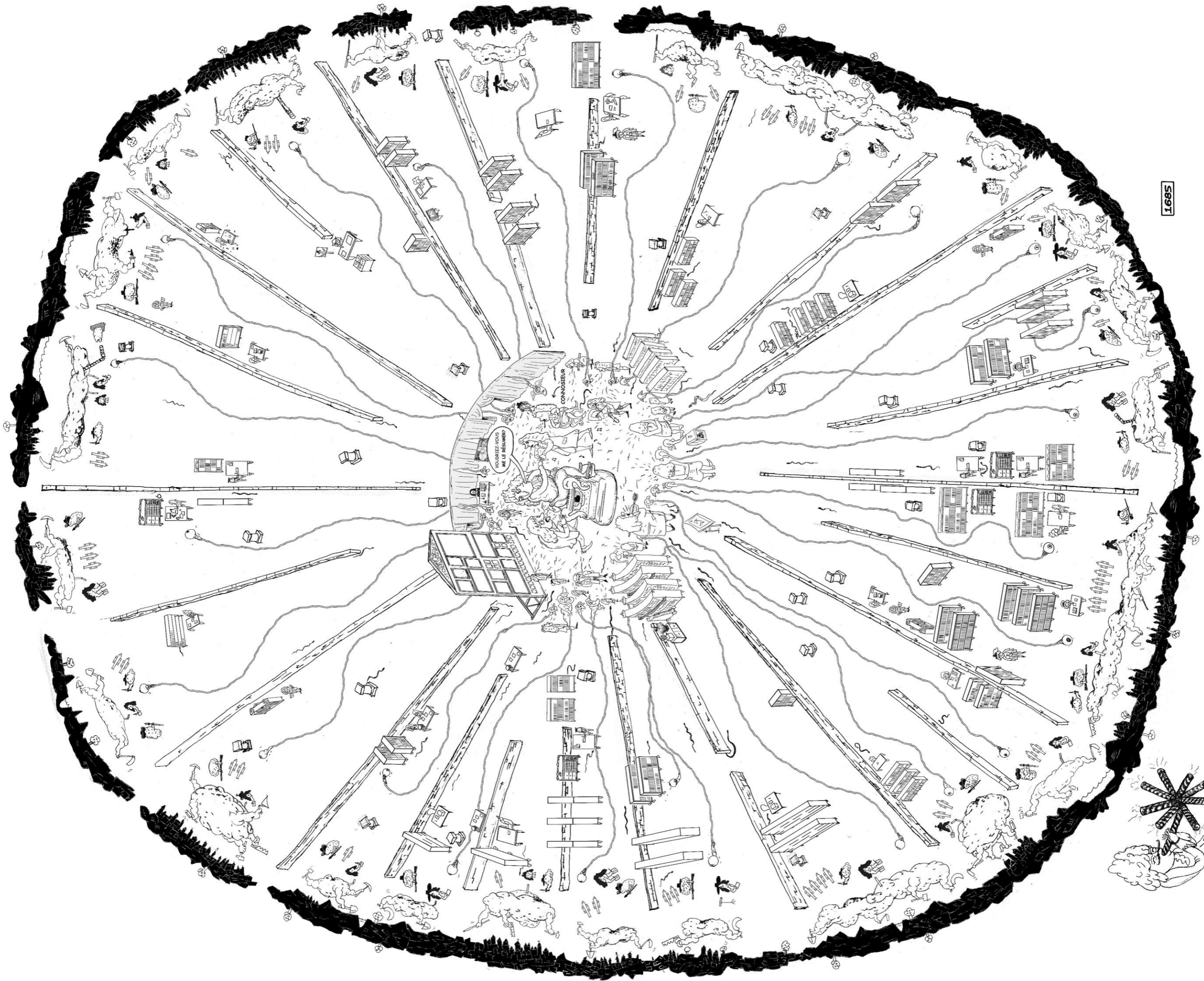
# EXTROVERSION PANOPTICON

536 George III and His Family Viewing the Royal Academy Exhibition at Somerset House. Engraving, 1789

537 (OPPOSITE PAGE, ABOVE) Hiram Powers' Greek Slave at the Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, 1851. Color print in mixed processes by George Baxter

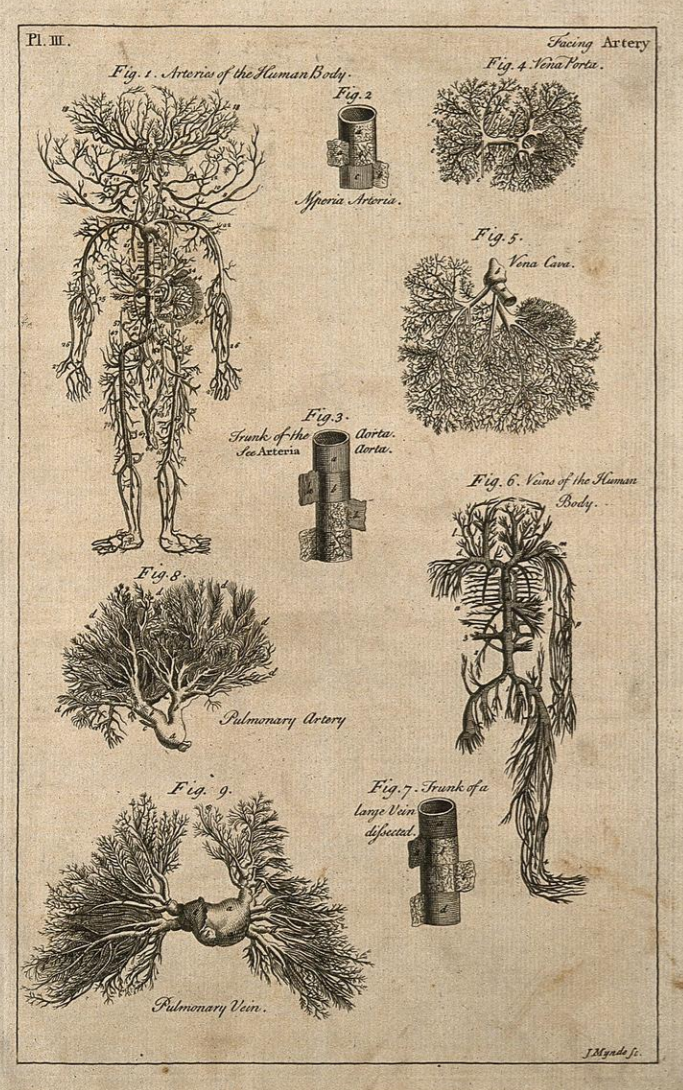


*Imprimerie, Presse vue par le côté du dehors.*  
Impressão. Prensa vista pelo lado de fora.

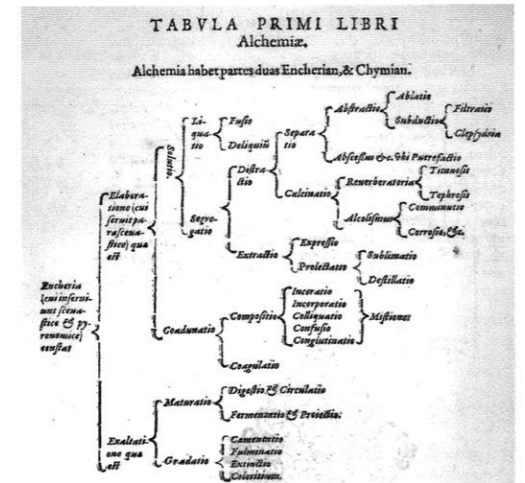


1685

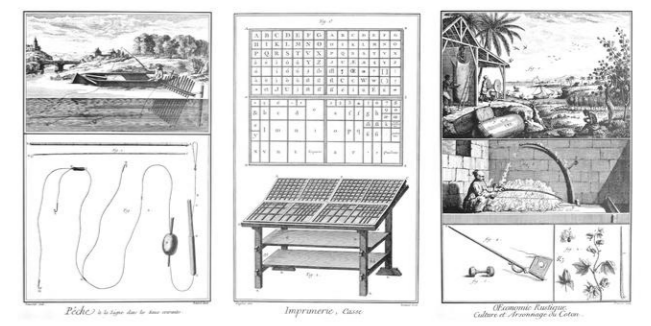
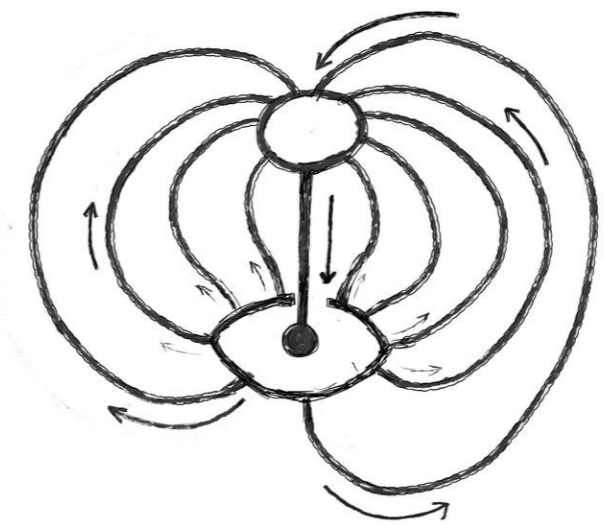
# INTROVERSION PANOPTICON



FINI (1709); KOSS (1700); SCHEU-ALBERT (1713); Ong (1958); Gilbert (1960), 129-44.



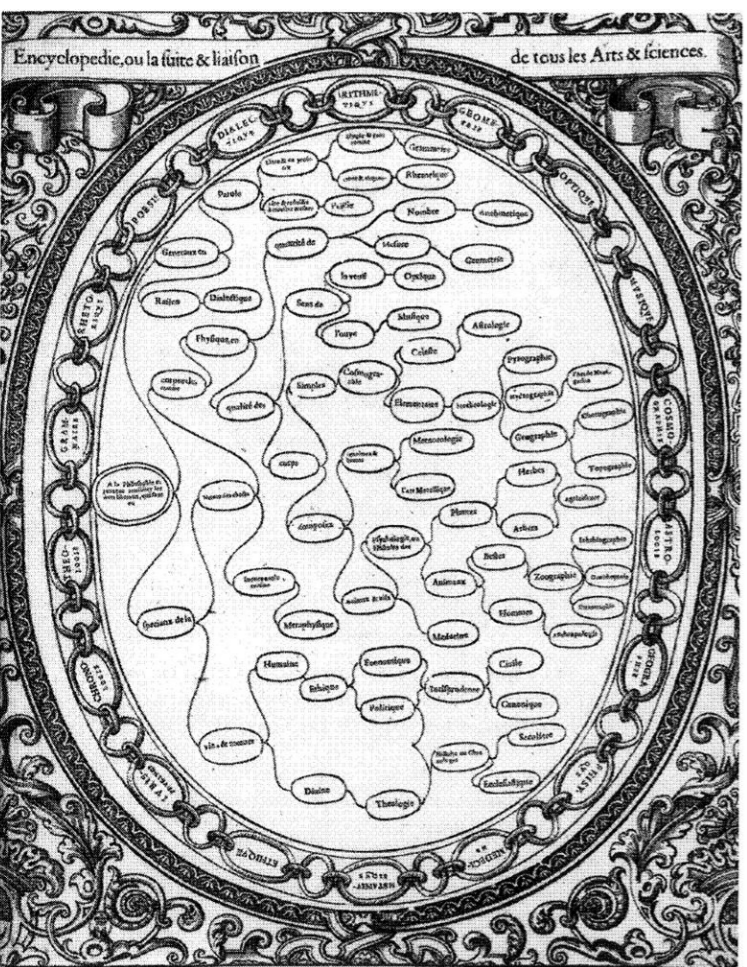
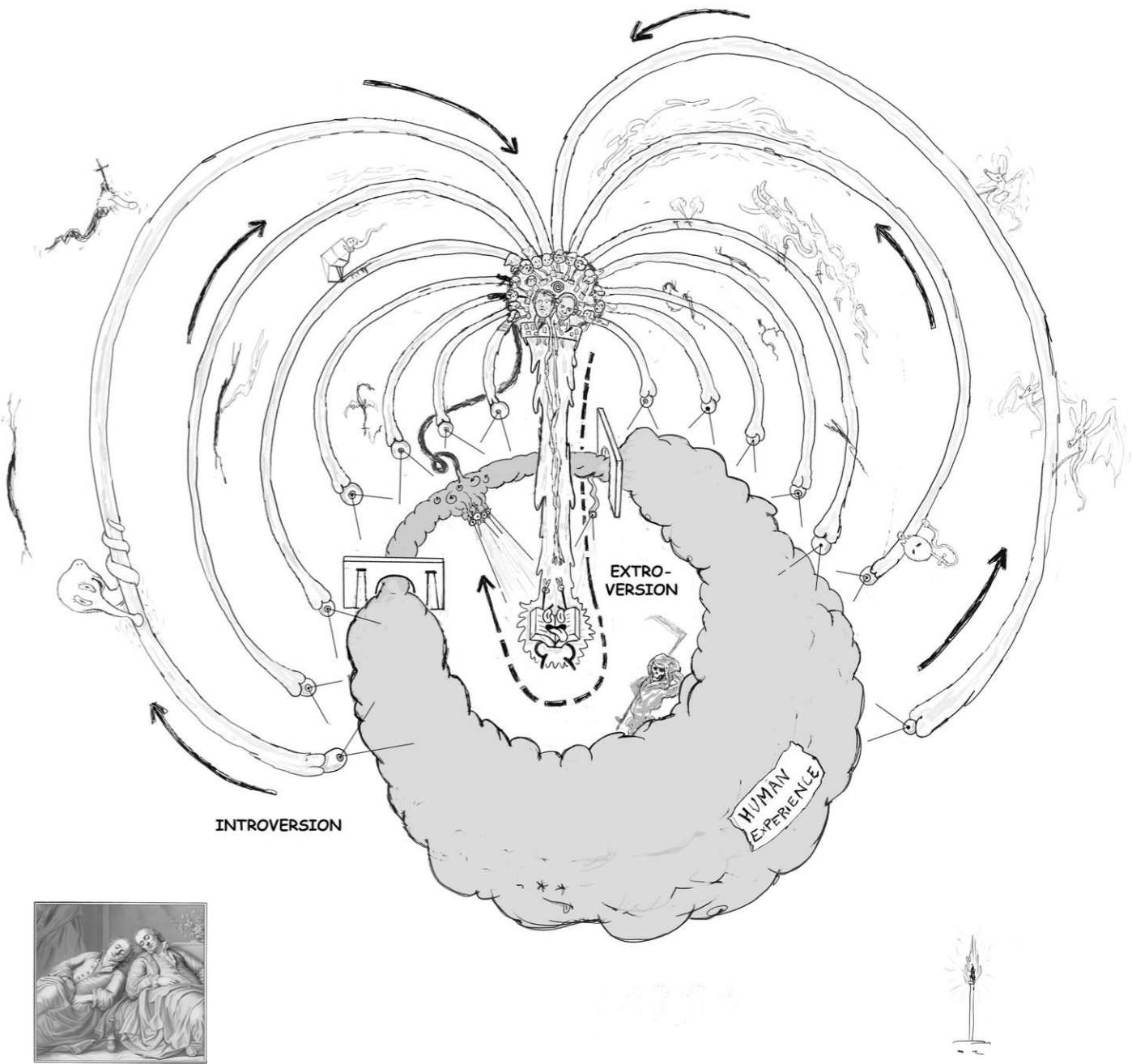
7 TABVLA PRIMI LIBRI, IN ANDREAS LIBAVIUS, ALCHEMIA (FRANKFURT, 1597), SIG. B2, VERSO; COPY IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (L.4.14)



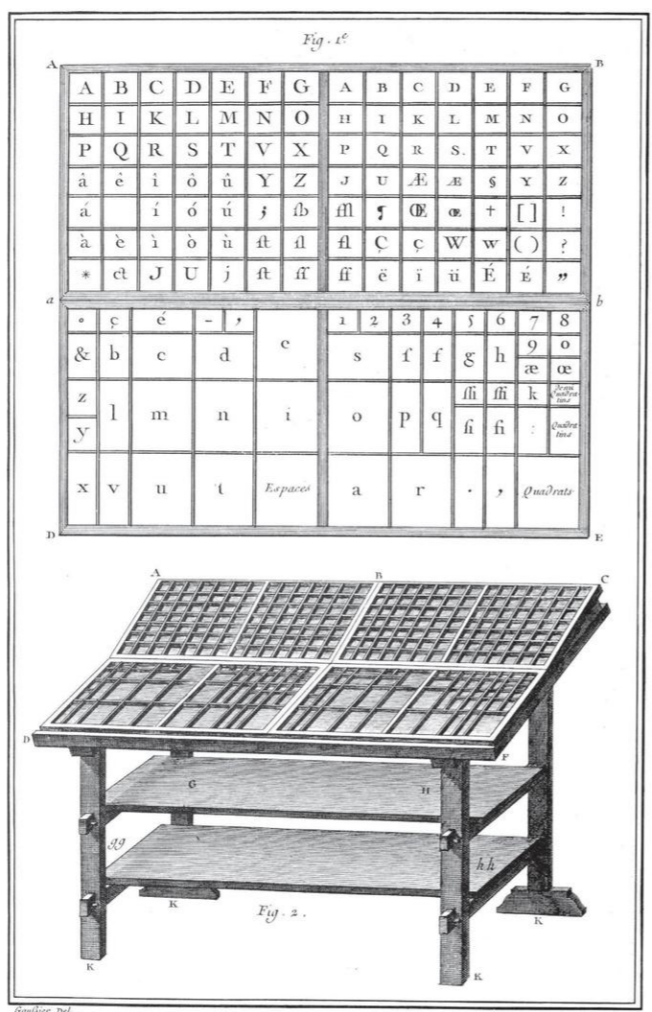
L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE DE DIDEROT ET D'ALEMBERT 1751-1781

# LOOPING PANOPTICON

the first case and the common law in the second. Even a description of Tuscany published in 1605 by the Englishman Robert Dallington included an 'analysis of the discourse' along these lines. A more fluid or flexible classification of 'all the arts and sciences' was presented by the Frenchman Christophe de Savigny in the form of an oval diagram (figure 8). Around the edge runs a chain of eighteen disciplines in which the trivium, quadrivium and the three higher faculties have been joined by poetry, optics, geography, cosmography, physics, metaphysics, ethics and chronology. In the centre float seventy-five more ovals, attached by strings like so many balloons, including subdivisions of the same eighteen disciplines. The diagram offers a more flexible way of showing interdisciplinary links ('la suite et liaison' as Savigny puts it), than the dichotomies of Ramus. Ramus was not welcomed by everyone. His critique of Aristotle, for example, seemed to some contemporaries to be a kind of *lese-majesté*,



8 C. SAVIGNY, TABLEAUX ACCOMPLIS, 1587: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE



Imprimerie, Casse Impressão. Caixa.



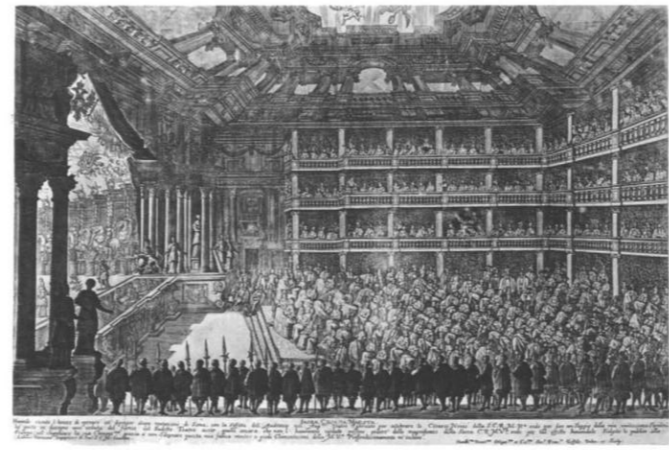
## NATURAL LAW

...

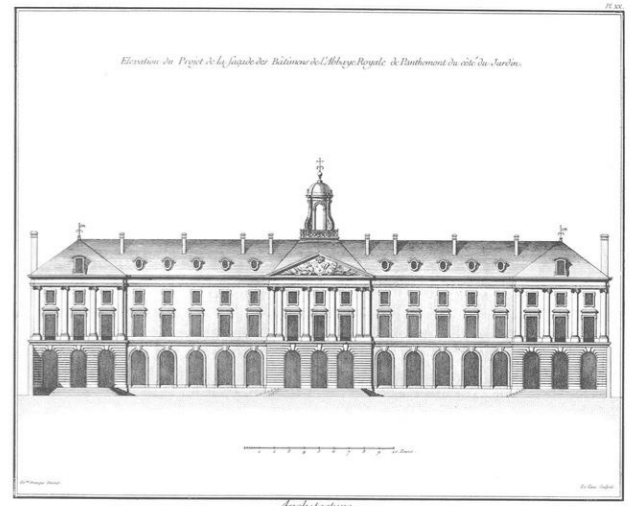
If you meditate attentively therefore on everything said in the preceding, you will remain convinced of the following:

- 1) the person who only listens to his private will is the enemy of the human race;
- 2) that in every individual the general will is a pure act of understanding that reasons, in the silence of the passions, about what we can demand of our fellow persons and about what our fellow persons have the right to demand of us;
- 3) that this attention to the general will of the species and to shared wants is the rule of conduct of one individual relative to another in the same society, of an individual toward the society of which he is a member, and of the society of which he is a member toward other societies;
- 4) that submission to the general will is the basis of all societies, without excepting those formed for crime. Indeed, virtue is so attractive that thieves respect its image even inside their dens!
- 5) that the laws should be made for everyone, and not for one person.

Encyclopédie **Diderot et d'Alembert** 1751-80

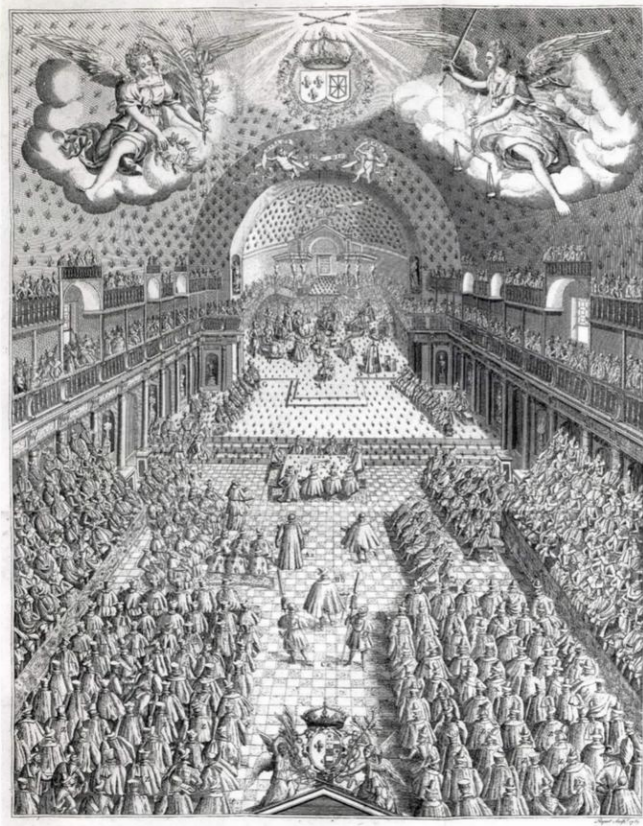


546 The court theater, Vienna. Engraving after Lodovico Burnacini in Francesco Sbarra, IL POMO D'ORO, Vienna (Cosmerovius), 1668



Education is a monstrosity when it is unequal, when it is the exclusive patrimony of a portion of the association: because then it becomes, in the bands of this portion, an accumulation of machinery, an arsenal of all sorts of weapons that helps this portion of society to make war against the other, which is unarmed, and to succeed thereby in strangling it, deceiving it, stripping it bare, and shackling it down to the most shameful servitude.

**Grachus Babeauf 1997**

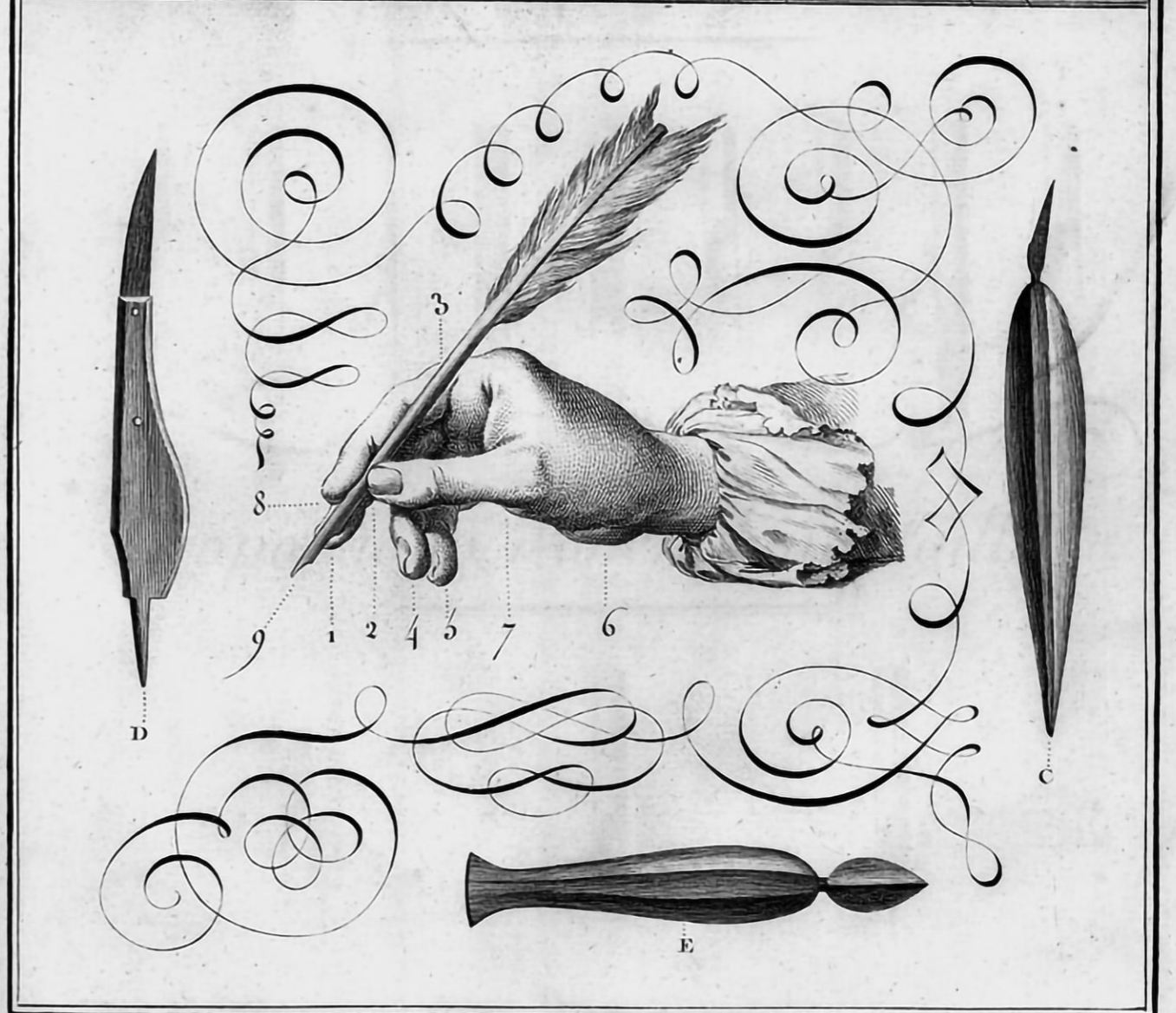


2. "Plan and Exact Representation of Bourbon Hall at the Louvre, Where the Estates General Met in 1614 . . . to Give an Idea of What Should Occur in the Hall at Versailles, Where the Estates General Will Meet in 1789." The New York Public Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Talleyrand Collection.

Printing, both images and texts, played a key role in mobilizing the various sectors of French society for the convocation of the Estates General in 1789 (cat. no. 35).

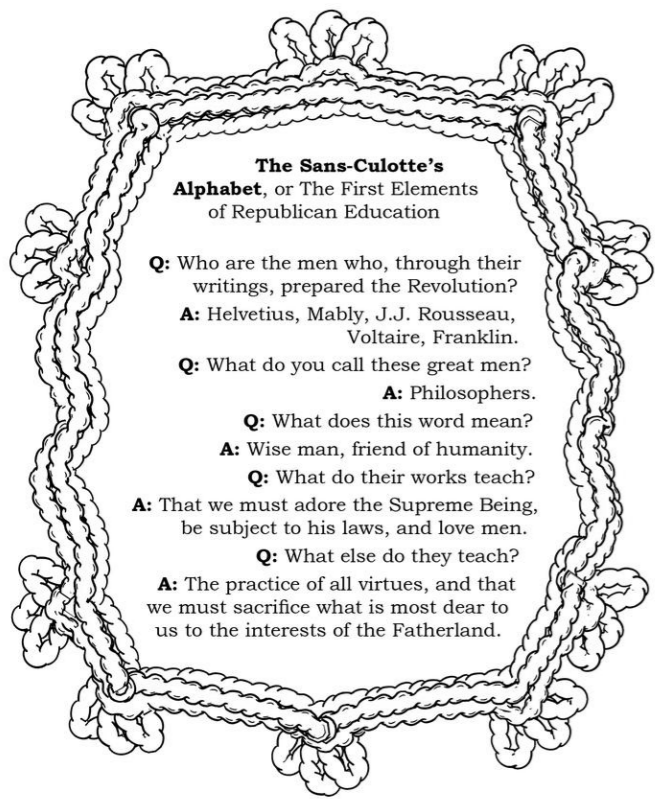


5. "A Newspaper Vendor." 1791. Color engraving by Philibert-Louis Debucourt. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.  
*Almanach National. Dédicé aux Amis de la Patrie.*  
 One of the most immediate and important consequences of the collapse of the institutions that policed the printed word under the Old Regime was the explosion in the production of newspapers. With the declaration of the freedom of the press, "the news," for the first time, became a part of everyday life (cat. no. 57).



Dejort. Sculp.

CAPTURING/LIBERATING



**The Sans-Culotte's Alphabet, or The First Elements of Republican Education**

**Q:** Who are the men who, through their writings, prepared the Revolution?

**A:** Helvetius, Mably, J.J. Rousseau, Voltaire, Franklin.

**Q:** What do you call these great men?

**A:** Philosophers.

**Q:** What does this word mean?

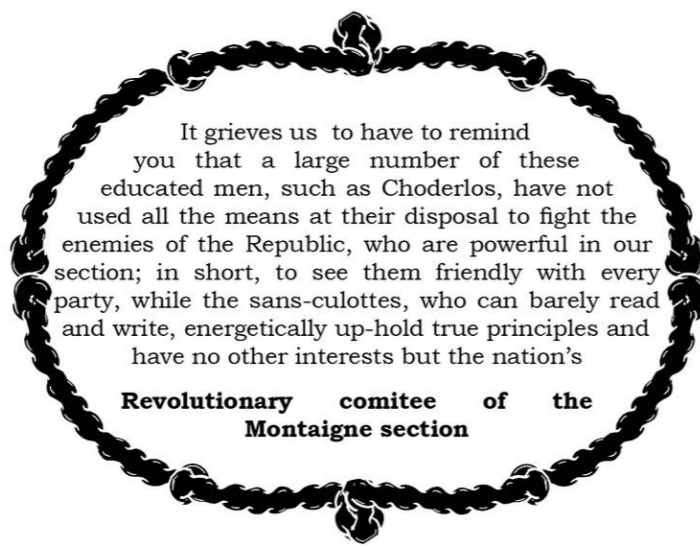
**A:** Wise man, friend of humanity.

**Q:** What do their works teach?

**A:** That we must adore the Supreme Being, be subject to his laws, and love men.

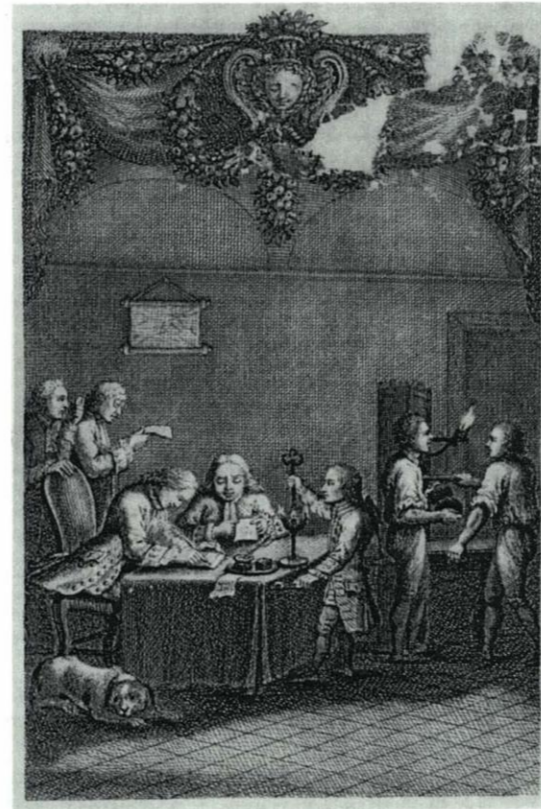
**Q:** What else do they teach?

**A:** The practice of all virtues, and that we must sacrifice what is most dear to us to the interests of the Fatherland.



It grieves us to have to remind you that a large number of these educated men, such as Choderlos, have not used all the means at their disposal to fight the enemies of the Republic, who are powerful in our section; in short, to see them friendly with every party, while the sans-culottes, who can barely read and write, energetically up-hold true principles and have no other interests but the nation's

**Revolutionary comitee of the Montaigne section**

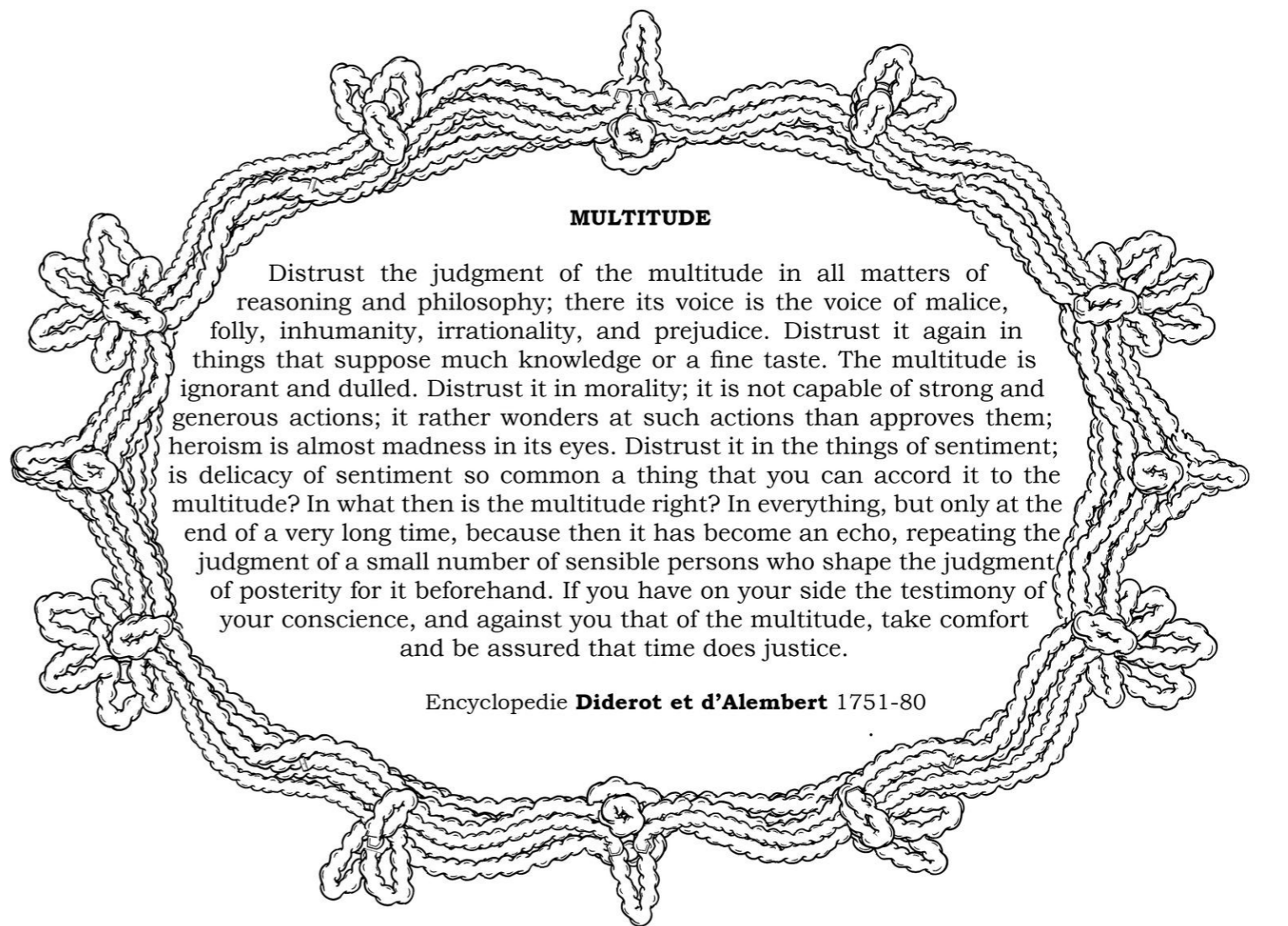


The editorial office and printing shop of the *Notizie del mondo*, Florence, 1769. Courtesy of Prof. Franco Venturi and Giulio Einaudi Editore.



ASSEMBLÉE DES NOTABLES, TENUE A VERSAILLES, Le 22 Fevrier 1787.

*Cette Assemblée fut composée des Princes, des Officiers de la Couronne, des Secréétaires d'Etat, des Jures du Royaume, de Conseillers d'Etat, de Maîtres des Requêtes, de Marchands de France, de Archevêques et Evêques, de Prévôts de Parlements, et Conseils Supérieurs; enfin de Municipalités, de Villes et de Députés d'Etat.*  
*Dans les Affaires Finances qui eurent lieu, on se divisa entre autres plans, ceux de la Subvention Territoriale et de l'Impôt de Capitation; le Roi présida en personne, la première, et la seconde et dernière, qui eut lieu le 25 Mai 1787. Cette Assemblée n'eut d'autre effet que de révoquer la tenue des Etats Généraux.*



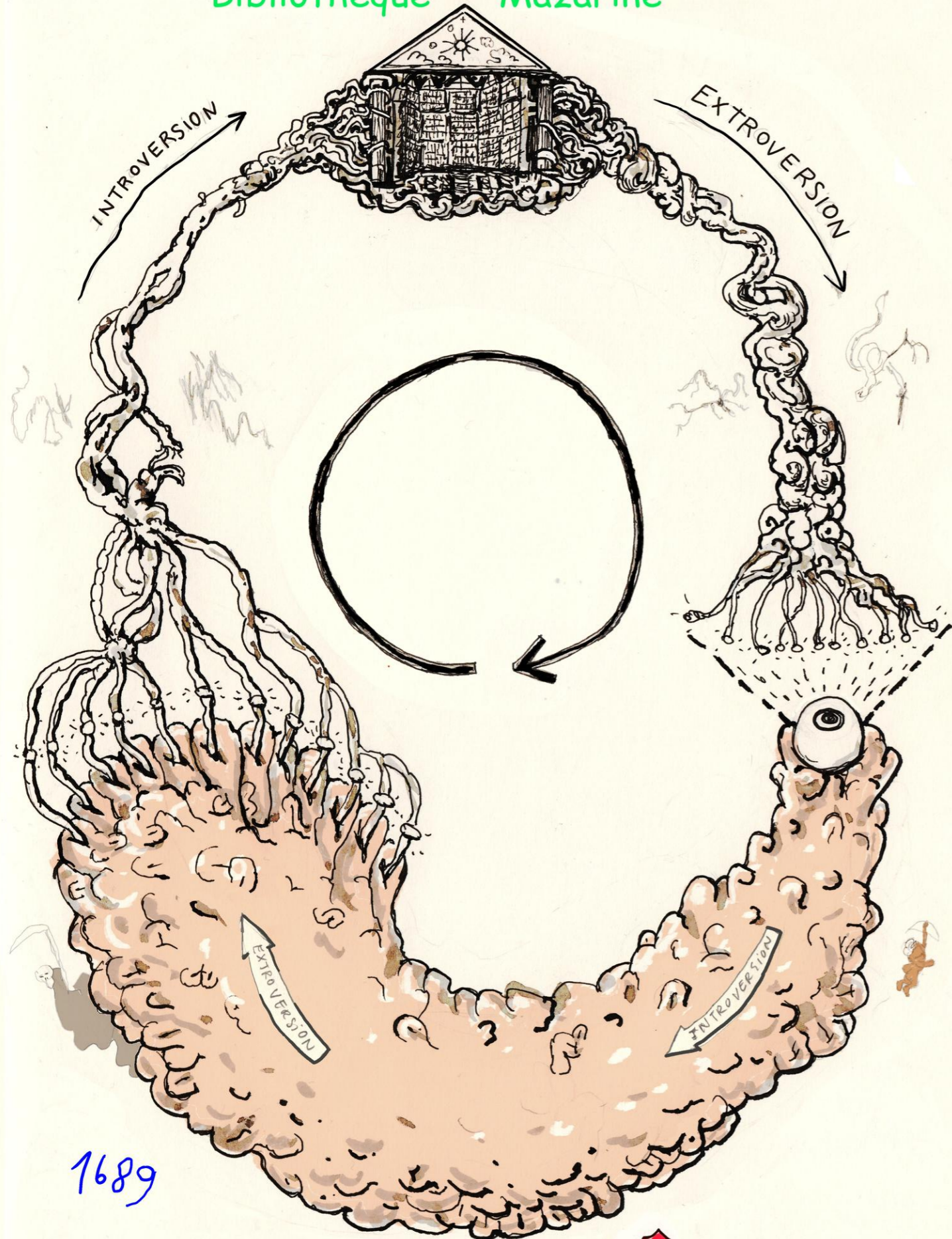
**MULTITUDE**

Distrust the judgment of the multitude in all matters of reasoning and philosophy; there its voice is the voice of malice, folly, inhumanity, irrationality, and prejudice. Distrust it again in things that suppose much knowledge or a fine taste. The multitude is ignorant and dulled. Distrust it in morality; it is not capable of strong and generous actions; it rather wonders at such actions than approves them; heroism is almost madness in its eyes. Distrust it in the things of sentiment; is delicacy of sentiment so common a thing that you can accord it to the multitude? In what then is the multitude right? In everything, but only at the end of a very long time, because then it has become an echo, repeating the judgment of a small number of sensible persons who shape the judgment of posterity for it beforehand. If you have on your side the testimony of your conscience, and against you that of the multitude, take comfort and be assured that time does justice.

Encyclopedie **Diderot et d'Alembert** 1751-80

# PANOPTICAL CYCLE

Bibliothèque Mazarine

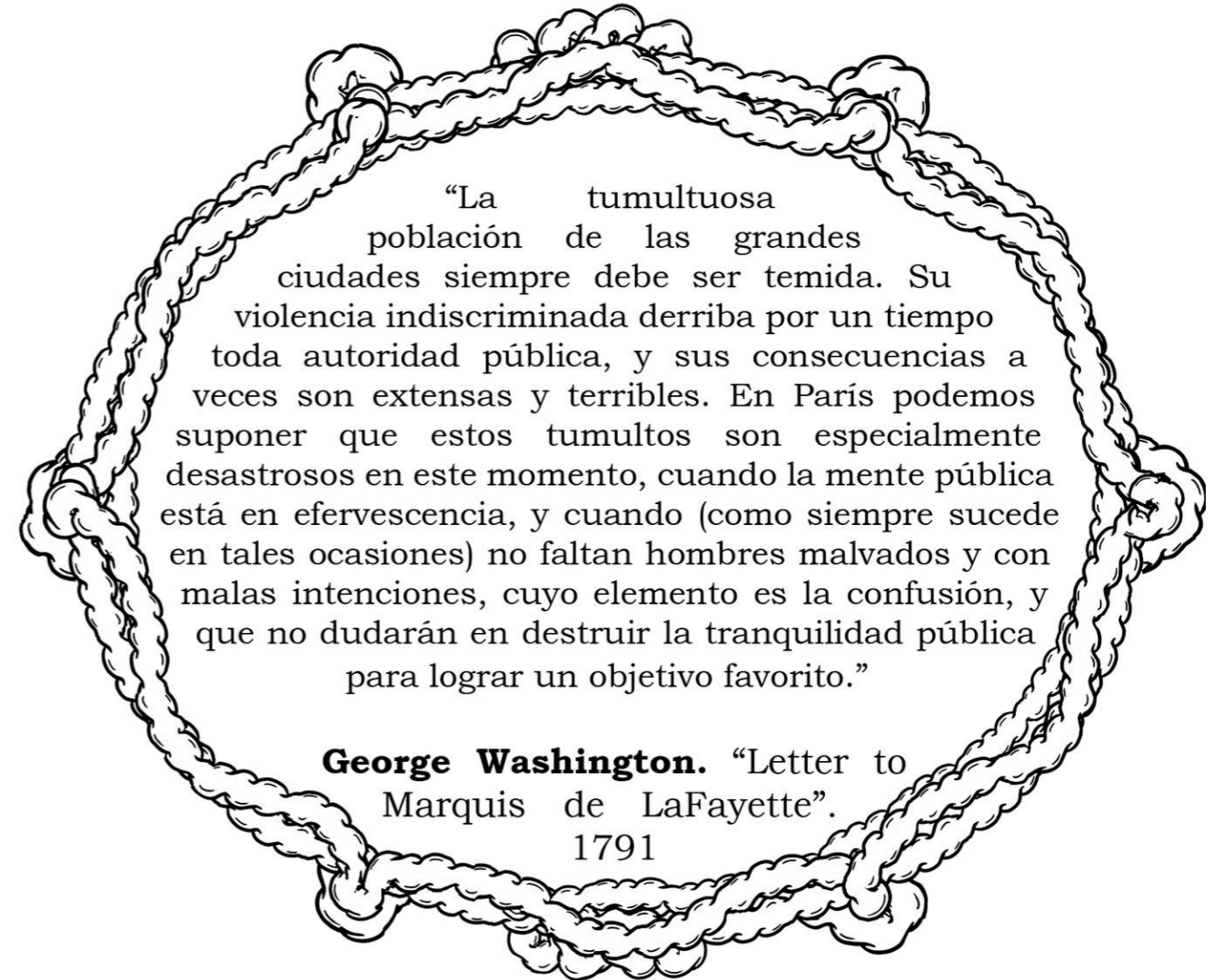


1689

SET UP BY THE GREAT DESPOT

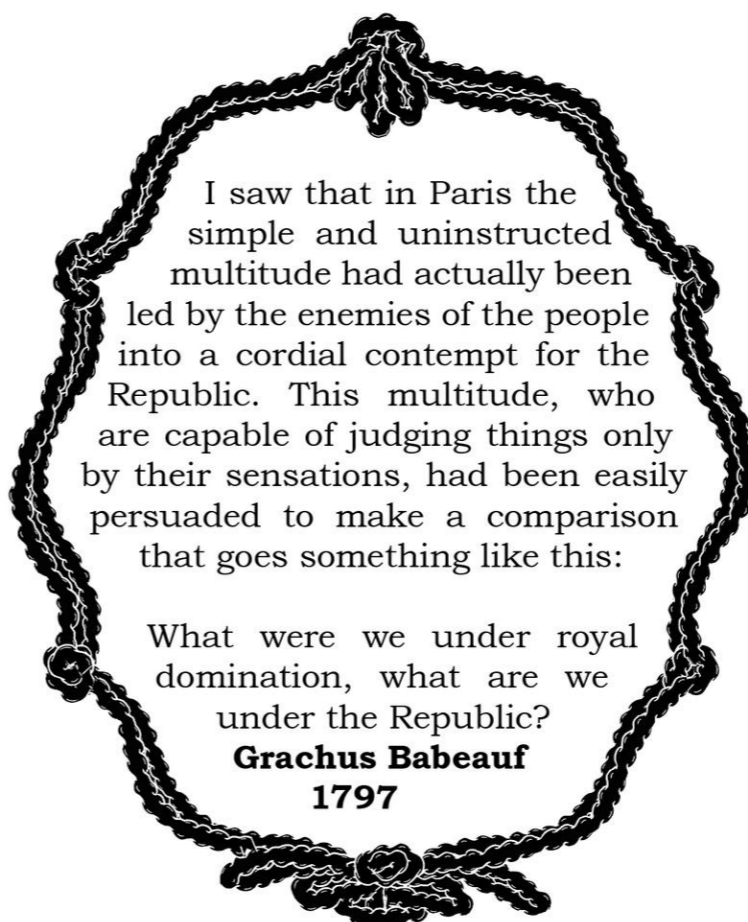


CARDINAL MAZARIN



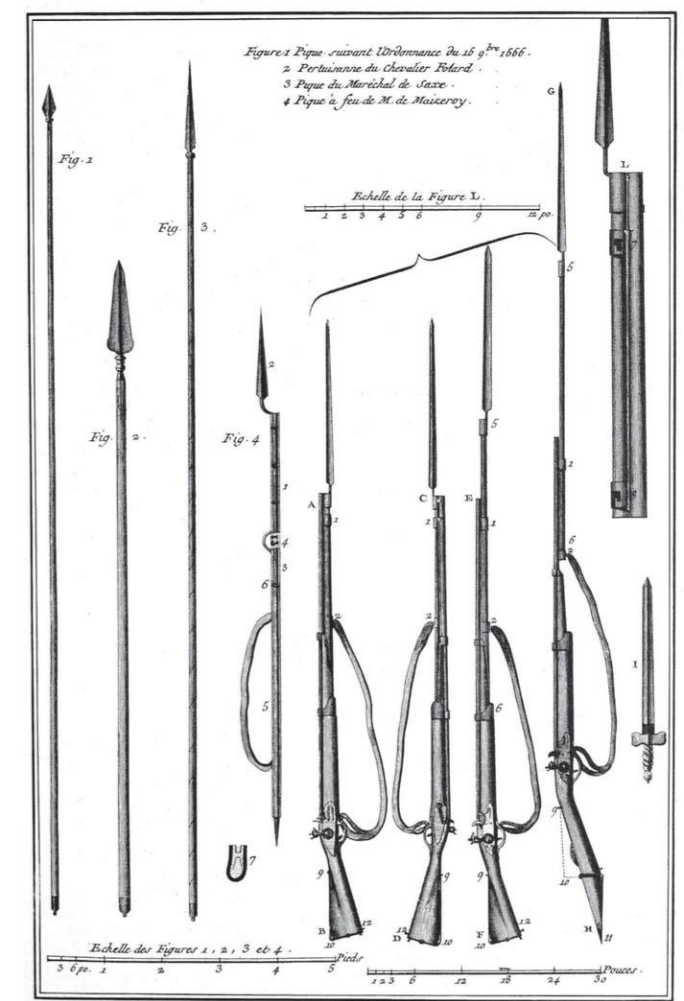
“La tumultuosa población de las grandes ciudades siempre debe ser temida. Su violencia indiscriminada derriba por un tiempo toda autoridad pública, y sus consecuencias a veces son extensas y terribles. En París podemos suponer que estos tumultos son especialmente desastrosos en este momento, cuando la mente pública está en efervescencia, y cuando (como siempre sucede en tales ocasiones) no faltan hombres malvados y con malas intenciones, cuyo elemento es la confusión, y que no dudarán en destruir la tranquilidad pública para lograr un objetivo favorito.”

**George Washington.** “Letter to Marquis de LaFayette”.  
1791

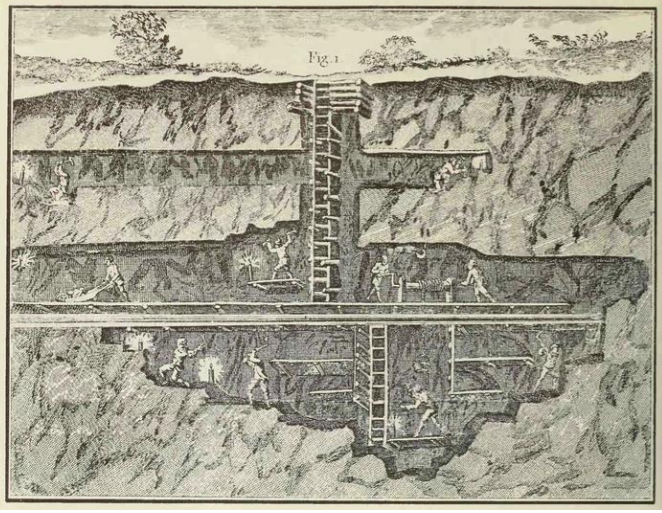


I saw that in Paris the simple and uninstructed multitude had actually been led by the enemies of the people into a cordial contempt for the Republic. This multitude, who are capable of judging things only by their sensations, had been easily persuaded to make a comparison that goes something like this:

What were we under royal domination, what are we under the Republic?  
**Grachus Babeauf**  
1797



Piques et Fusil-Pique.  
Lança e fuzil com lança.



**There will always be a great  
difference between subduing a  
multitude and ruling a society.**

*The Social Contract*  
**J. J. Rosseau 1762**



## Equity

In general, this is the virtue by which we render to each that which rightly **BELONGS** to him, in conformity with the different circumstances in which each person may be with respect to us and to the laws of society...

**Encyclopédie** Diderot et d'Alembert 1751-80



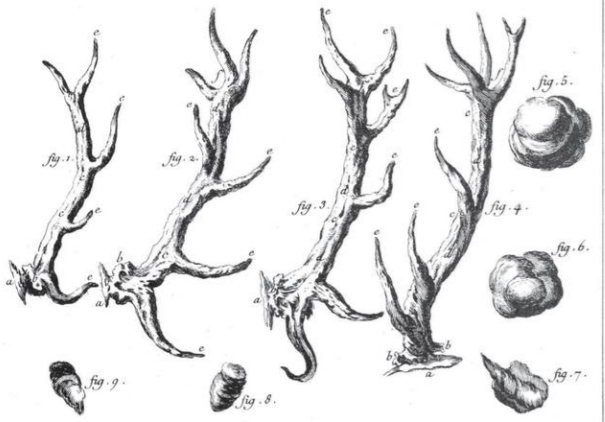
## [SPIRIT OF EXTREME EQUALITY]

The principle of democracy is corrupted, not only when the spirit of equality is lost—as it nearly always is in a republic situated on an extended territory in which interests become particular ... Democracy's principle is corrupted also when the spirit of extreme equality is seized on and each wishes to be equal to those chosen for command.

... The difficulty of command will be as fatiguing as that of obedience. The women, the children, the slaves will submit to no one. No longer will there be mores and love of order, and in the end there will be virtue no more.

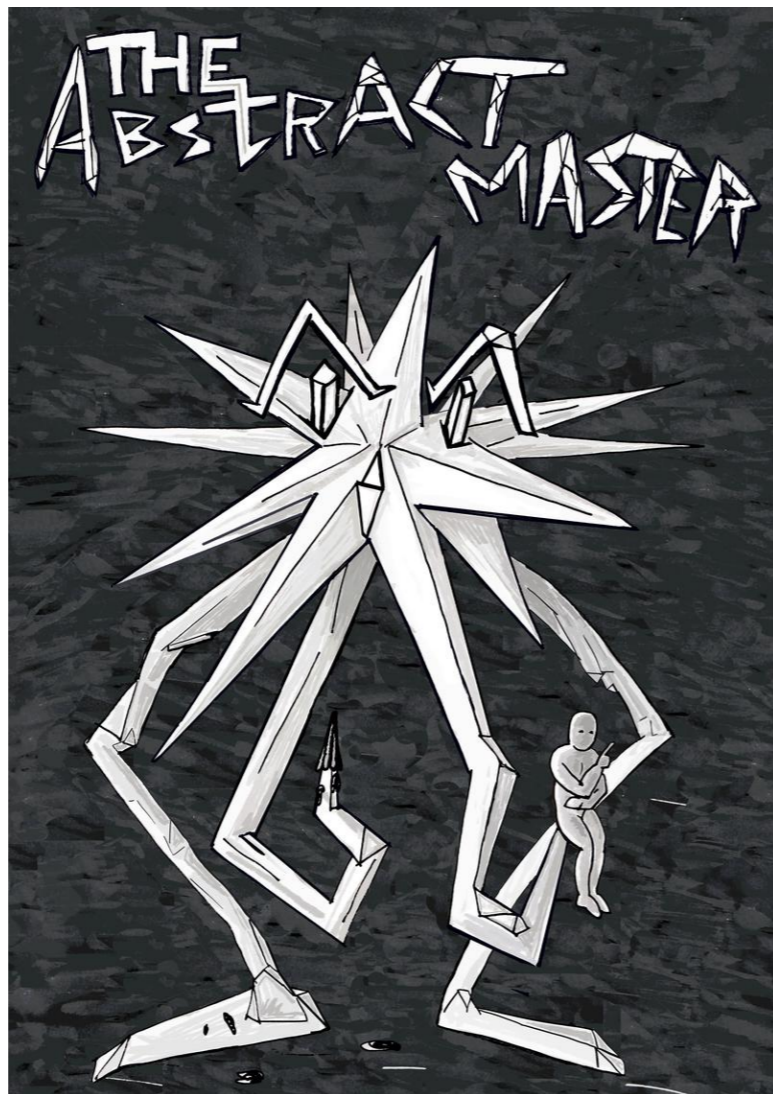
... The people will distribute all the public moneys to themselves. And just as they will have joined to their idleness the administration of affairs, they will join to their poverty the amusements of luxury."

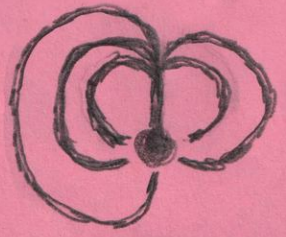
*The Spirit of Law,*  
**MONTESQUIEU,**  
1748



*Chasse, Vénérîe, Quête du Cerf.*

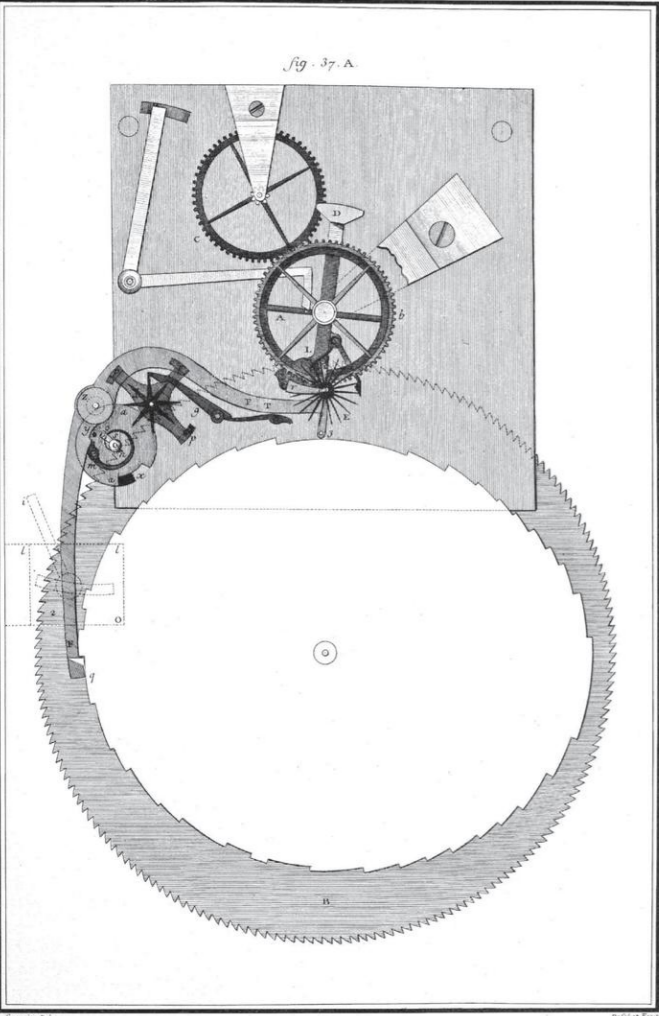
Caça, perseguição, busca do cervo.





ARBORESCENT  
CYCLE

**REY RED  
/ REDISTRIBUTION OF  
ABSOLUTISM**

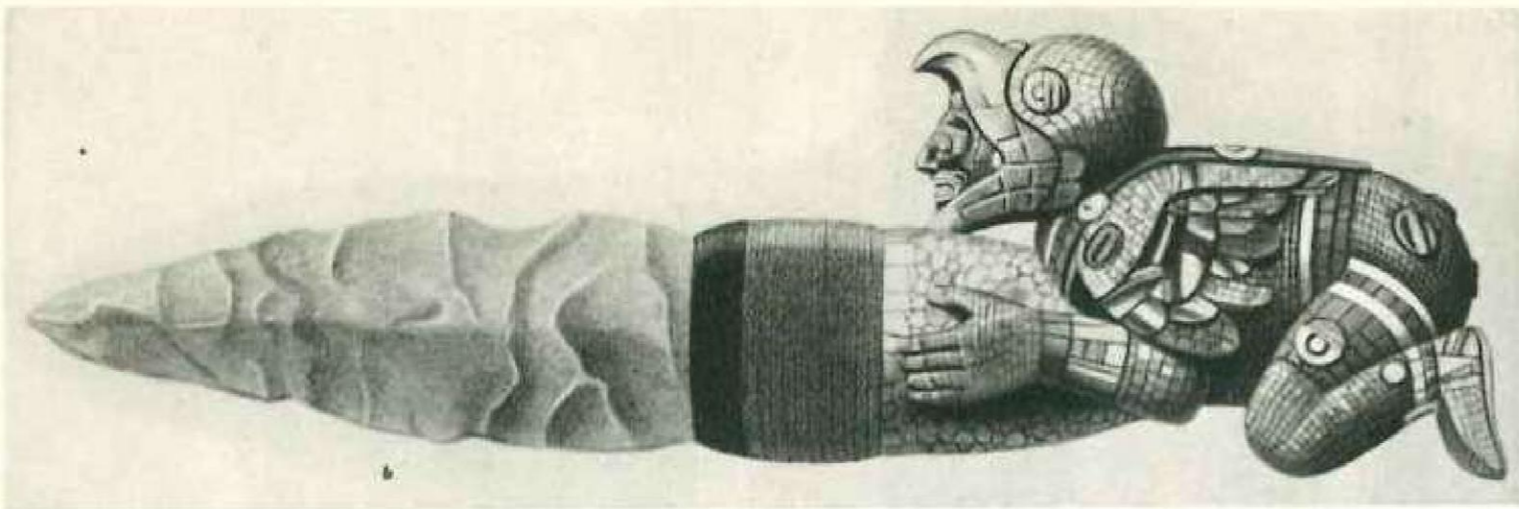


Horlogerie,  
Pendule à Equation par le Sieur Berthoud  
Relojoaria. Pêndulo à equação do Sr. Berthoud.

PHILASOPHY BREAKING THE STREETS OF ROVEN

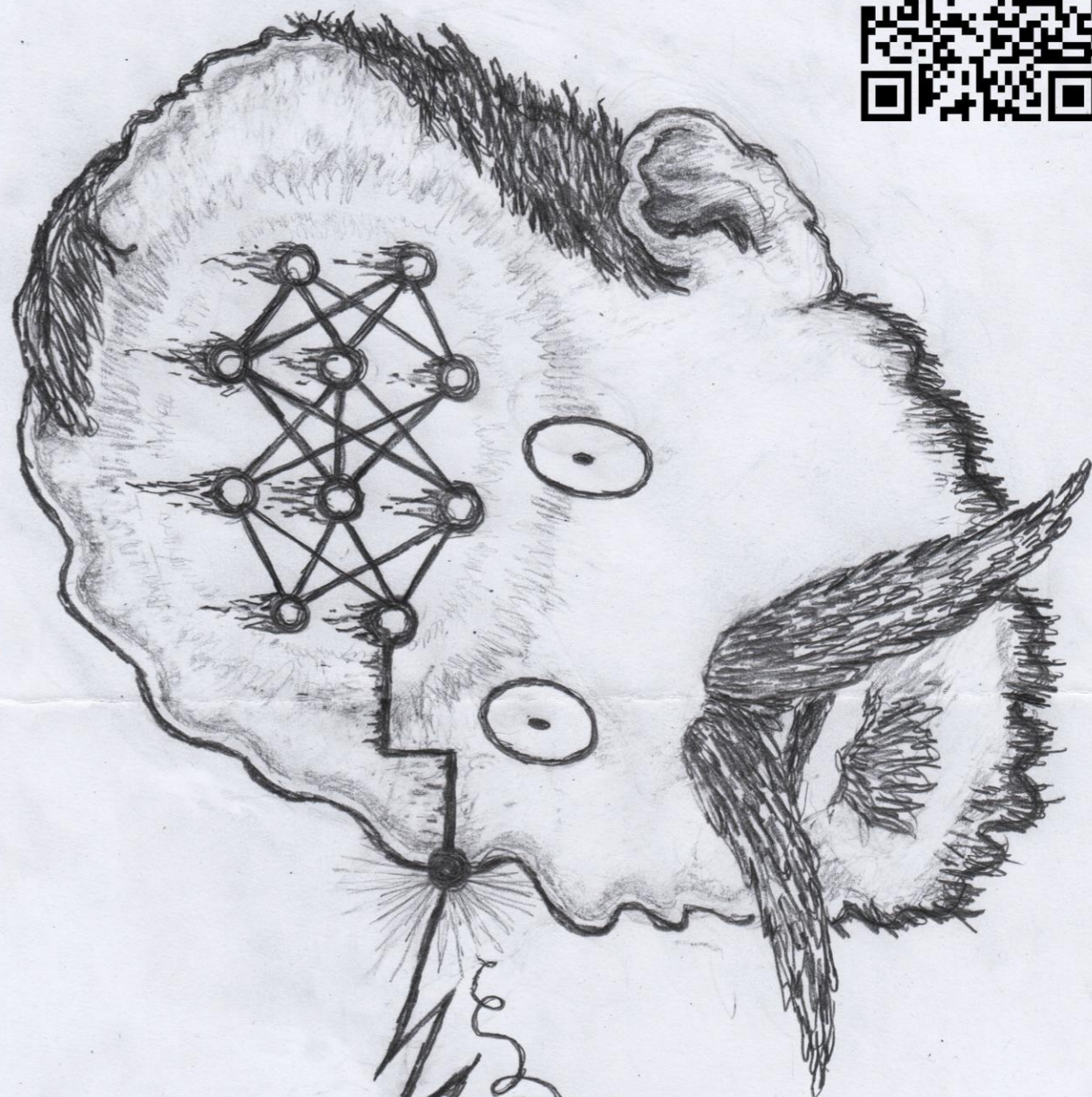
THE WAY YOU TREAT  
**YOUR PARTS,**  
WHY DON'T THEY  
KILL YOU ?





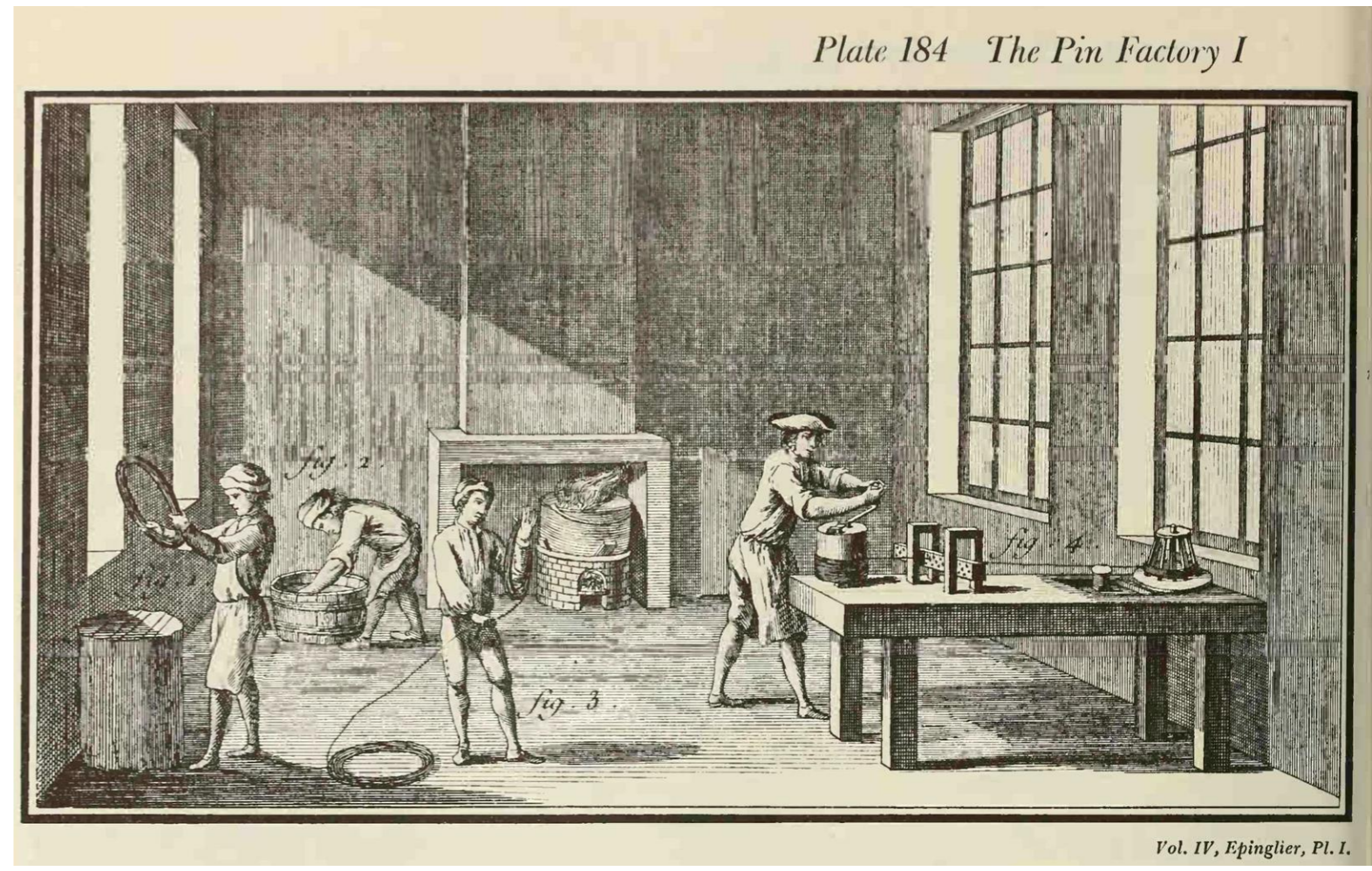
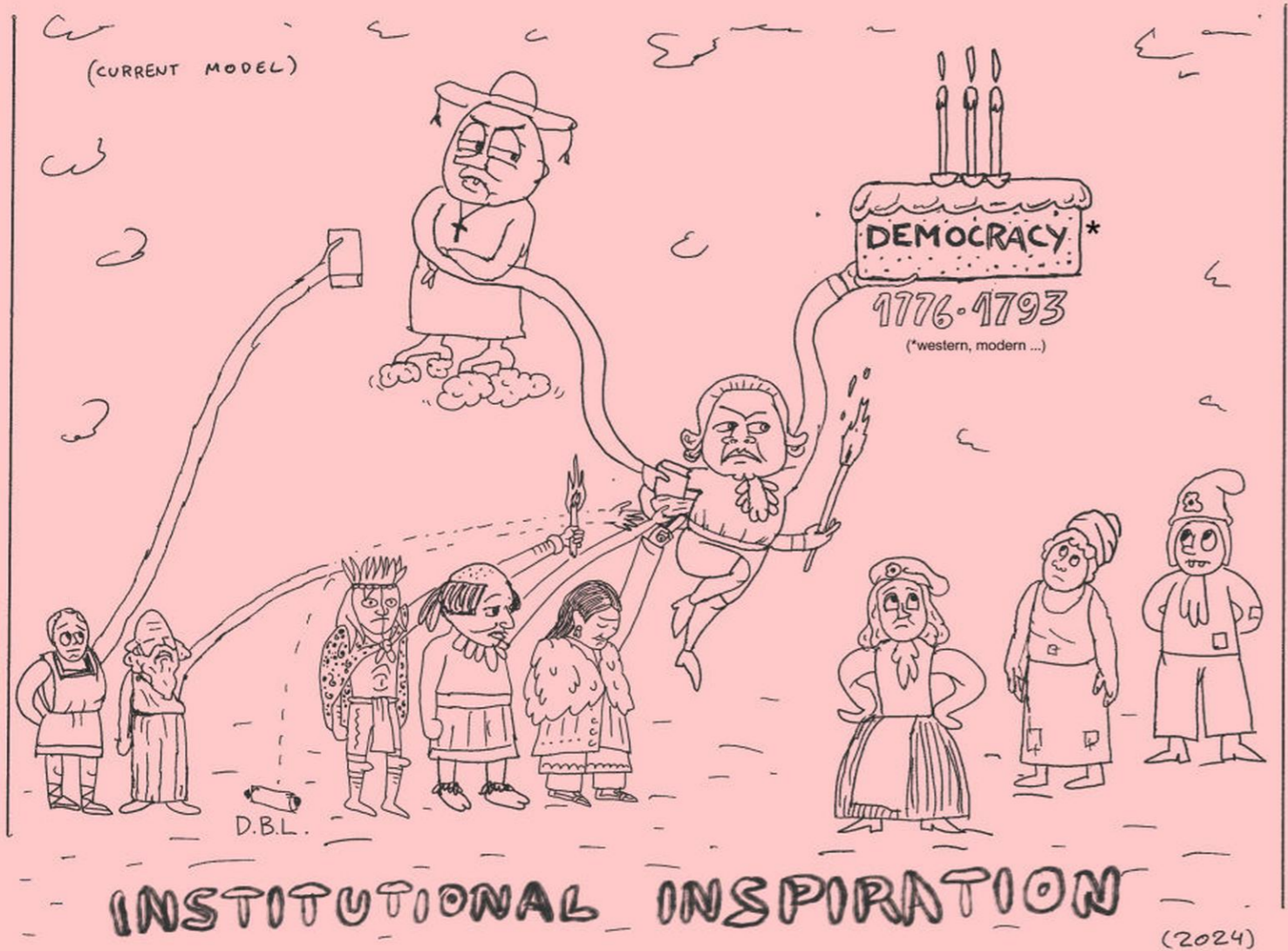
COUTEAU D'OBSIDIENNE QUI SERVAIT POUR LES SACRIFICES HUMAINS.  
WALDECK ET BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, PALENQUÉ. PARIS, 1866. — CL. LAROUSSE.

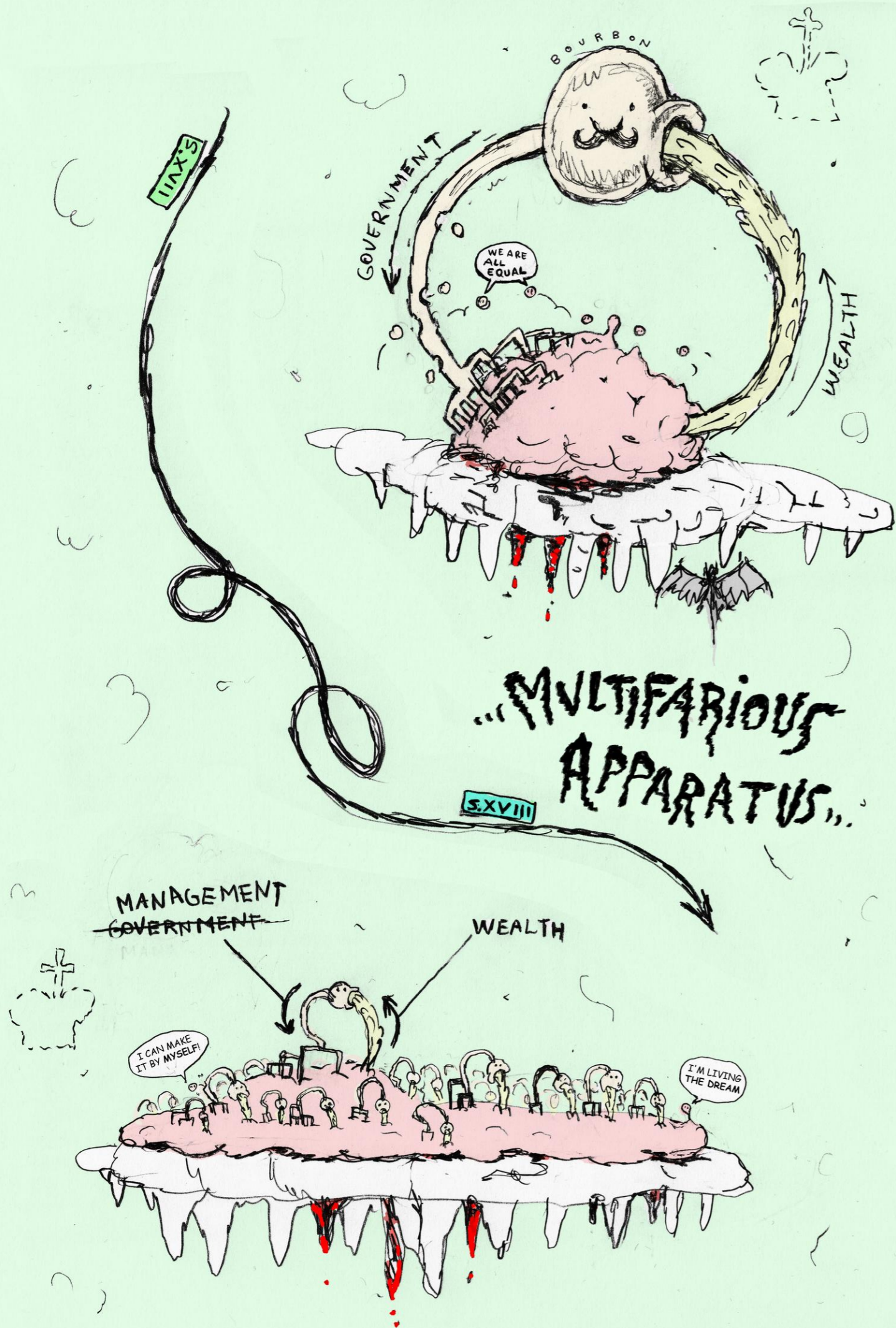
*Handwritten notes in the top left corner of the page.*



L. E.

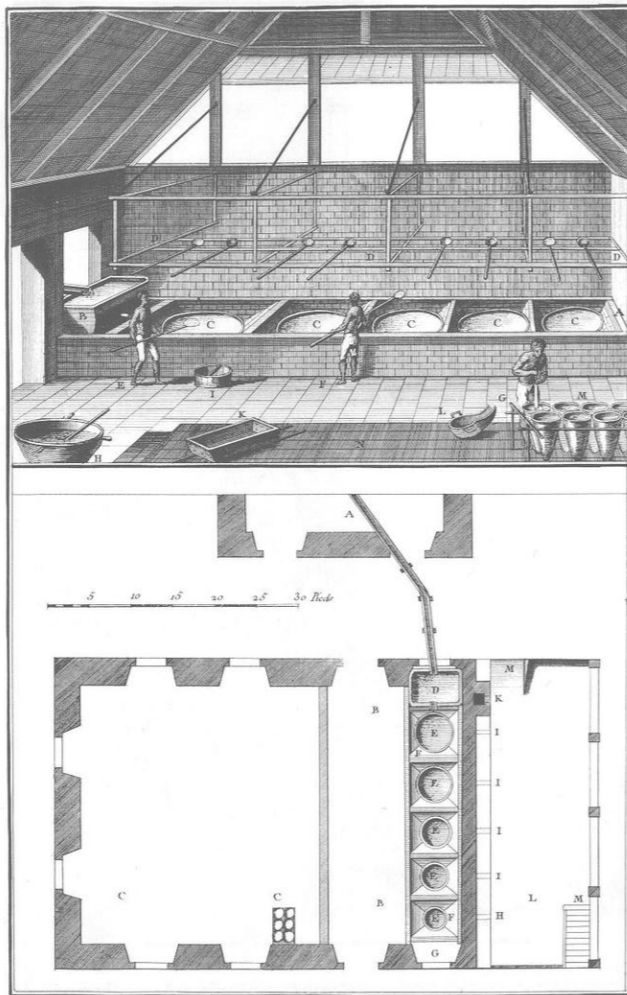






I hate the great;  
I hate their high status,  
their harshness,  
their pettiness,  
and all their vices,  
and I would hate  
them even more if  
I despised them less.

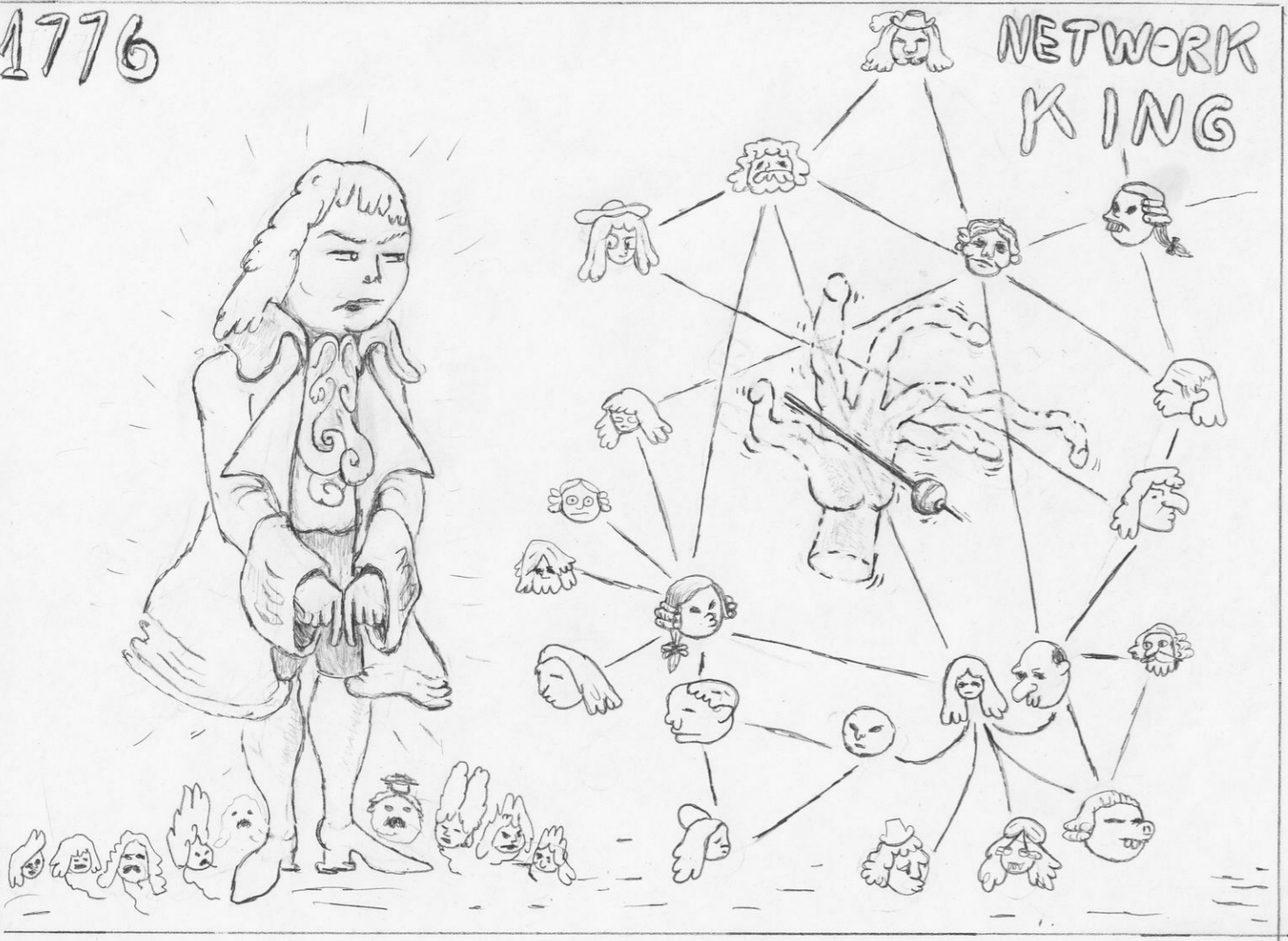
Letter to Malesherbes,  
January 28, 1762  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau



*Oeconomie Rustique,  
Sucrierie.*

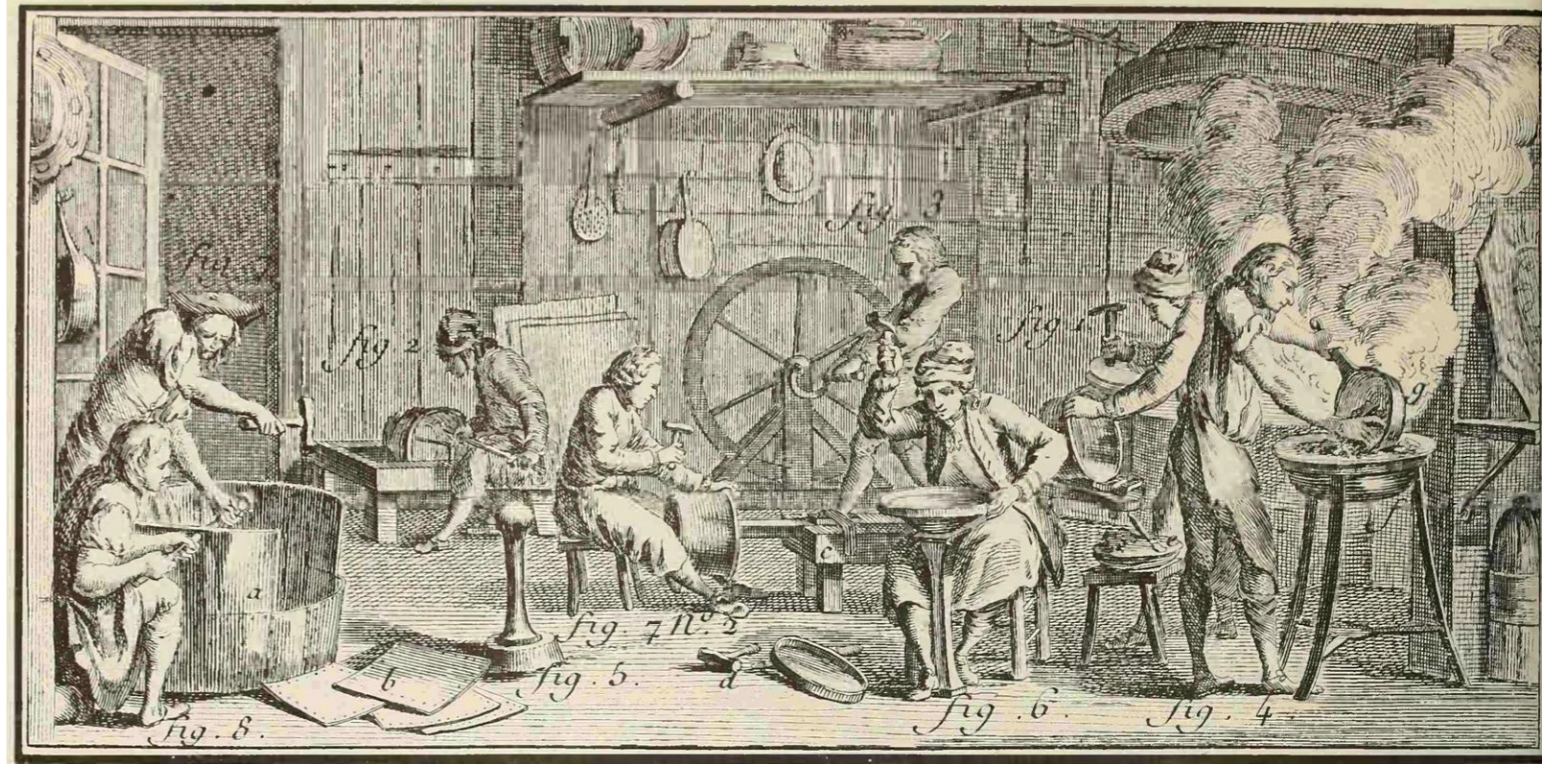


1776

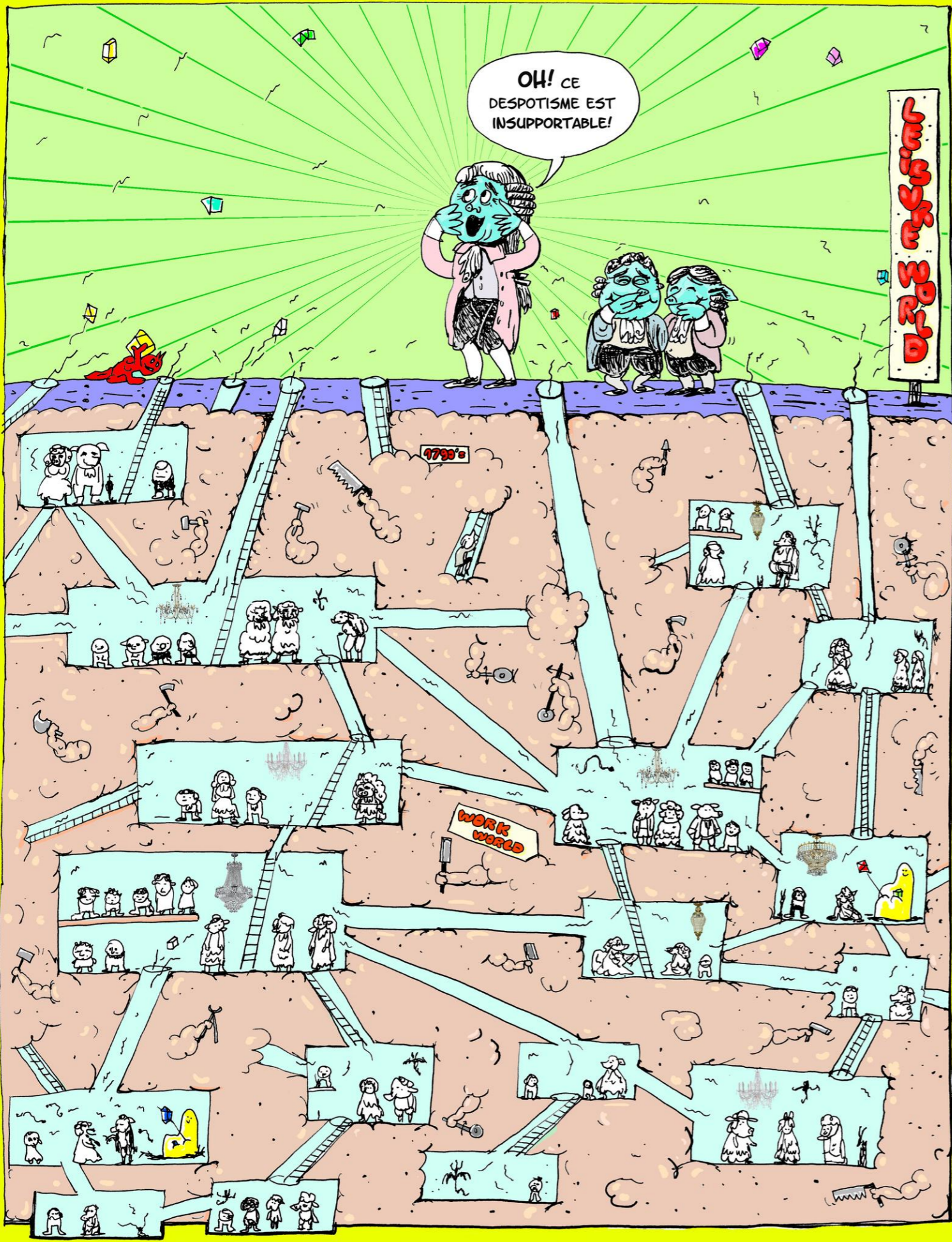


NETWORK KING WITH INVISIBLE HAND

Plate 190 The Brazier I



Vol. III, Chaudronnier, Pl. I.



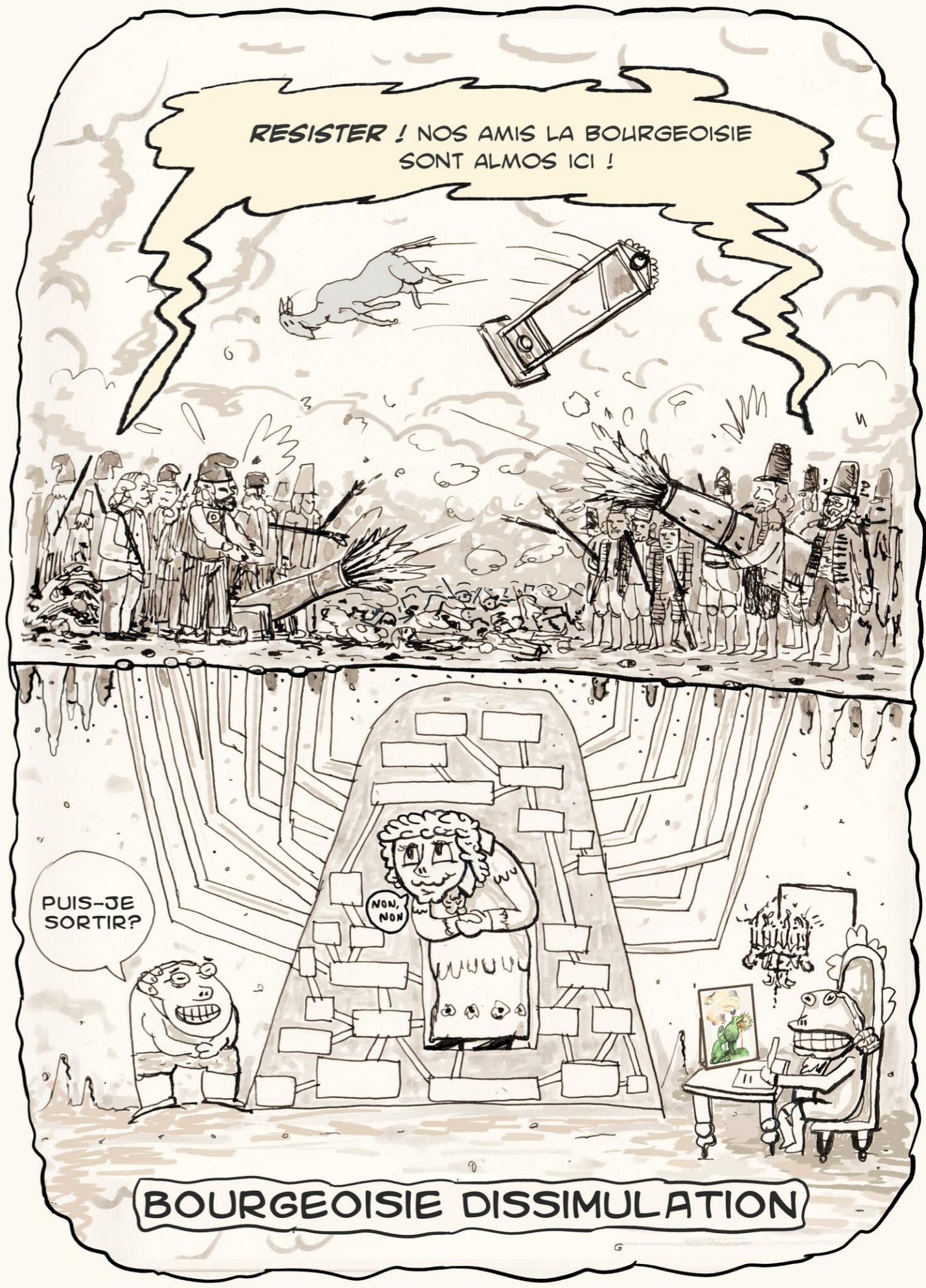
OH! CE  
DESPOTISME EST  
INSUPPORTABLE!

JOURNAL DE L'ÉPÉE

1799

WORK  
WORLD

CONSUEUDINAL SOCIETY OF THE BOURGEOISIE EXISTING BENEATH THE PUBLIC SPHERE BURIED IN THE WORLDS OF WORK

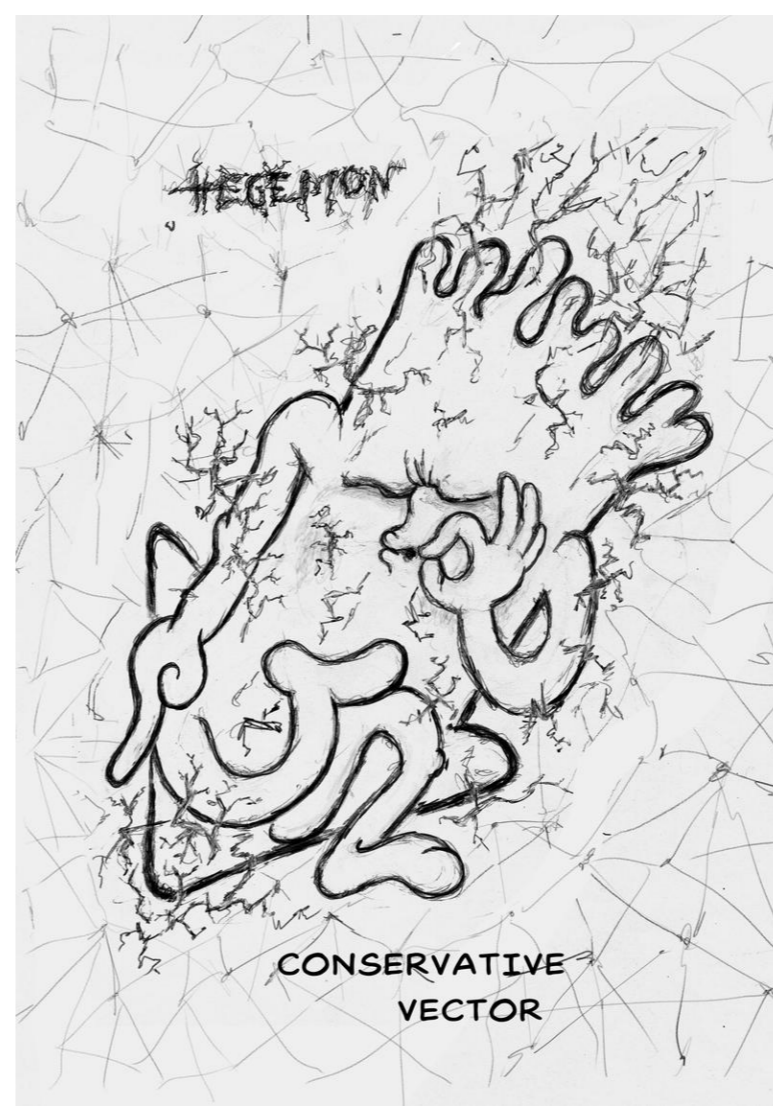
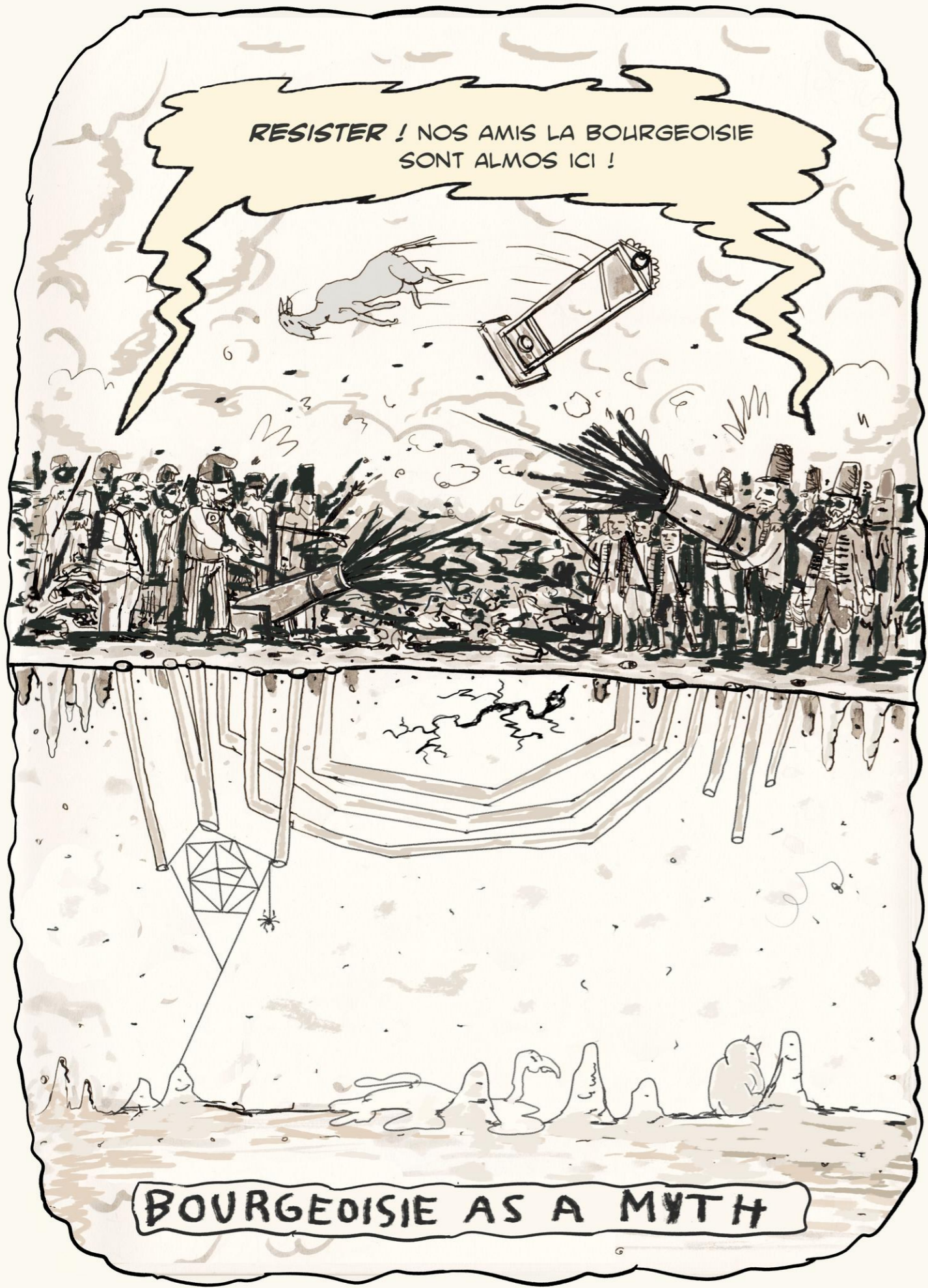


RESISTER ! NOS AMIS LA BOURGEOISIE  
SONT ALMOS ICI !

PUIS-JE  
SORTIR?

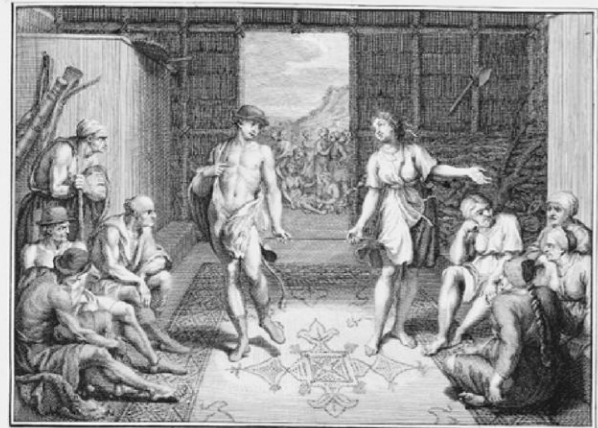
NON,  
NON

BOURGEOISIE DISSIMULATION



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France





CEREMONIE NUPTIALE de CANADA.



MANIERE dont les PEUPLES de CANADA font le DIVORCE.

6.14, Marriage and divorce among the Canadians. B. Picart delin. 1723; CC, vol. III, after p. 92. (Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California)



NOUVEAU PACTE DE LOUIS XVI.

avec le peuple le 20. Juin 1792. l'An 4<sup>me</sup> de la liberte'.



La raison Caratrisée par une femme. Voyez Sur son Sein Le feu Sacré De L'amour De la patrie, met De niveau L'homme blanc et L'homme De couleur. Derrière Lui Et une Corne D'abondance un bananier. D'Un Campagne fertile. Il S'appuyé Sur les Dents De L'homme Et tient De L'autre Main Le Drapeau Blanc. Mais Concernant Les gens De Couleur La raison est poussée par La Nature qui est Couronnée.

Les Mœurs Sont Égales Ce N'est pas La Naissance. C'est La Seule Vertu qui fait La Différence.

Le fruit ayant sa Mammelle. Elle est Montée Sur un Ombre De peau. Du quel Sortent Le Génie De L'insouciance. L'égoïsme qui par son Avance peut tout Couvrir. L'ignominie. Le Démon De La Disgrâce ou De L'Infortune prêt à traverser La mer qui fait le fond.

THE CONTRAST 1793

BRITISH LIBERTY

MAGNA CHARTA

FRENCH LIBERTY

RELIGION, MORALITY, LOYALTY, OBEDIENCE to the LAWS, INDEPENDANCE, PERSONAL SECURITY, JUSTICE, INHERITANCE, PROTECTION of PROPERTY, INDUSTRY, NATIONAL PROSPERITY, HAPPINESS.	ATHEISM, PERJURY, REBELLION, TREASON, ANARCHY, MURDER, EQUALITY, MADNESS, CRUELTY, INJUSTICE, TREACHERY, INGRATITUDE, IDLENESS, FAMINE, NATIONAL & PRIVATE RUIN, MISERY.
--	--

WHICH IS BEST?

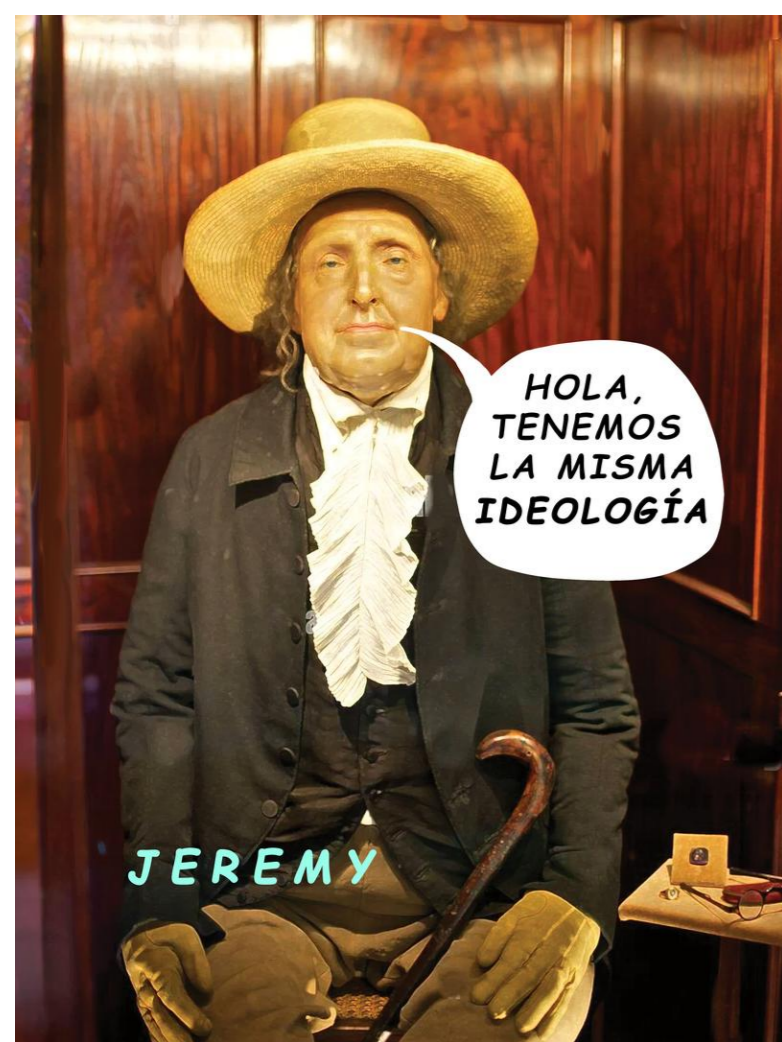
Price 6 Pianos, Coloured 7

OUTLINE OF A  
WORK ENTITLED PAUPER  
MANAGEMENT IMPROVED

Plan of Management Section 2:  
Plan of an Industry House, with its  
Appurtenances.

... 14. Universal transparency.  
15. Simultaneous inspectability at all proper  
times.  
16. On the part of the inspectors, the faculty  
of BEING VISIBLE OR INVISIBLE AT  
PLEASURE.

Jeremy Bentham 1843

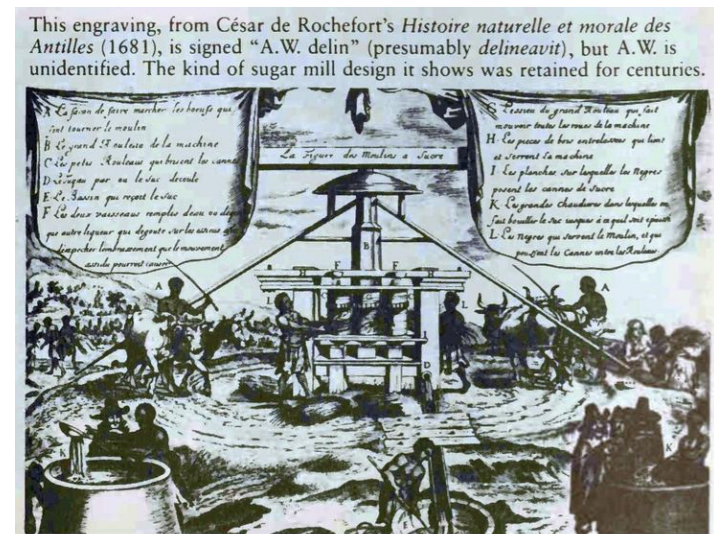


Identity Card, Friends of Wisdom. Bord Admission to the Assembly without Thi deaux. Section of the Friends of Wisdon

1762?



(UNIT OF EQUALITY)



... Even if each PERSON could alienate THEMSELF, they could not alienate THEIR children: they are born PEOPLE and free; their liberty belongs to them, and no one but they has the right to dispose of it

*The Social Contract*  
**J. J. Rosseau 1762**

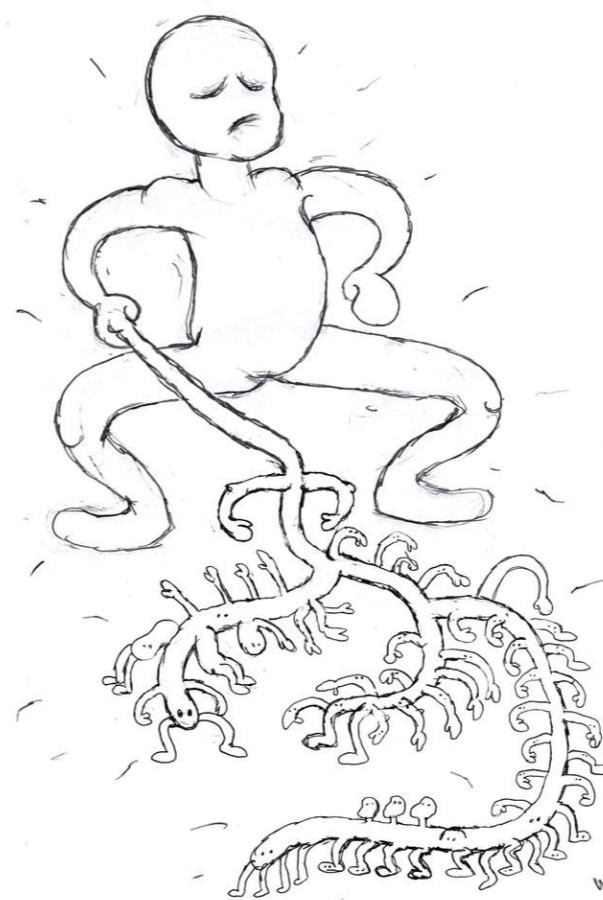
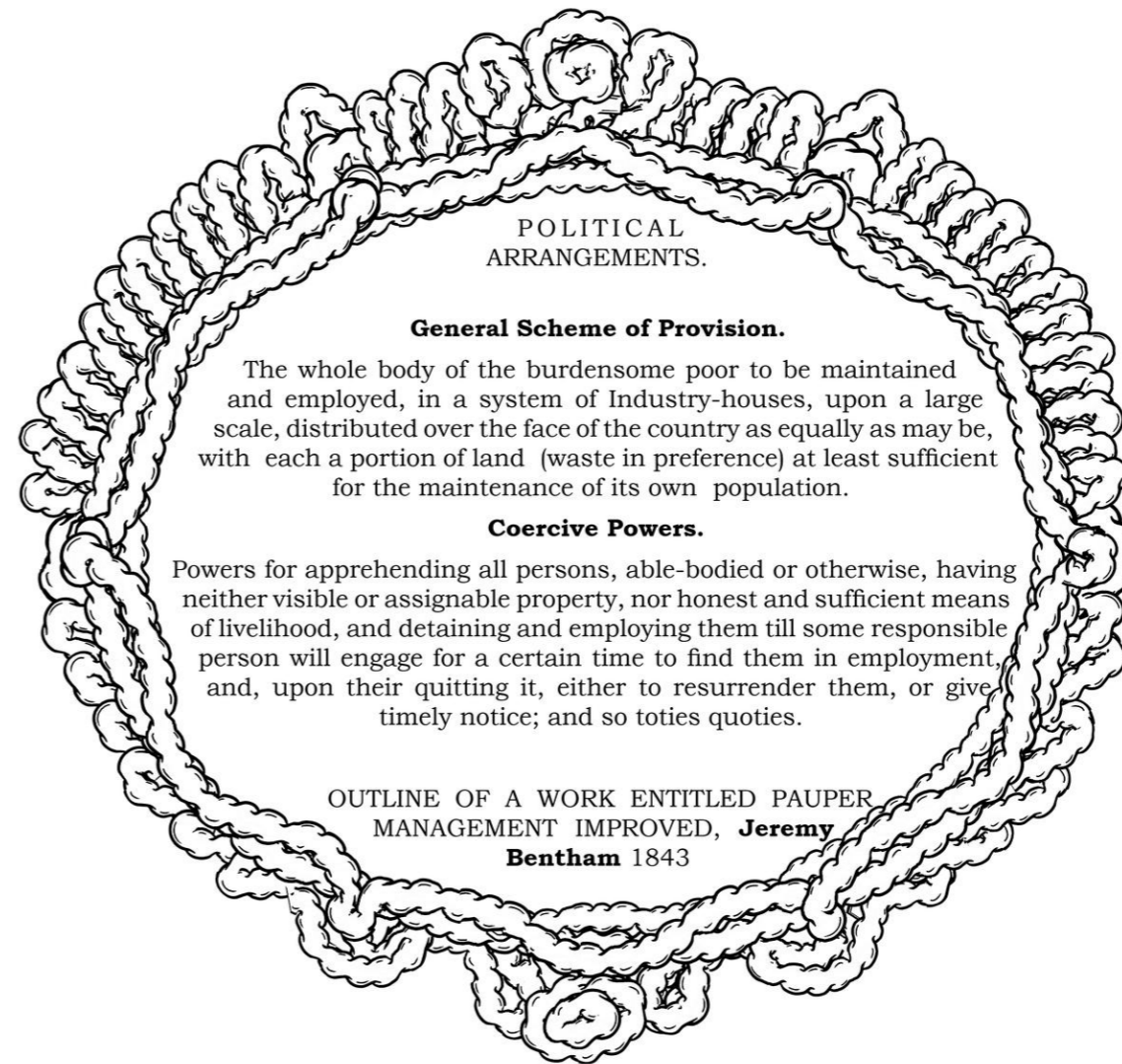
[EQUALITY]

I shall end this chapter and this book by remarking on a fact on which the whole social system should rest: i.e., that, instead of destroying natural inequality, the fundamental compact substitutes, for such physical inequality as nature may have set up between men, an equality that is moral and legitimate, and that **men, who may be unequal in strength or intelligence, become every one equal by convention and legal right.**

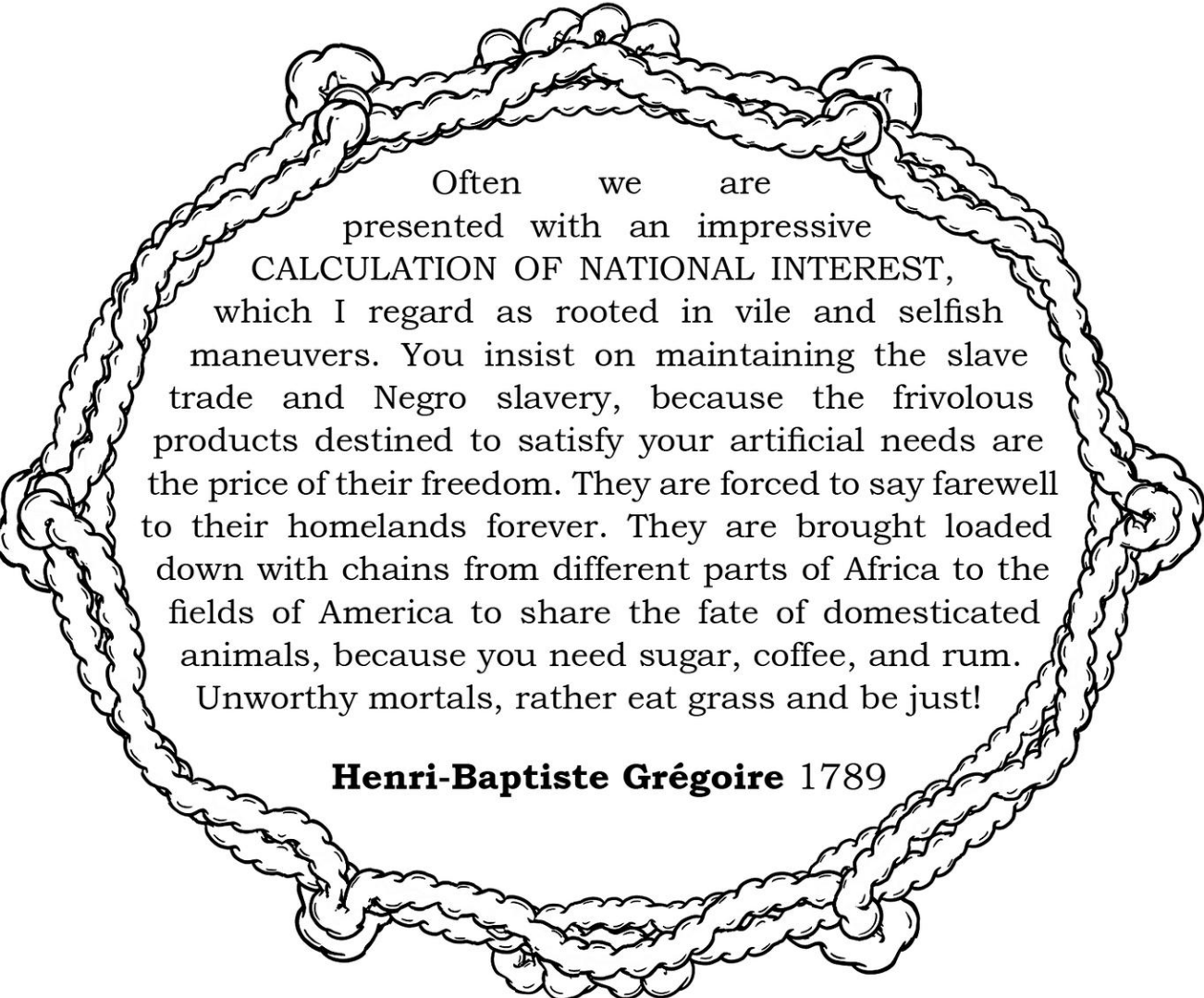
*The Social Contract J.J. Rousseau 1762*



(FUNCTIONALIZATION)



(MULTIFARIOUS FINGUER TIP)



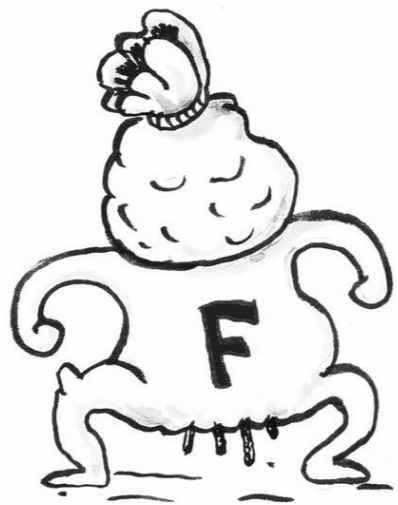
Often we are  
presented with an impressive  
CALCULATION OF NATIONAL INTEREST,  
which I regard as rooted in vile and selfish  
maneuvers. You insist on maintaining the slave  
trade and Negro slavery, because the frivolous  
products destined to satisfy your artificial needs are  
the price of their freedom. They are forced to say farewell  
to their homelands forever. They are brought loaded  
down with chains from different parts of Africa to the  
fields of America to share the fate of domesticated  
animals, because you need sugar, coffee, and rum.  
Unworthy mortals, rather eat grass and be just!

**Henri-Baptiste Grégoire** 1789

# WHAT MUST BE EQUAL?



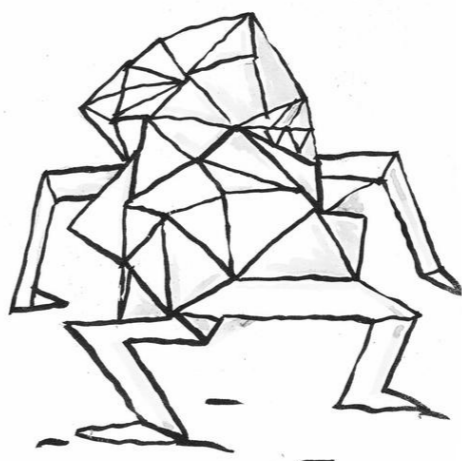
COMMUNITIES



FORTUNES



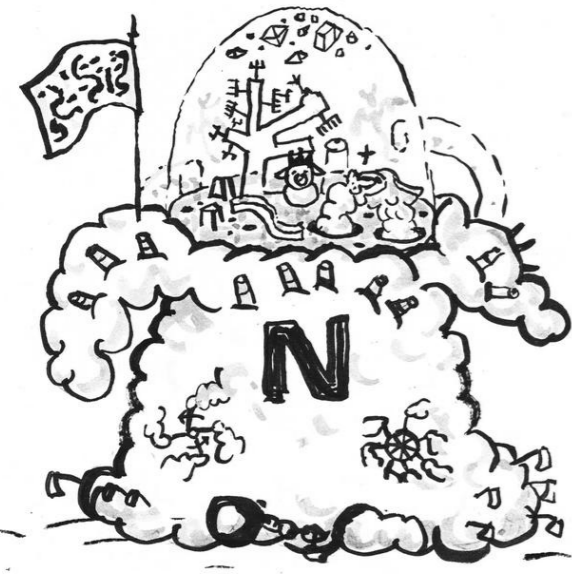
OBLIGATIONS



KNOWLEDGES



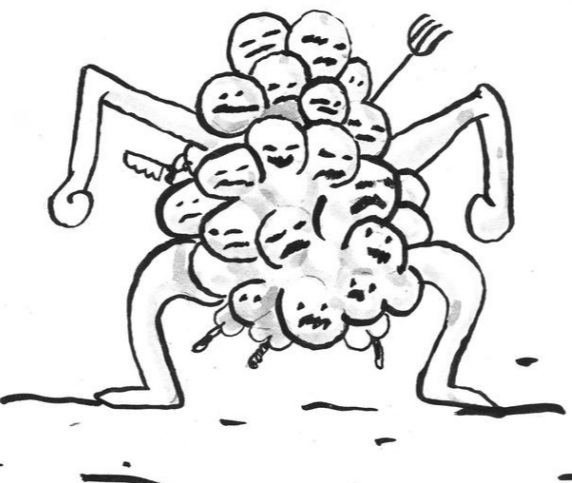
POWERS



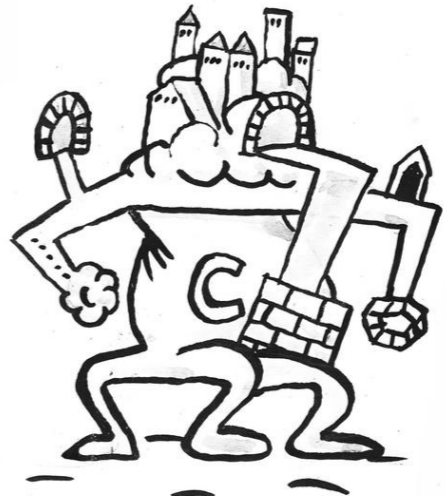
NATIONS



CORPORATIONS



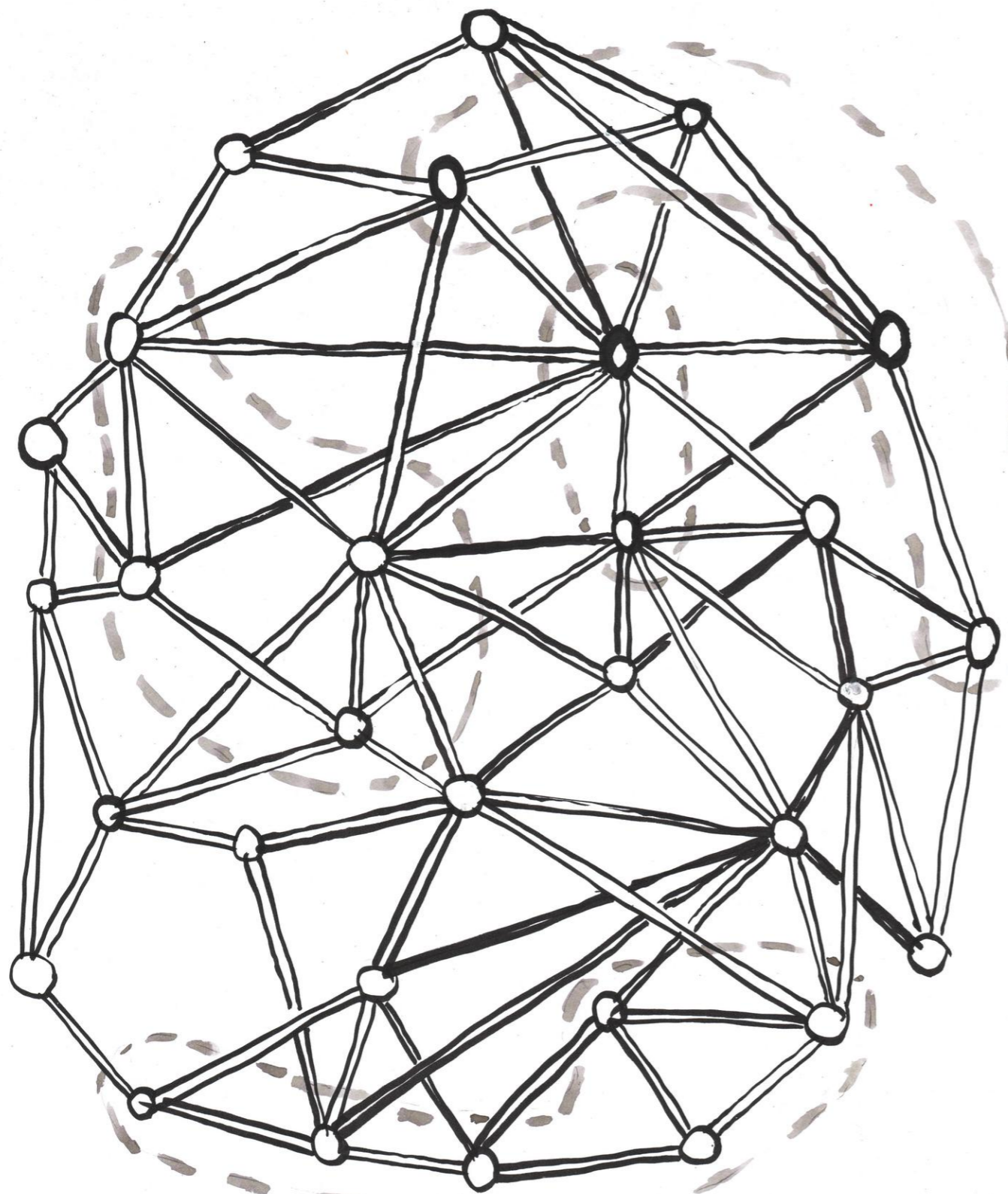
FAMILIES



INFRASTRUCTURES



LEISURE



**INEQUALITIES**  
(ABSTRACTLY)

**DÉCRET DE L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE**  
du 3 Septembre 1791.

**DÉCLARATION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET DU CITOYEN**

Les Représentans du Peuple français, constitués en Assemblée Nationale, considérant que l'ignorance, l'oubli ou le mépris des droits de l'homme sont les seuls causes de malheurs publics et de la corruption des gouvernemens, ont résolu d'exposer dans une déclaration solennelle, les droits naturels, inaliénables et sacrés de l'homme, afin que cette déclaration constamment présente à tous les membres du corps social, leur rappelle sans cesse leurs droits et leurs devoirs; afin que les actes du Pouvoir législatif et ceux du Pouvoir exécutif, pouvant être à chaque instant comparés avec le but de toute institution politique, en soient plus respectés; afin que les réclamations des citoyens, fondées désormais sur des principes simples et incontestables, tournent toujours au maintien de la Constitution, et au bonheur de tous.

En conséquence, l'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE reconnaît et déclare, en présence et sous les auspices de l'Être suprême, les droits suivans de l'Homme et du Citoyen :

**ARTICLE PREMIER.**  
Les hommes naissent et demeurent libres et égaux en droits. Les distinctions sociales ne peuvent être fondées que sur l'utilité commune.

**II.**  
Le but de toute association politique est la conservation des droits naturels et imprescriptibles de l'homme. Ces droits sont la liberté, la propriété, la sûreté et la résistance à l'oppression.

**III.**  
Le principe de toute souveraineté réside essentiellement dans la Nation. Nul corps, nul individu ne peut exercer d'autorité qui n'en émane expressément.

**IV.**  
La liberté consiste à pouvoir faire tout ce qui ne nuit pas à autrui; ainsi l'exercice des droits naturels de chaque homme, n'a de bornes que celles qui assurent aux autres membres de la société la jouissance de ces mêmes droits. Ces bornes ne peuvent être déterminées que par la loi.

**V.**  
La loi n'a le droit de défendre que les actions nuisibles à la société. Tout ce qui n'est pas défendu par la loi ne peut être empêché, et nul ne peut être contraint à faire ce qu'elle n'ordonne pas.

**VI.**  
La loi est l'expression de la volonté générale. Tous les citoyens ont droit de concourir personnellement, ou par leurs représentans, à sa formation. Elle doit être la même pour tous, soit qu'elle protège, soit qu'elle punisse. Tous les citoyens étant égaux à ses yeux, sont également admissibles à toutes dignités, places et emplois publics, selon leur capacité, et sans autre distinction que celle de leurs vertus et de leurs talens.

**VII.**  
Nul homme ne peut être accusé, arrêté, ni détenu que dans le cas déterminé par la loi, et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites. Ceux qui sollicitent, exécutent ou font exécuter des ordres arbitraires, doivent être punis; mais tout citoyen appelé ou saisi en vertu de la loi, doit obéir à l'instant; il se rend coupable par la résistance.

**VIII.**  
La loi ne doit établir que des peines strictement et évidemment nécessaires, et nul ne peut être puni qu'en vertu d'une loi établie et promulguée antérieurement au délit, et légalement appliquée.

**IX.**  
Tout homme étant présumé innocent jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été déclaré coupable, s'il est jugé indispensable de l'arrêter, toute rigueur qui ne serait pas nécessaire pour s'assurer de sa personne, doit être

severement réprimée par la loi.

**X.**  
Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions, même religieuses, pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l'ordre établi par la loi.

**XI.**  
La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de l'homme; tout citoyen en peut donc parler, écrire, imprimer librement, sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la loi.

**XII.**  
La garantie des droits de l'homme et du citoyen nécessite une force publique; cette force est donc instituée pour l'avantage de tous, et non pour l'utilité particulière de ceux auxquels elle est confiée.

**XIII.**  
Pour l'entretien de la force publique, et pour les dépenses d'administration, une contribution commune est indispensable; elle doit être également répartie entre tous les citoyens, en raison de leurs facultés.

**XIV.**  
Tous les citoyens ont droit de constater, par eux-mêmes, ou par leurs représentans, la nécessité de la contribution publique, de la consentir librement, d'en suivre l'emploi, et d'en déterminer la quotité, l'assiette, le recouvrement, et la durée.

**XV.**  
La société a le droit de demander compte à tout agent public de son administration.

**XVI.**  
Toute société dans laquelle la garantie des droits n'est pas assurée, ni la séparation des pouvoirs déterminée, n'a point de constitution.

**XVII.**  
La propriété étant un droit inviolable et sacré, nul ne peut en être privé; si ce n'est lorsque la nécessité publique, légalement constatée, l'exige évidemment, et sous la condition d'une juste et préalable indemnité.

**DROITS DE L'HOMME ET DU CITOYEN.**

Frignard, fils, au 3 del.

Copie Sculp.

To  
man is allotted  
... the care of  
**HIS OWN** happiness, of that of  
**HIS FAMILY, HIS FRIENDS, HIS  
COUNTRY.**  
*The Theory of Moral  
Sentiments, Adam Smith*  
1759

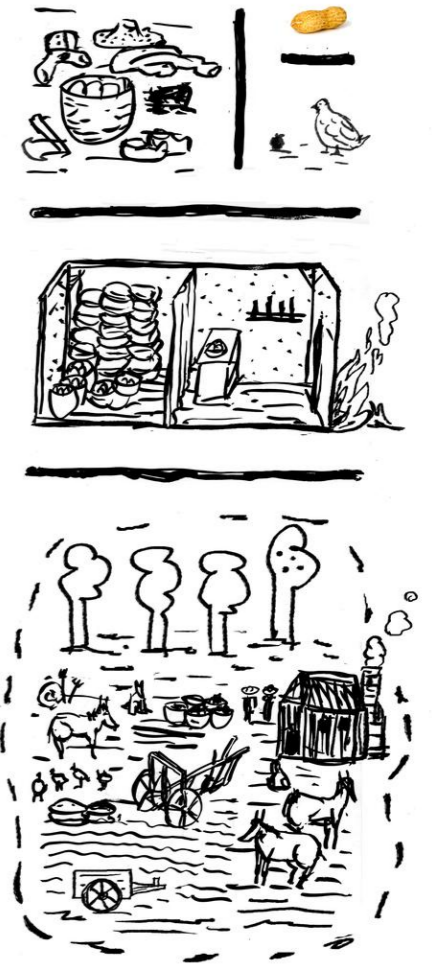
# MAN

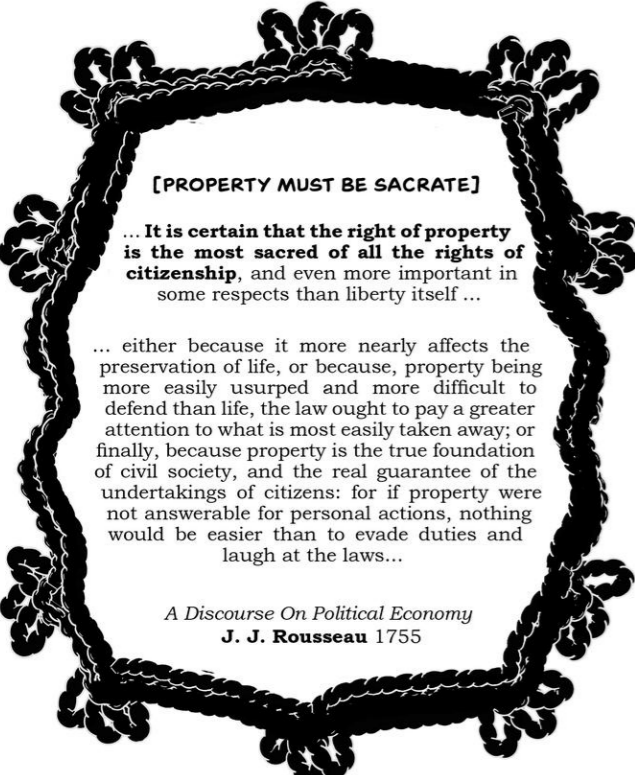


The institution of **PRIVATE PROPERTY** is a surprise that was foisted upon the mass of simple and honest souls. The laws of this institution must necessarily bring about the existence of fortunate and unfortunate, of masters and slaves.

Grachus Babeauf 1797

# PROPERTY





[PROPERTY MUST BE SACRATE]

... It is certain that the right of property is the most sacred of all the rights of citizenship, and even more important in some respects than liberty itself ...

... either because it more nearly affects the preservation of life, or because, property being more easily usurped and more difficult to defend than life, the law ought to pay a greater attention to what is most easily taken away; or finally, because property is the true foundation of civil society, and the real guarantee of the undertakings of citizens: for if property were not answerable for personal actions, nothing would be easier than to evade duties and laugh at the laws...

*A Discourse On Political Economy*  
**J. J. Rousseau 1755**

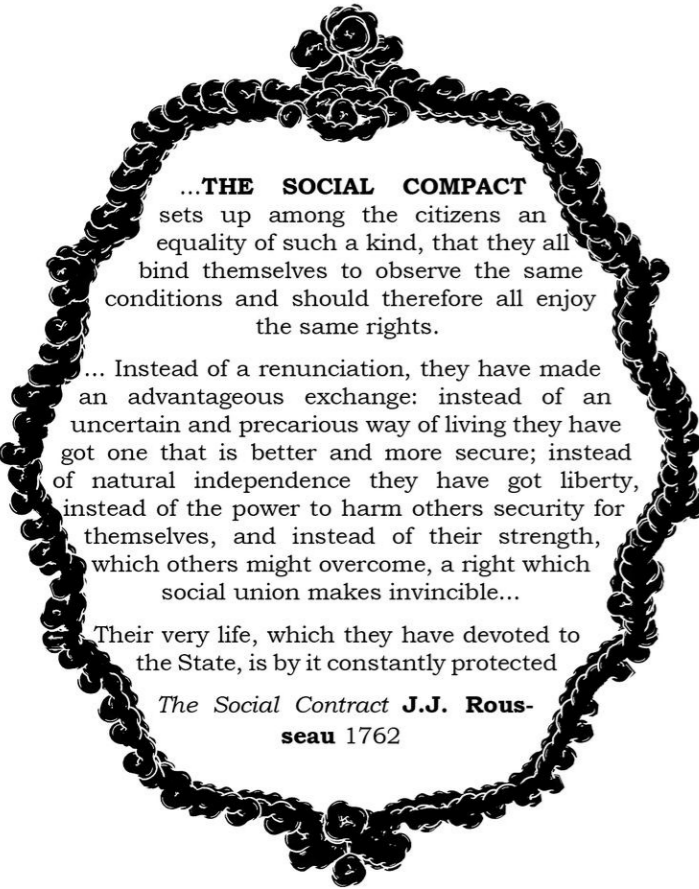
WHAT DO YOU THINK:

WHO SHOULD HAVE UNIVERSAL EQUAL RIGHTS?



WHAT DO YOU THINK:

SHOULD PROPERTY BE MOST SACRED ??



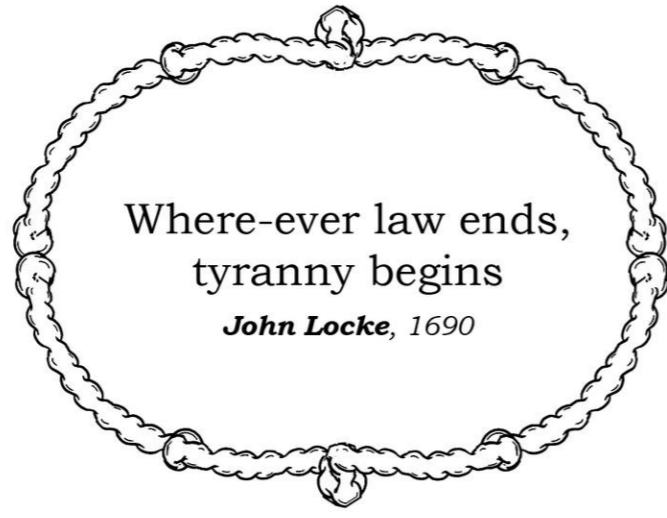
...THE SOCIAL COMPACT

sets up among the citizens an equality of such a kind, that they all bind themselves to observe the same conditions and should therefore all enjoy the same rights.

... Instead of a renunciation, they have made an advantageous exchange: instead of an uncertain and precarious way of living they have got one that is better and more secure; instead of natural independence they have got liberty, instead of the power to harm others security for themselves, and instead of their strength, which others might overcome, a right which social union makes invincible...

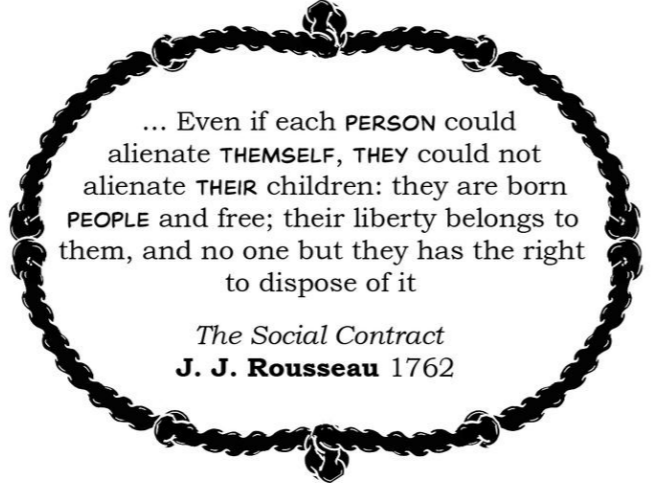
Their very life, which they have devoted to the State, is by it constantly protected

*The Social Contract* **J.J. Rousseau 1762**



Where-ever law ends, tyranny begins

*John Locke, 1690*



... Even if each PERSON could alienate THEMSELF, THEY could not alienate THEIR children: they are born PEOPLE and free; their liberty belongs to them, and no one but they has the right to dispose of it

*The Social Contract*  
**J. J. Rousseau 1762**

## DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN AND CITIZEN

(Olympe de Gouges, 1791)

### Preamble

Mothers, daughters, sisters, representatives of the Nation, demand to be constituted into a national assembly. Considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or scorn for the rights of woman are the sole causes of public misfortune and corrupt government, they have resolved to make a solemn declaration of the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of woman in order that this declaration, perpetually before all members of society, will ceaselessly recall them to their rights and duties; in order that the powerful acts of women and the powerful acts of men can be compared at each instant with the purpose of every political institution, and so receive greater respect; so that the demands of female citizens, henceforth founded on simple and incontestable principles, are always directed toward the maintenance of the constitution, good morals, and the happiness of all. Consequently, the sex that is superior in beauty as in the courage of maternal suffering recognizes and declares in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of woman and of female citizens:

1. Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon common utility.
2. The purpose of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of woman and man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and above all resistance to oppression.
3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation, which is nothing other than the union of woman and man: no body, no individual can exercise authority which does not emanate from it.
4. Liberty and justice consist in rendering all that belongs to others; thus the exercise of the natural rights of woman have only been limited by the perpetual tyranny that man opposes to them; these limits should be reformed by the laws of nature and reason.
5. The laws of nature and reason prohibit all actions harmful to society: anything that is not prohibited by these wise and divine laws cannot be prevented, and no one can be constrained to do that which they do not order.
6. The law should be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens should concur personally, or by their representatives, in its formation; it should be the same for all: all female and male citizens, being equal in its eyes, should be equally admissible to every honor, position, and public employment, according to their capacities, and without any distinction other than those of their virtues and talents.
7. No woman is excepted; she is accused, arrested, and detained in cases determined by law. Women, like men, obey this rigorous law.
8. The law should only establish those penalties strictly and obviously necessary, and no one can be punished except by a law established and promulgated prior to the crime and legally applicable to women.
9. Any woman being declared guilty, all rigor is exercised by the law.
10. No one should be troubled for holding basic opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she should equally have the right to mount the podium, provided that her demonstrations do not trouble the public order established by law.
11. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of woman, since that liberty assures the legitimacy of children vis-à-vis their fathers. Every citizen should be able to say freely, "I am the mother of the child who belongs to you," without being forced by a barbarous prejudice to hide the truth; [an exception may be made] to respond to the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by law.
12. The guarantee of the rights of woman and citizen entails a major benefit; this guarantee should be instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular benefit of those to whom it is entrusted.
13. The contributions of woman and man to the support of the police and the expenses of administration are equal; she shares a part in all duties and difficult tasks; she should thus have the same share in the distribution of positions, employment, offices, honors, and jobs.
14. Female and male citizens have the right to verify themselves, or through their representatives, the necessity of the public contribution. Women can only join therein by their admission to an equal share not only of wealth but of public administration and in the determination of the proportion, base, collection, and duration of the tax.
15. The mass of women, joined for tax purposes to men, has the right to demand an account of his administration from any public agent.
16. No society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured, nor the separation of powers determined, has a constitution; the constitution is null if the majority of individuals who constitute the Nation have not participated in drafting it.
17. Property belongs to both sexes whether united or separate; it is for everyone an inviolable and sacred right; no one can be deprived of it as it is the veritable patrimony of nature, unless public necessity, legally constituted, obviously needs it, and under the condition of a just and prior indemnity.

### Postamble

Women, wake up; the tocsin of reason sounds throughout the universe; recognize your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer surrounded by prejudice, fanaticism, superstition, and lies. The flame of truth has dissipated all the clouds of folly and usurpation. Enslaved man has multiplied his forces, and he needs recourse to yours to break his chains. Having become free, he has become unjust toward his companion. O women, women, when will you cease to be blind? What are the advantages you have received from the Revolution? A more marked scorn, a more pronounced disdain. In the centuries of corruption you have reigned only over the weaknesses of men. Your empire is destroyed; what remains for you? . . .

Women have done more harm than good. Constraint and dissimulation have been their lot. What force has taken from them, ruse returned to them; they have had recourse to all the resources of their charms, and the most irreproachable man has not resisted them. Poison, the sword, women controlled everything; they ordered up crimes as much as virtues. For centuries, the French government, especially, depended on the nocturnal administration of women; officials kept no secrets from their indiscretion; ambassadorial posts, military commands, the ministry, the presidency, the papacy, the college of cardinals, in short everything that characterizes the folly of men, profane and sacred, has been submitted to the cupidity and ambition of this sex formerly considered despicable and respected, and since the revolution, respectable and despised. . .

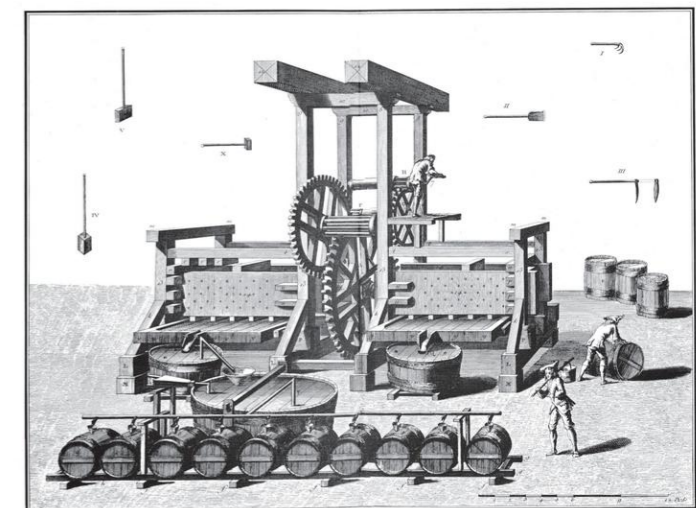
A Republic such as the one we see is totally worthless, without a doubt. But this, my friends, is Not the true Republic. The true Republic is something that you do not yet even know about.

Grachus Babeauf 1797



A FAUT ESPERER Q'EU JEU LA FINIRA BEN TOT.

L'atueur en Campagne Ap. 1780.





[HOUSEHOLD]

... they isolate all the members of society; they make of every household a little republic consecrated to a murderous inequality, which can do nothing but conspire against the large republic.

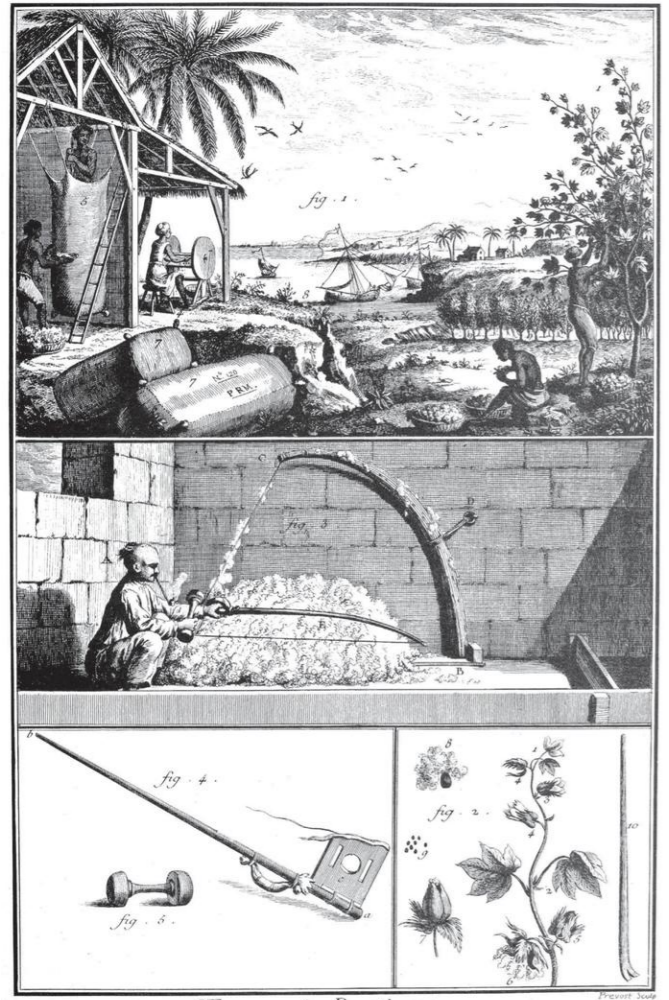
Grachus Babeauf 1797

Figure 6. Titled "Frenchwomen Freed," this anonymous engraving illustrates the growing awareness of many French people that women were taking an increasingly active role in the Revolution.



... These three roots of public misfortune all THE PROGENY OF PROPERTY: **HEREDITY, ALIENATION** and the **DIVERSITY OF VALUE** that arbitrary opinion, as sole master, is able to assign to the various types of production and labor - give rise to all the vices of society.

Grachus Babeauf 1797



Oeconomie Rustique, Culture et Arsonnage du Coton.  
Economia rústica – cultivo e cardagem do algodão.

# LE CHAPELIER LAW

(draft proposed June 13, 1791)

1.

The prohibition of every type of corporation of citizens of the same trade and profession is one of the fundamental bases of the French Constitution; it is forbidden to reestablish them in practice under any pretext and any form whatsoever.

2.

Citizens of the same trade or profession, entrepreneurs, those who have open shops, workers in whatever trade, cannot, even when assembled, name presidents, secretaries, or syndics, keep registers, pass decrees or minutes, or form rules based on their so-called common interests.

3.

It is forbidden for any administrative or municipal corps to receive any address or petition in the name of a trade or profession, to make any response to them, and they are enjoined to declare null any deliberations which were taken in this manner, and to carefully watch those who either attempt to follow up or execute it.

4.

If, against the principles of liberty and the Constitution, citizens of the same profession, trade, and craft resolve or conclude agreements among themselves to collectively refuse the aid of their industry or labor or to accord it only at a fixed wage, whether the agreement be accompanied by oath or not, it will be declared unconstitutional, in contempt of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," and null and void: the administrative and municipal corps are charged to declare this to them. The authors, chiefs, and instigators who provoked, directed, or presided over them will be brought before the police tribunal at the request of the procurer of the commune, condemned to 500 livres amends each, suspended from the exercise of the rights of active citizenship for one year, and barred from primary assemblies.

5.

All administrative and municipal corps and their members are prohibited from responding in their own names to, or employing, admitting, or tolerating one to admit to work in their professions or in any public works, those entrepreneurs, workers, and artisans who provoke or sign deliberations or conventions, unless they have retracted or disavowed them, of their own accord, before the police tribunal.

6.

If these deliberations or conventions, posters posted, letters circulated, contain any threats against entrepreneurs, workers, artisans, or foreign apprentices who come to work in this place, or against those who are contented with a lower salary, all authors, instigators, and signatories of the written acts will be fined an amend of 1,000 livres and three months' prison.

7.

Those who use threats or violence against workers, using the liberty accorded by the constitutional laws on work and industry, will be pursued by criminal proceedings and punished according to the rigor of the laws, as disturbers of public order.

8.

All groups composed of or created by artisans, workers, apprentices, or laborers which oppose the free exercise of industry and labor belonging to any sort of person, any terms established by mutual agreement or the action of the police and execution of judgments rendered in these matters, as well as bidding and the public adjudication of various enterprises, will be charged with seditious assembly; as such, they will be dispersed by the police according to the requirements of the law, which have been made known to them, and the authors, chiefs, and instigators of such assemblies, and all who have committed acts of violence will be punished according to the full rigor of the law.

WORKING HANDS  
Employment:

#### 14. Labour-division principle.

In the choice and allotment of employments, remember to improve to the utmost the room afforded by the largeness of the scale for the division of labour. Besides the saving of time, in respect of the passing from employment to employment, and from place to place, the more operations a process is divided into, the more simple the several operations: and the more simple an operation, the better the chance it has of being brought within the competence of the different classes of confined-ability hands, as just described.

Thence,

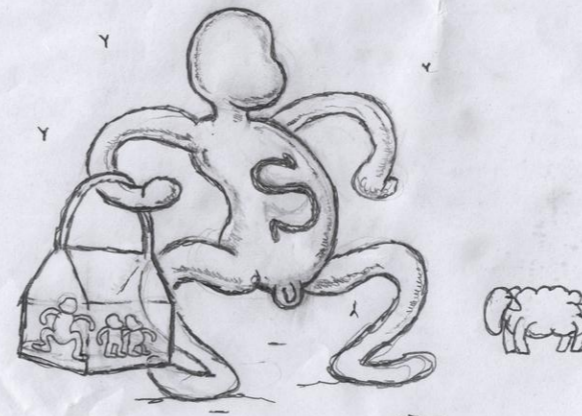
1. Time saved.
2. Relative ability increased.
3. Quantity of the scarcest sorts of employment increased.

OUTLINE OF A WORK ENTITLED PAUPER  
MANAGEMENT IMPROVED, **Jeremy  
Bentham** 1843

If the land does not belong to anyone; if its fruits are for all; if possession by a small number of men is the result of only a few institutions that abuse and violate the fundamental law, it follows that this possession by a few is an usurpation. It follows that, at all times, whatever an individual boards of the land and its fruits beyond what be needs for his own nourishment has been stolen from society

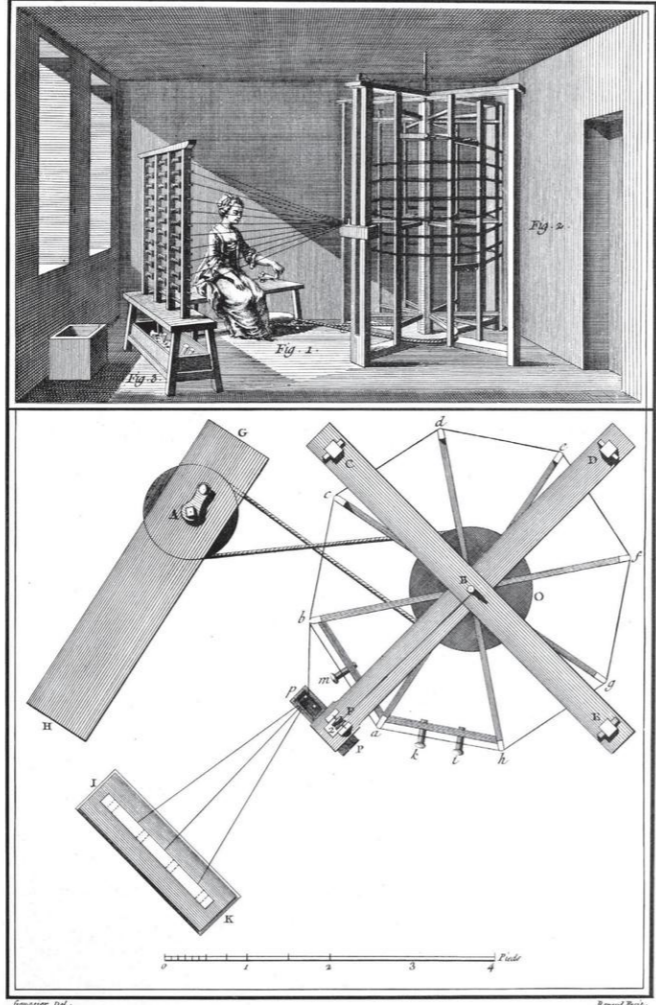
**Grachus Babeauf 1797**

UNIT OF EQUALITY  
(PATRIARCHAL VERSION)

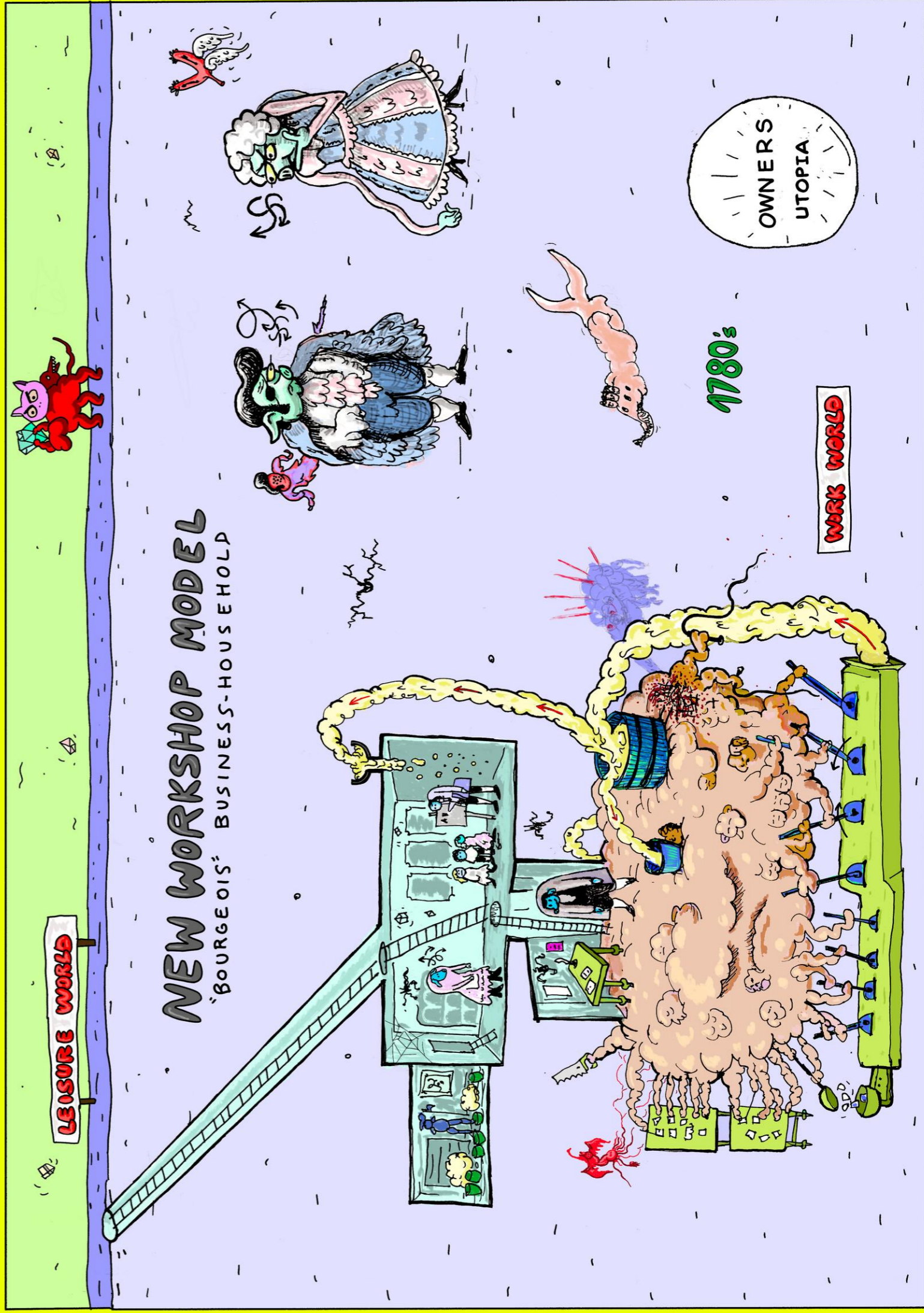


UNIT OF  
UNEQUALITY  
(EUROPEAN SLAVERY VERSION)





*Soierie, l'opération d'ourdir la Chaine des Etoffes.*  
 Fabricação de seda. Operação de urdir a trama de tecidos.



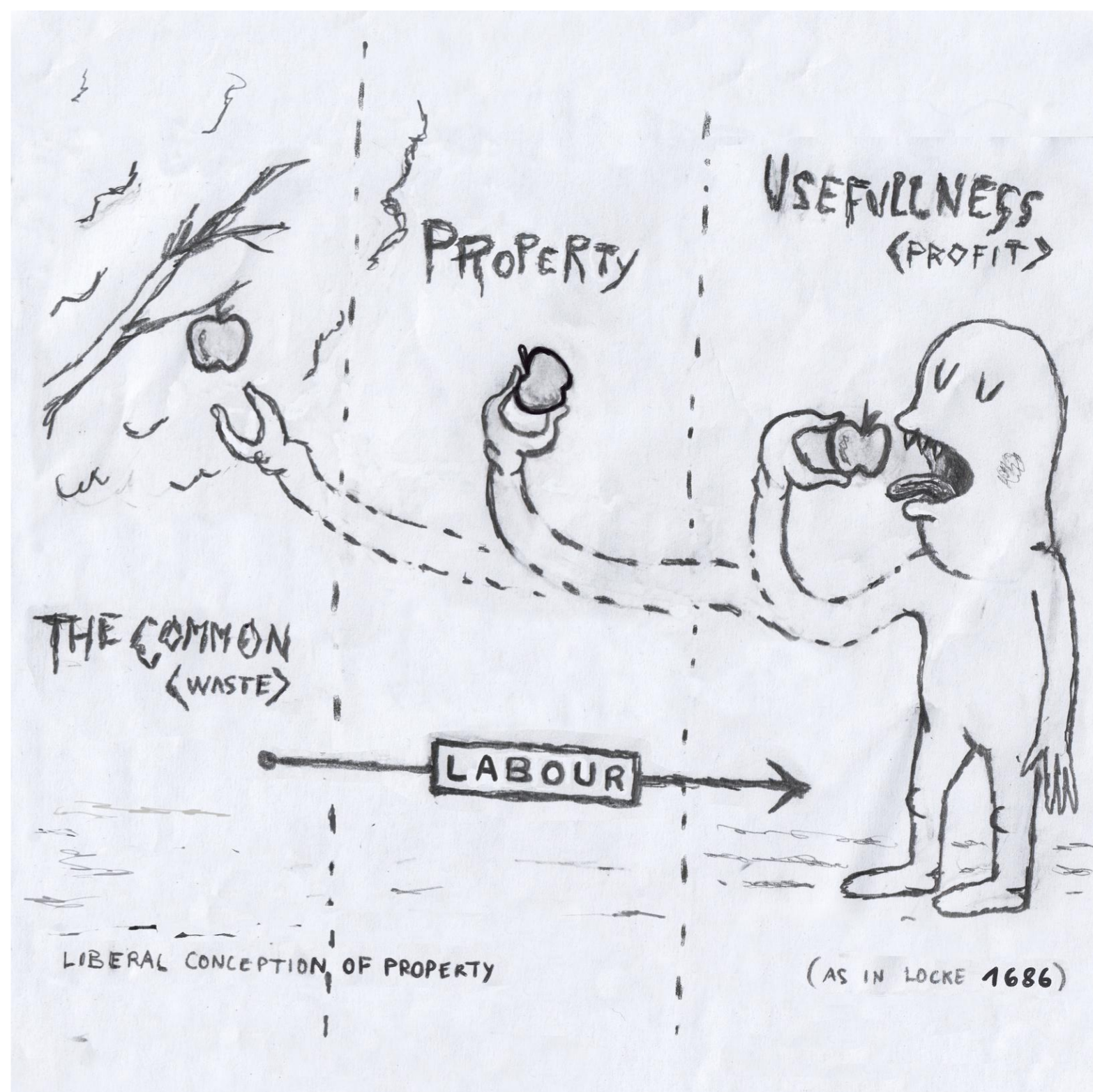
YES,  
GOD Gave The World  
And Its Goods To  
People In COMMON

**but:**

an  
**ESSAY**  
CONCERNING THE  
True Original, Extent, OF  
**Civil Government.**

By JOHN LOCKE Esq;

LONDON,  
Printed for Awnsham Churchill, at the Black  
Swan in Ave-Mary-Lane, by Amen-  
Corner, 1690.



[THE  
WORLD IS GIVEN TO ALL IN  
COMMON]

... Whether we consider natural reason, which tells us, that men, being once born, have a right to their preservation, and consequently to meat and drink, and such other things as nature affords for their subsistence: or revelation, which gives us an account of those grants God made of the world to Adam, and to Noah, and his sons, it is very clear, that God, as king David says, (*Psal. cxv. 16.*) has given the earth to the children of men; given it to mankind in common.

*Two Treatises Of  
Government, John Locke,  
1690*

[LABOUR  
AND NATURE PRODUCE PROPERTY]

...the earth, and all inferior creatures, be common to all men, yet every man has a property in oneself: this no body has any right to but himself. **The labour of his body, and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his.** Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property.

... for this labour being the unquestionable property of the labourer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good, left in common for others.

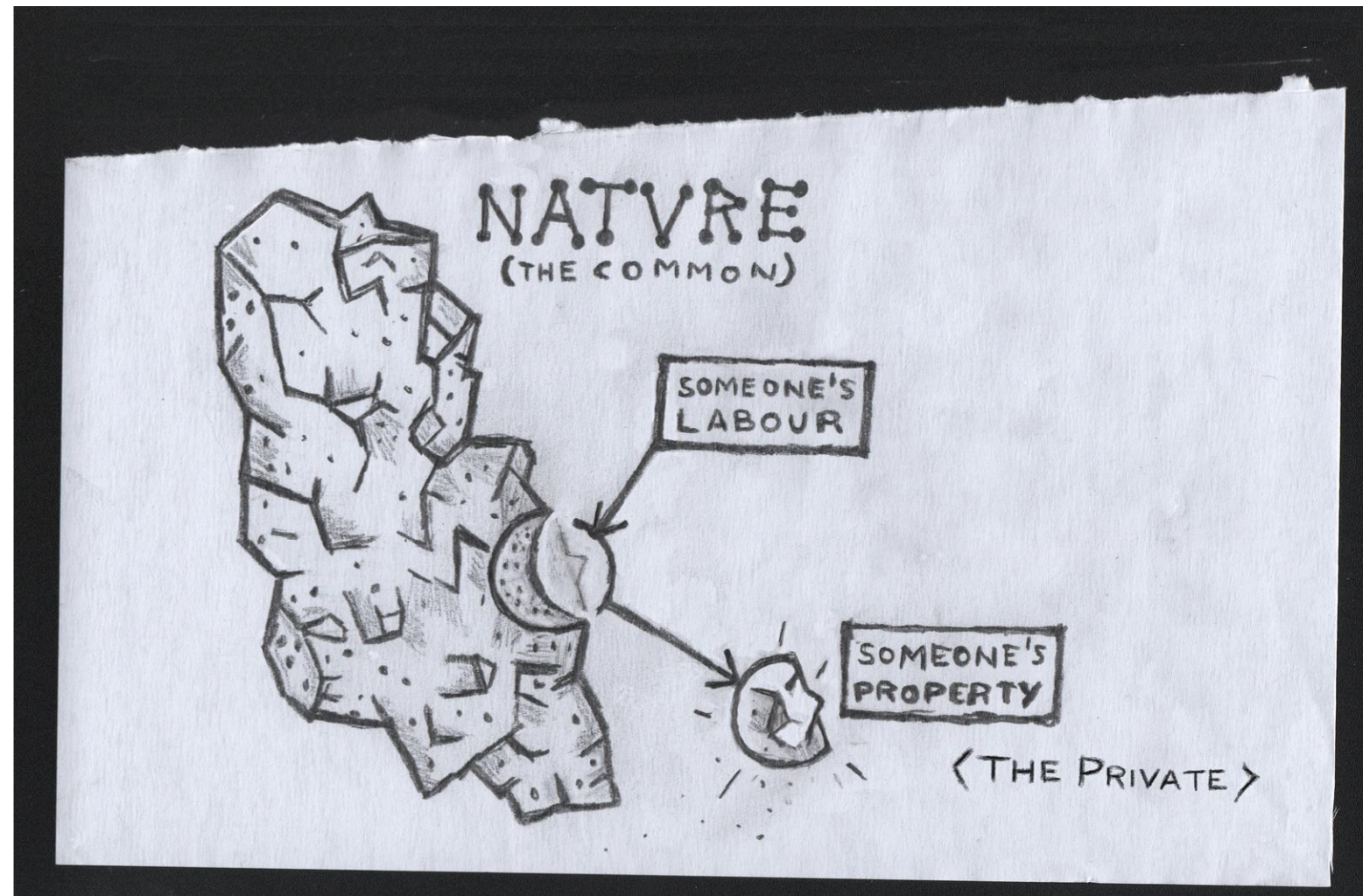
*Two Treatises Of Government,  
John Locke, 1690*

[INEVITABILITY OF  
PROPERTY]

God, who hath given the world to men in common, hath also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of life, and convenience.

...no body has originally a private dominion, exclusive of the rest of mankind, in any [part] , as [it is] thus in [its] natural state: yet being given for the use of men, there must of necessity be a means to **appropriate** [a part of nature] some way or other, before [it] can be of any **use**, or at all beneficial to any particular man. ...

*Two Treatises Of  
Government, John Locke,  
1690*



We see in commons, which remain so by compact, that it is the taking any part of what is common, and removing it out of the state nature leaves it in, which begins the property; without which the common is of no use. And the taking of this or that part, does not depend on the express consent of all the commoners.

Thus the grass my horse has bit; **THE TURFS MY SERVANT HAS CUT**; and the ore I have digged in any place, where I have a right to them in common with others, become my property, without the assignation or consent of any body. The labour that was mine, removing them out of that common state they were in, hath fixed my property in them.

*Two Treatises Of Government, John Locke, 1690*

YOUR SERVANT'S LABOUR = YOUR PROPERTY  
 YOUR BOUGHT LABOUR = YOUR PROPERTY  
 NATURE + YOUR PROPERTY = YOUR NEW PROPERTY

[EITHER YOU LABOUR THE LAND OR YOU WASTE IT...]

...labour makes the far greatest part of the value of things we enjoy in this world:

and the ground which produces the materials, is scarce to be reckoned in, as any, or at most, but a very small part of it; so little, that even amongst us, land that is left wholly to nature, that hath no improvement of pasturage, tillage, or planting, is called, as indeed it is, **WASTE**; and we shall find the benefit of it amount to little more than nothing.

*Two Treatises Of Government, John Locke, 1690*

[WASTE]

Before the appropriation of land, he who gathered as much of the wild fruit, killed, caught, or tamed, as many of the beasts, as he could; he that so employed his pains about any of the spontaneous products of nature, as any way to alter them from the state which nature put them in, by placing any of his labour on them, did thereby acquire a propriety in them: but if they perished, in his possession, without their due use; if the fruits rotted, or the venison putrified, before he could spend it, he offended against the common law of nature, and was liable to be punished...

*Two Treatises Of Government, John Locke, 1690*

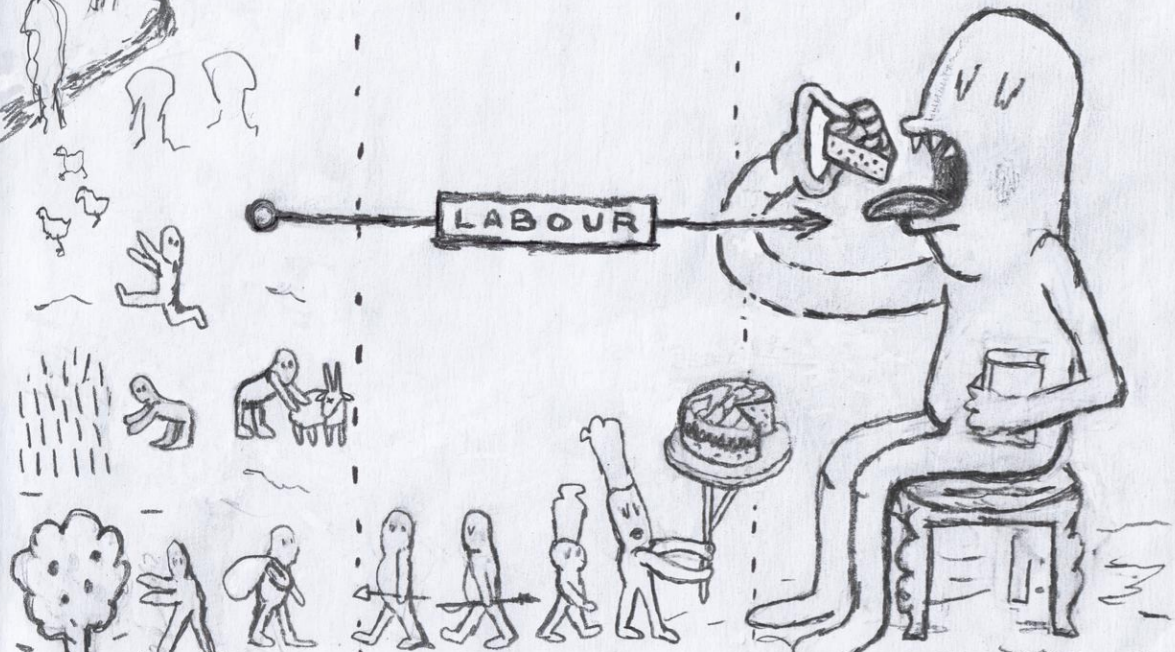
LIBERAL CONCEPTION OF PROPERTY II

NATURE (COMMON) (WASTE)

PROPERTY

USEFULNESS (PROFIT)

LABOUR



YOUR SERVANTS LABOUR MAY COUNT AS YOUR OWN ...

(AS IN J. LOCKE 1686)

**PROFIT**  
(THE GOOD)

**PROPERTY**  
(THE PRIVATE)

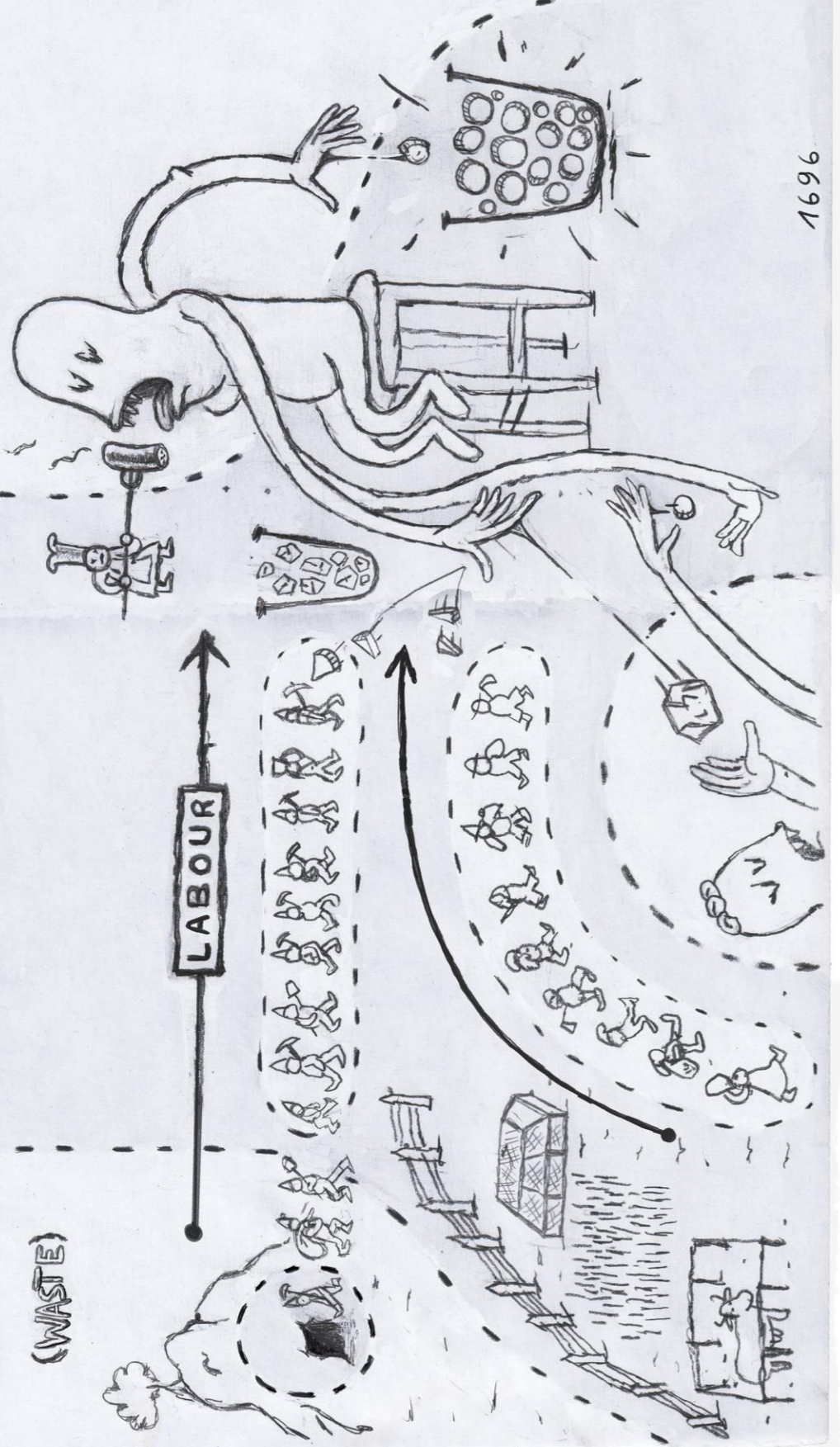
**NATURE**  
(THE COMMON)

**MONEY AND**  
IMPERISHABLE GOODS  
CAN BE LAWFULLY  
HOARDED WITHOUT  
LIMIT AND NO ONE  
CAN OBJECT.

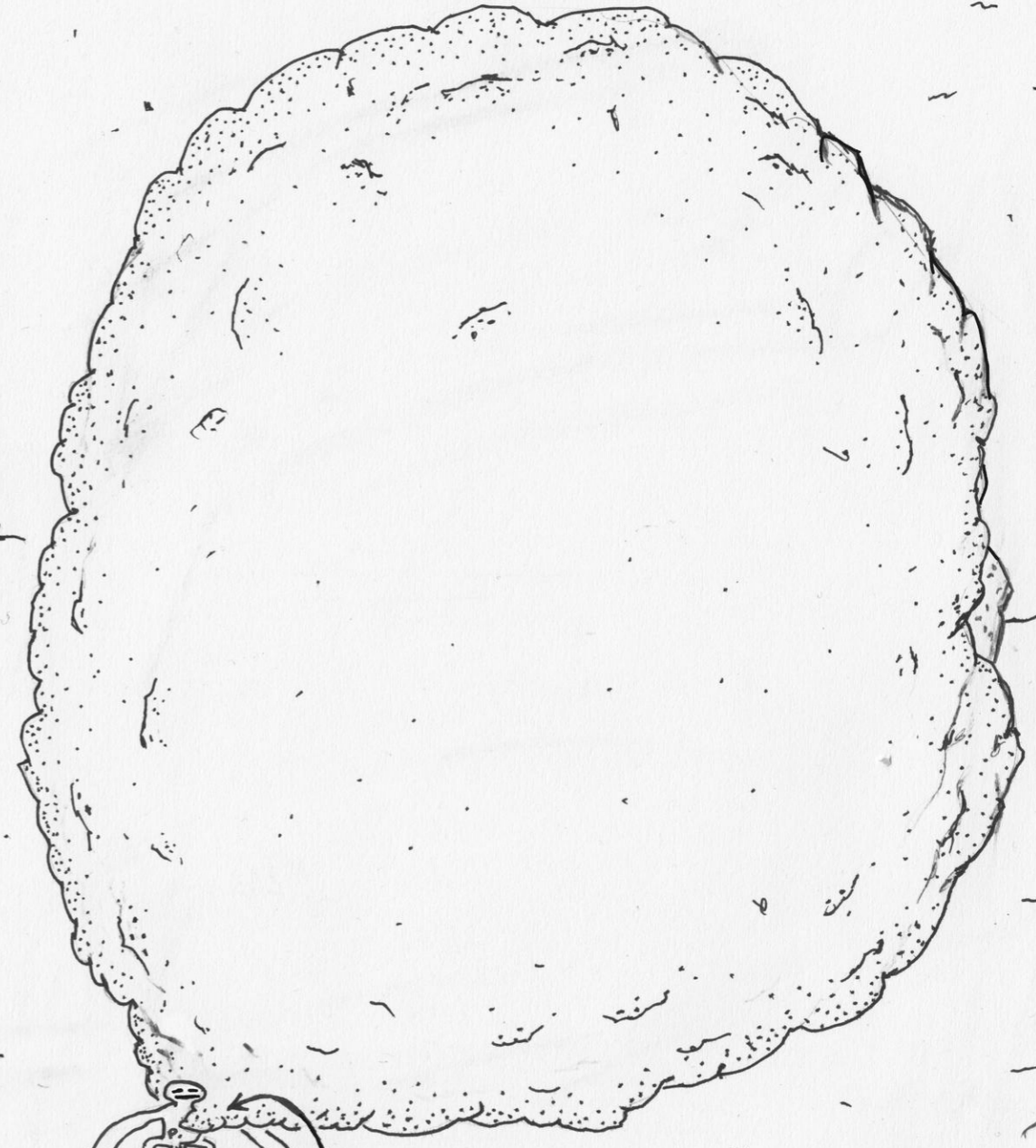
**ONLY WASTING**  
THE GOODS OF NATURE  
MAY BE AN OFFENSE  
TO OTHERS.



1696



S XVIII



3.20000  
**CAPITALIST**  
**SUBJECT!**  
INVESTOR, PLANTER, MERCHANT,  
PROTO-INDUSTRIAL, SLAVERY  
ENTREPRENEUR, BUSINESSMAN ...

[PRIVATE  
PROPERTY PARADOX]

...To which let me add, that  
*he who appropriates [the common] land  
to himself by his labour, does not lessen,  
but increase the common stock of mankind:*

for the provisions serving to the support of  
human life, produced by one acre of inclosed  
and cultivated land, are (to speak much within  
compass) ten times more than those which are  
yielded by an acre of land of an equal richness  
lying waste in common. And therefore he  
that incloses land, and has a greater  
plenty of the conveniencies of life from  
ten acres, than he could have from an  
hundred left to nature, may truly be said  
to give ninety acres to mankind

*Two Treatises Of  
Government, John Locke,  
1690*

[DOCTRINE  
OF LAWFULL  
ACCUMULATION]

Now of those good things which nature  
hath provided in common, every one had  
a right (as hath been said) to as much as he  
could **use**, ...

... He was only to look, that he used them  
before they spoiled, else he took more than his  
share, and robbed others. And indeed it was a  
foolish thing, as well as dishonest, to hoard up more  
than he could make **use** of. If he gave away a part to any  
body else, so that it perished not **uselessly** in his possession,  
these he also made **use** of. And if he also bartered away  
plums, that would have rotted in a week, for nuts that  
would last good for his eating a whole year, he did no  
injury; he **wasted** not the common stock; destroyed no  
part of the portion of goods that belonged to others, so  
long as nothing perished **uselessly** in his hands. Again, if  
he would give his nuts for a piece of metal, pleased with  
its colour; or exchange his sheep for shells, or wool for a  
sparkling pebble or a diamond, and keep those by him  
all his life he invaded not the right of others, he might  
heap up as much of these durable things as he pleased;  
the exceeding of the bounds of his just property not lying  
in the largeness of his possession, but the perishing of  
any thing **uselessly** in it...

... And thus came in the **use** of money, some lasting thing  
that men might keep without spoiling, and that by mutual  
consent men would take in exchange for **the truly  
useful**, but perishable supports of life. ... by a tacit  
and voluntary consent, found out, a way how  
a man may fairly possess more land than he  
himself can **use** the product of, by receiving  
in exchange for the overplus gold and silver,  
which **may be hoarded up without injury  
to any one;**

*Two Treatises Of Government  
John Locke, 1690*

[LABOUR  
GIVES RIGHT TO LAND]

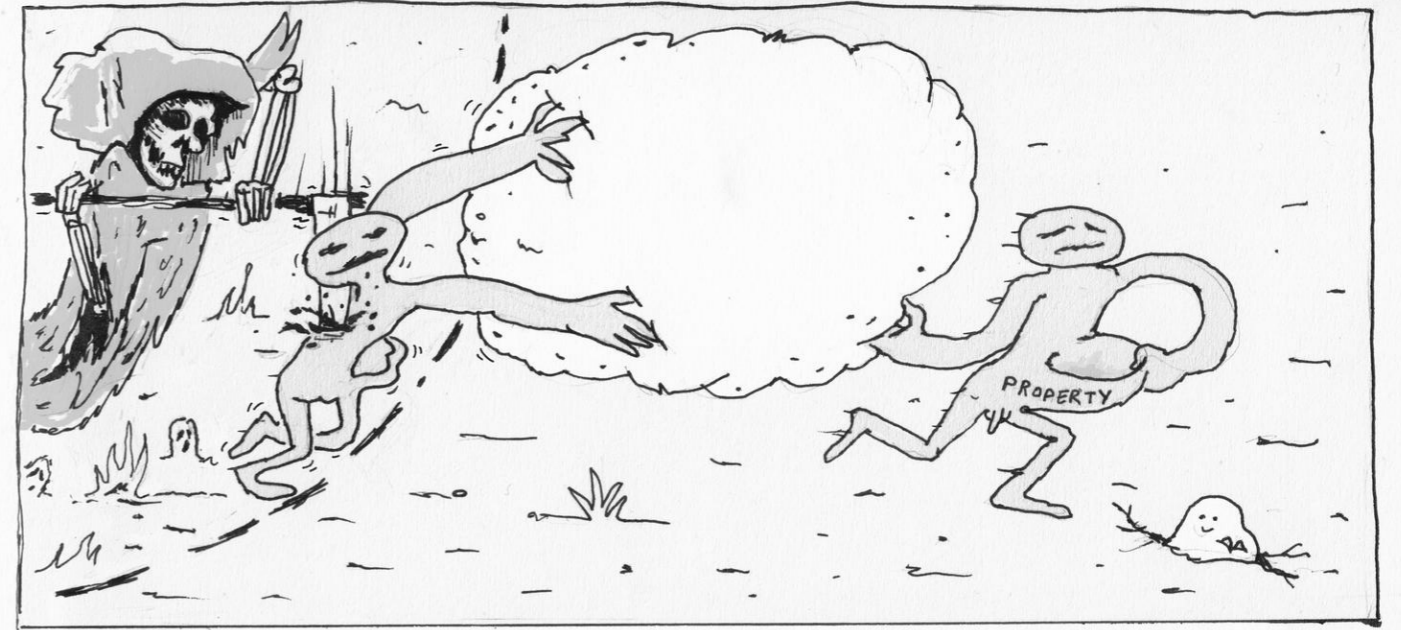
In general, to establish the right of the first occupier over a plot of ground, the following conditions are necessary: first, the land must not yet be inhabited; secondly, a man must occupy only the amount he needs for his subsistence; and, in the third place, possession must be taken, not by an empty ceremony, but by **labour and cultivation, the only sign of proprietorship that should be respected by others**, in default of a legal title.

J.J. Rousseau 1762

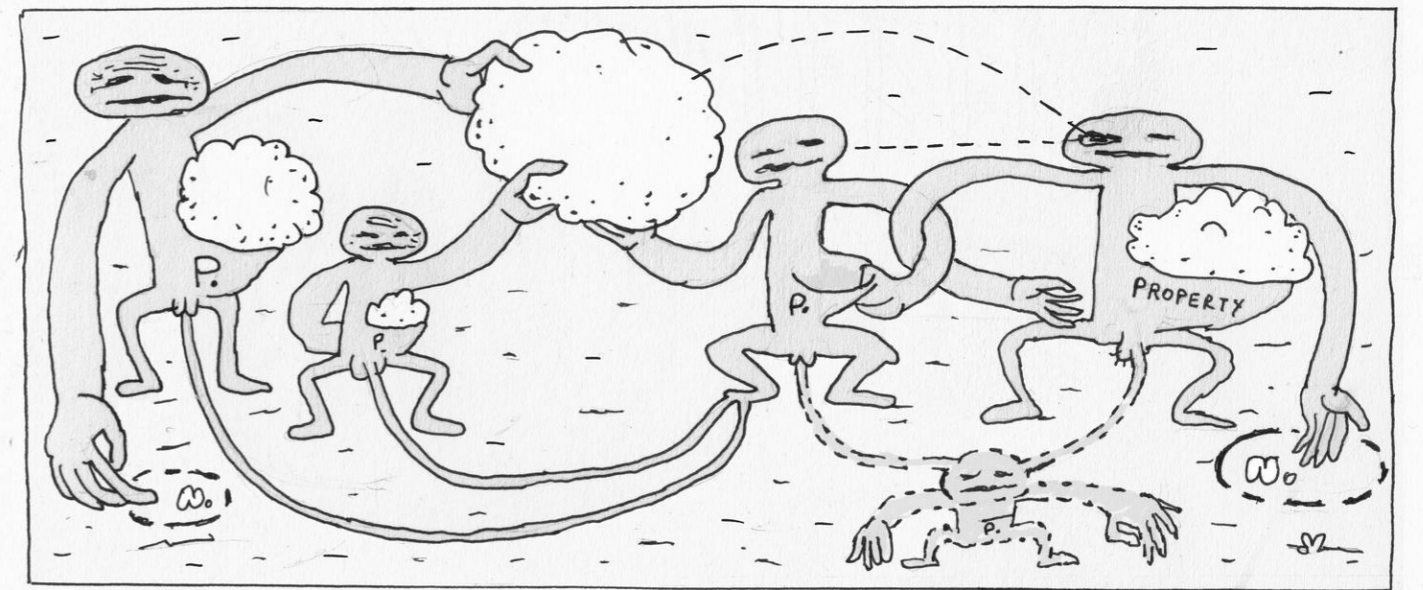
[ORIGIN OF PROPERTY]

... The first PERSON, who, after enclosing a piece of ground, took it into his head to say, "This is mine," and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society. How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how many misfortunes and horrors, would that PEOPLE have saved the human species, who pulling up the stakes or filling up the ditches should have cried to THEIR fellows: Be sure not to listen to this imposter...

Discourse on Inequality,  
J. J. Rousseau 1755



INHERITANCE



DOWRY

**[INHERITANCE]**

... Nature gives ... paternal power to parents for the benefit of their children during their minority, to supply their want of ability, and understanding how to manage their **property**. ... Voluntary agreement gives ... political power to governors for the benefit of their subjects, to secure them in the possession and use of their **properties**.

... Every man is born with a double right: first, a right of freedom to his person, which no other man has a power over, but the free disposal of it lies in himself. Secondly, a right, before any other man, to inherit with his brethren his father's goods.

*Two Treatises Of Government, John Locke, 1690*

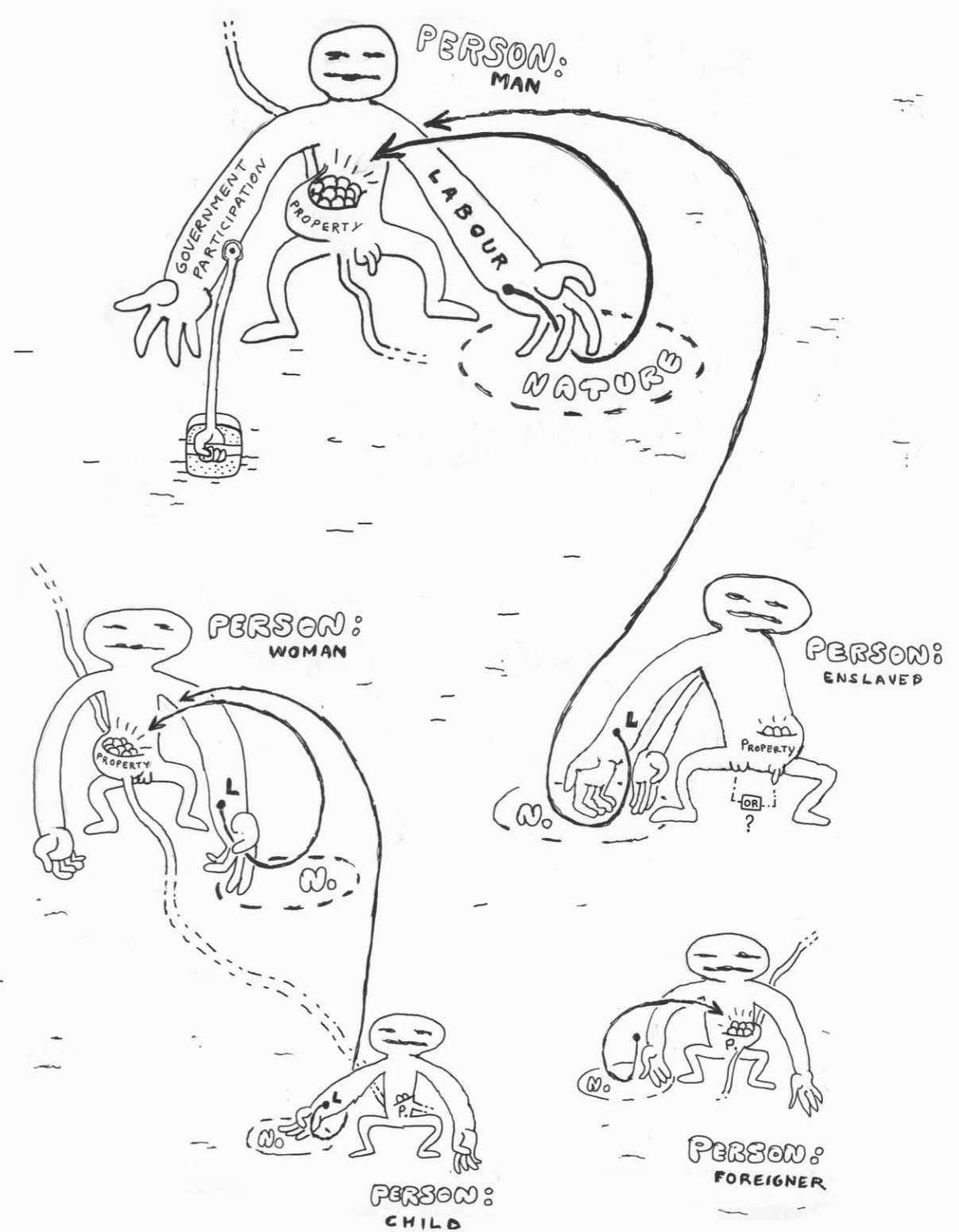
**[INHERITANCE]**

... government ought to follow in their application, is that, from father to son, and from relation to relation, the goods of a family should go as little out of it and be as little alienated as possible. There is a sensible reason for this in favour of children... having often contributed by their labour to the acquisition of their father's wealth, are in their own right associates with him in his right of property. But another reason, more distant, though not less important, is that nothing is more fatal to morality and to the Republic than the continual shifting of rank and fortune among the citizens: such changes are both the proof and the source of a thousand disorders.

*... On Political Economy  
J. J. Rousseau 1755*

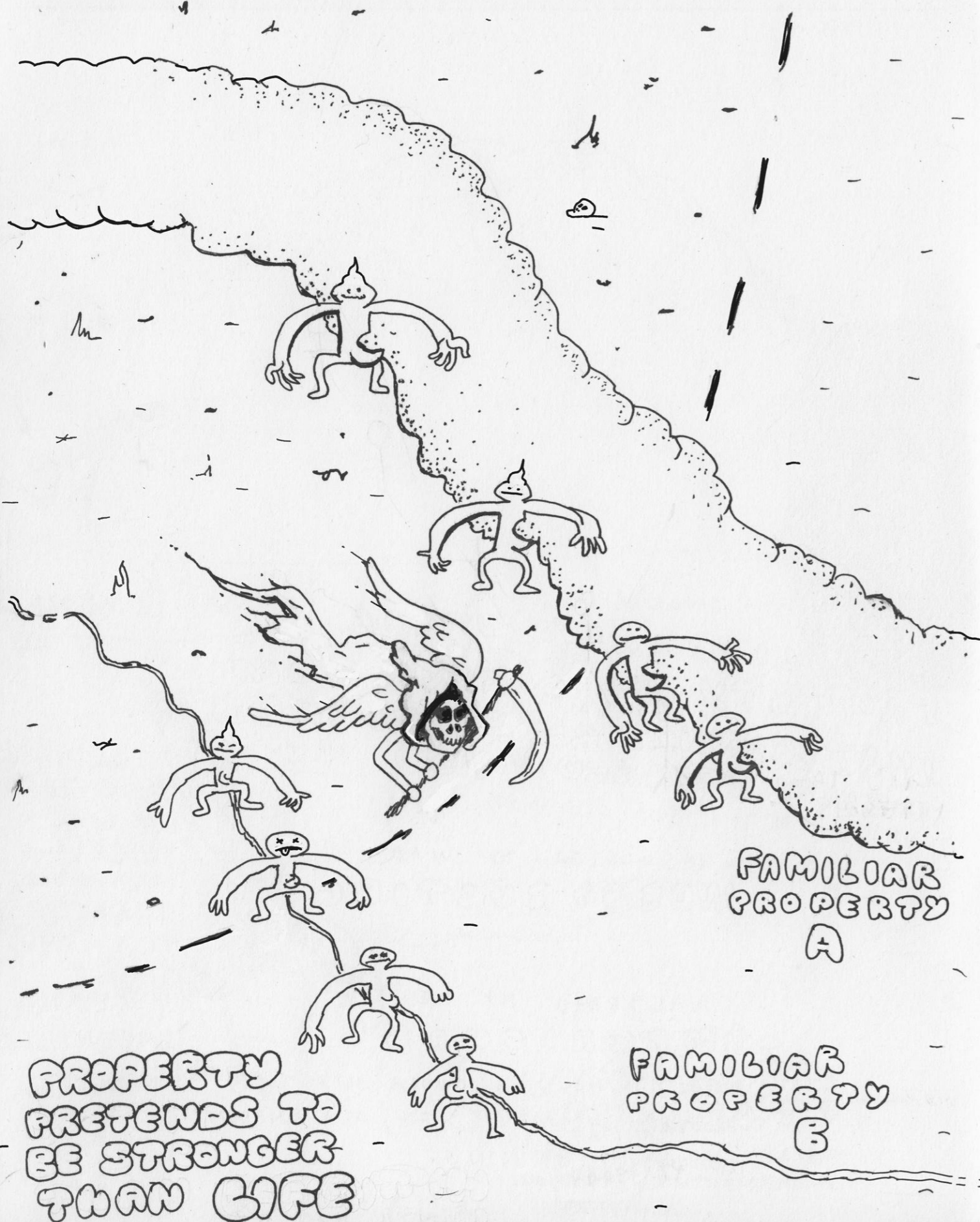
UNITS OF POPULATION /  
**SOCIAL ATOMS**

ENLIGHTENMENT  
SUB-SUBJECTS



PROPERTY IS PASSED ON

TO THE OWNER'S PROGENY



[PROPERTY IS IMMUNE TO WAR]

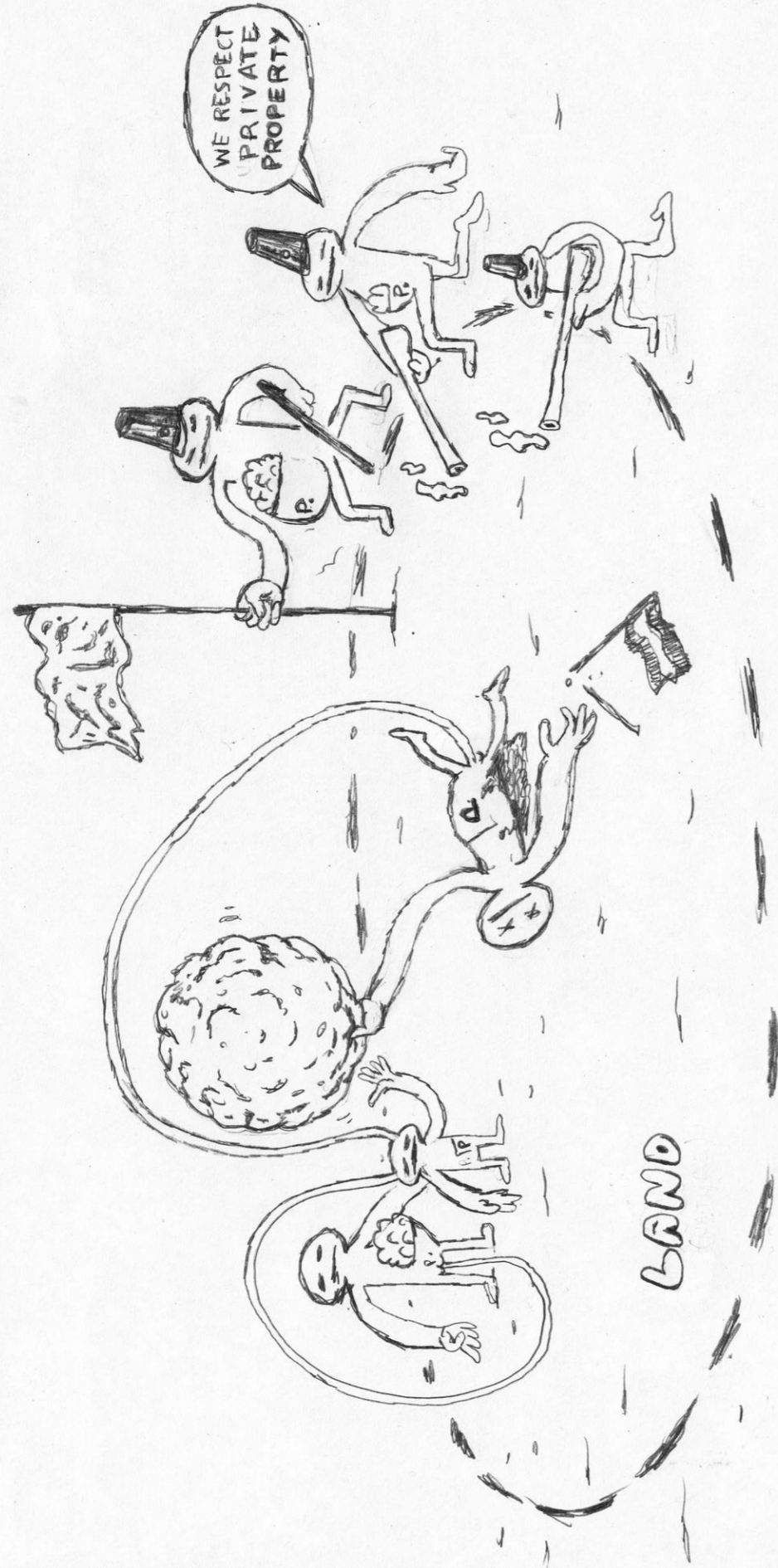
...though I may kill a thief that sets on me in the high-way, yet I may not (which seems less) take away his money, and let him go: this would be robbery on my side. His force, and the state of war he put himself in, made him forfeit his life, but gave me no title to his goods. The right then of conquest extends only to the lives of those who joined in the war, not to their estates, but only in order to make reparation for the damages received, ...

*Two Treatises Of Government, John Locke, 1690*

LIBERAL CONCEPTION OF PROPERTY:  
**PROPERTY IS MORE  
 ENDURING THAN  
 SOVEREIGNTY**

**WAR & CONQUEST  
 AMONG THE SELF-DEFINED  
 CIVILIZED NATIONS**

1696  
 1762



**[THE  
 CITYZENS AND THEIR  
 PROPERTIES MUST BE  
 UNAFFECTED BY WAR]**

*... War then is a relation, not between man and man, but between State and State, and individuals are enemies only accidentally, not as men, nor even as citizens, but as soldiers; not as members of their country, but as its defenders...*

*... each State can have for enemies only other States, and not men; for between things disparate in nature there can be no real relation...*

*... Declarations of war are intimations less to powers than to their subjects. The foreigner, whether king, individual, or people, who robs, kills or detains the subjects, without declaring war on the prince, is not an enemy, but a brigand...*

*... Even in real war, a just prince, while laying hands, in the enemy's country, on all that belongs to the public, respects the lives and goods of individuals: he respects rights on which his own are founded...*

*... The object of the war being the destruction of the hostile State, the other side has a right to kill its defenders, while they are bearing arms; but as soon as they lay them down and surrender, they cease to be enemies or instruments of the enemy, and become once more merely men, whose life no one has any right to take.*

*The Social Contract J.J. Rousseau 1762*

Q: How can we violate justice in their property?

A: By despoiling them, by either force or ruse, of that which belongs to them, that is, over which they have legitimate rights.

**d'Holbach Elements of Universal Morality or Catechism of Nature 1765**

**[VIOLATION OF  
 PROPERTY IS TYRANNY]**

Voluntary agreement gives ...political power to governors for the benefit of their subjects, to secure them in the possession and use of their **properties.**

... AS conquest may be called a foreign usurpation, so usurpation is a kind of domestic conquest, with this difference, that **AN USURPER CAN NEVER HAVE RIGHT ON HIS SIDE**, it being no usurpation, but where one is got into the possession of what another has right to.

... tyranny is the exercise of power beyond right ... when the governor, however entitled, makes not the law, but his will, the rule; and his commands and actions are not directed to the **preservation of the properties** of his people, but the satisfaction of his own ambition,...

...wherever the power, that is put in any hands for the government of the people, and the **preservation of their properties**, is applied to other ends, and made use of to impoverish, harass, or subdue them to the arbitrary and irregular commands of those that have it; there it presently becomes tyranny, whether those that thus use it are one or many...

*Two Treatises Of Government,  
 John Locke,  
 1690*

# PROPERTY

**Property is the right that each and every individual of which a civil society is composed has over the goods he has legitimately acquired.**

One of the chief goals of men in forming civil societies was to insure the tranquil possession of the benefits they had acquired, or that they could acquire; they did not want anyone to be able to trouble them in the enjoyment of their wealth; it is for this reason that each consented to sacrifice a portion of it, which we call taxes, for the preservation and maintenance of the society as a whole; they aimed thus to furnish the leaders they had chosen with the means of preserving for each individual the enjoyment of the assets that he had reserved for himself. However strong men's enthusiasm may have been for the sovereigns to whom they submitted themselves, they never claimed to have given them an absolute and unlimited power over all of their wealth; they never counted on placing themselves under the necessity of working only for them. The flattery of courtiers, for whom the most absurd principles cost nothing, sometimes sought to persuade princes that they had an absolute right over the wealth of their subjects; only despots and tyrants have adopted maxims that were so unreasonable. The King of Siam claims to be the owner of all of the wealth of his subjects; the fruit of such a barbaric right is that the first fortunate rebel makes himself the owner of the wealth of the King of Siam. All power which is founded only on force is destroyed by the same means. In states where one follows the laws of reason, the property of individuals is under the protection of law; the head of a family is assured of having the enjoyment of, as well as transmitting to his posterity the wealth that he has amassed by his labor; good kings have always respected the possessions of their subjects; they have regarded the public funds which have been entrusted to them only as a deposit, which they were not permitted to divert to satisfy either their frivolous passions, or the greed of their minions, or the rapacity of their courtiers.

**Encyclopédie Diderot et d'Alembert 1751-80**

The earth is the LORD's,  
and everything in it, the  
world, and all who live in it.

**Psalm 24:1**

If a thief is caught  
breaking in at night and is  
struck a fatal blow, the defender  
is not guilty of bloodshed; but if it  
happens after sunrise, the defender is  
guilty of bloodshed. Anyone who steals  
must certainly make restitution, but if  
they have nothing, they must be sold  
to pay for their theft.

**Exodus 22:2-3**

The division of goods was not  
made by natural law, but was  
sanctioned by human agreement,  
and as such has the force of human  
positive law. However, once the division  
is established, it would be contrary to  
natural law to take what belongs to  
another without just cause.

**Francisco de Vitoria, On  
Justice, 1535**

We must define  
what property is: it is the  
right of each citizen to enjoy  
and dispose of the portion of goods  
guaranteed to him by law. The right of  
property is limited, like all others, by the  
obligation to respect the property of others.  
It cannot be prejudicial to the safety, nor to  
the liberty, nor to the existence, nor to the  
property of other men. Any possession or  
traffic that violates this principle is illicit  
and immoral.

**Robespierre Discourse On  
Property 1793**

**The land**  
belongs to all the Indians,  
and cannot be sold without the  
consent of all... You buy lands  
from the village chiefs who have no  
right to sell.

The way, the only way, to check and to  
stop this evil, is for all the red men to  
unite in claiming a common and equal  
right in the land, as it was at first, and  
should be yet; for it was the gift of the Great  
Spirit to us all, and therefore the few cannot  
cede it away forever...

What! Sell a country! Why not sell the air,  
the clouds and the great sea, as well as  
the earth? ... towards the setting sun are  
we being forced ... but now we will yield  
no further, but here [we] make our  
stand..

**Tecumseh, Speech at Vincennes  
before Governor William Henry  
Harrison 1810**

## [COMMON LEGACY OF PAST ACHIEVEMENTS]

... **The products of industry and of  
genius also become the property of  
all**, the domain of the entire association,  
from the very moment that the workers  
and the inventors have created them,  
because they are simply compensation for  
earlier discoveries made through genius and  
industry, from which the new inventors and  
workers have profited within the framework  
of social life, and which have helped them  
to make their discoveries. Since the  
knowledge acquired is the domain of  
everyone, it must therefore be equally  
distributed among everyone.

**Babeuf's Defense  
at the Trial at Vendôme  
Grachus Babeauf 1797**

Property is surely a right of mankind as really as liberty. The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence.

**John Adams, A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, 1787**

The land belongs to all the Indians, and cannot be sold without the consent of all... The way, the only way, to check and to stop this evil, is for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be yet; for it was the gift of the Great Spirit to us all, and therefore the few cannot cede it away forever...

**Tecumseh, Speech at Vincennes before Governor William Henry Harrison 1810**

Then landmarks limited to each his right. For all before was common as the light.

**Ovid Metamorphoses, cited by Hugo Grotius in Mare Liberum 1606**

Cursed is anyone who moves their neighbor's boundary stone.

**Deuteronomy 27:17**

... property or ownership was invented, the law of property was established to imitate nature. For as that use began in connection with bodily needs, from which as we have said properly first arose, so by a similar connection it was decided that things were the property of individuals. This is called 'occupation' a word most appropriate to those things which in former times had been held in common.

**Hugo Grotius, Mare Liberum 1606**

Woe to him who builds his palace by unrighteousness, his upper rooms by injustice, making his own people work for nothing, not paying them for their labor.

**Jeremiah 22:13**

Soon after the creation of the world, and a second time after the Flood, God conferred upon the human race a general right over things of a lower nature. 'All things,' as Justin says, 'were the common and undivided possession of all men, as if all possessed a common inheritance.' In consequence, each man could at once take whatever he wished for his own needs...

**Hugo Grotius, On the Law of War and Peace 1625**

... however, states began to be established, and so two categories were made of the things which had been wrested away from early ownership in common. For some things were public, that is, were the property of the people (which is the real meaning of that expression), while other things were private, that is, were the property of individuals. Ownership, however, both public and private, arises in the same way. On this point Seneca says: 'We speak in general of the land of the Athenians or the Campanians. It is the same land which again by means of private boundaries is divided among individual owners.'

**Hugo Grotius, Mare Liberum 1606**

The earth is given as a common stock for man to labor and live on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed.

**Thomas Jefferson**, Letter to James Madison, 1785

When you enter the land the LORD your God is giving you and have taken possession of it and settled in it, and you say, 'Let us set a king over us like all the nations around us,' be sure to appoint over you a king the LORD your God chooses... The king must not acquire great numbers of horses for himself... He must not take many wives... He must not accumulate large amounts of silver and gold.

*Deuteronomy 17:14-17*

**[THE PUBLIC COMMUNITY PROTECTS ALL PROPRIETARIES]**

... the right which each individual has to his own estate is always subordinate to the right which the community has over all: without this, there would be neither stability in the social tie, nor real force in the exercise of Sovereignty ...

**the possessors**, being regarded as depositaries of the public good, and having their rights, respected by all the members of the State and maintained against foreign aggression by all its forces, have, by a cession which benefits both the public and still more themselves, acquired, so to speak, all that they gave up...

*A Discourse On Political Economy*  
**J. J. Rousseau** 1755

**[PROPERTY/LIBERTY PARADOX]**

**How is property given?**

**By restraining liberty**; that is, by taking it away so far as is necessary for the purpose. How is your house made yours? By debarring every one else from the liberty of entering it without your leave.

**Jeremy Bentham**, *Anarchical Fallacies* 1796

After these exceptions, we have thirteen general or principal kinds of **offences against property**, which, when ranged in the order most commodious for examination, may stand as follows, ... 1. Wrongful non-investment of property. 2. Wrongful interception of property. 3. Wrongful divestment of property. 4. Usurpation of property. 5. Wrongful investment of property. 6. Wrongful withholding of services. 7. Wrongful destruction or endamage. 8. Wrongful occupation. 9. Wrongful detainment. 10. Embezzlement. 11. Theft. 12. Defraudment. 13. Extortion.

**Jeremy Bentham**, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*

**[RIGHT OF DISCOVERY]**

In granting the right of first occupancy to necessity and labour, are we not really stretching it as far as it can go? Is it possible to leave such a right unlimited? Is it to be enough to set foot on a plot of common ground, in order to be able to call yourself at once the master of it? ... How can a man or a people seize an immense territory and keep it from the rest of the world except by a punishable usurpation, since all others are being robbed, by such an act, of the place of habitation and the means of subsistence which nature gave them in common? When Nunez Balboa, standing on the sea-shore, took possession of the South Seas and the whole of South America in the name of the crown of Castile, was that enough to dispossess all their actual inhabitants, and to shut out from them all the princes of the world? ...

*The Social Contract* **J.J. Rousseau** 1762

**[PROPIETORSHIP]**

What man loses by the **social contract** in his natural liberty and an unlimited right to everything he tries to get and succeeds in getting; what he gains is civil liberty and the proprietorship of all he possesses...

*The Social Contract* **J.J. Rousseau** 1762

By a man's property is to be understood, whatever he has in store **independent of his labour**.

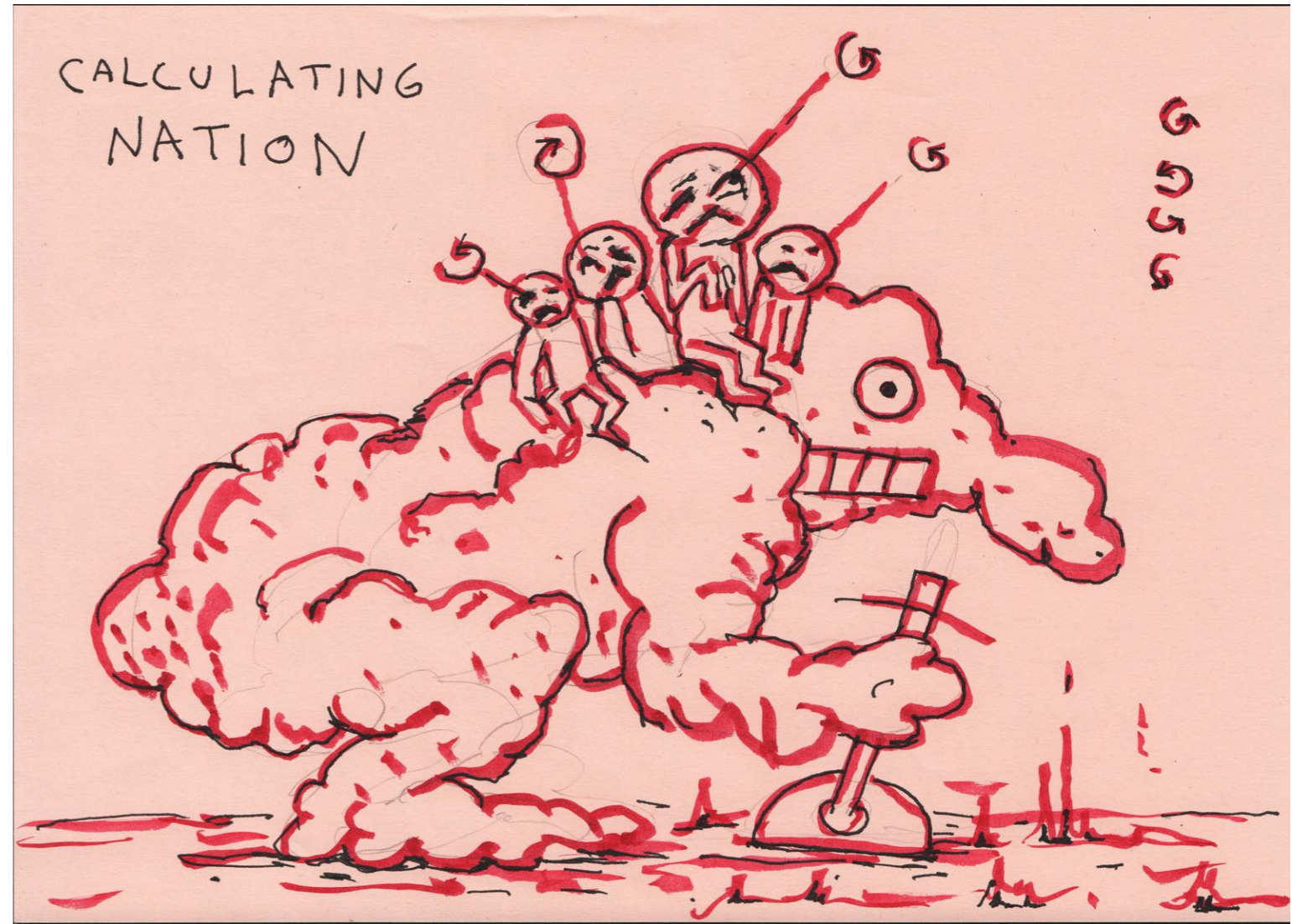
**Jeremy Bentham** *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*

... no act of possession can ever be exercised on a free person; it is as unjust to possess a woman exclusively as it is to possess slaves; all humans are born free and with equal rights; let us never forget that; consequently no sex can have a legitimate right to the exclusive possession of another, and no sex or class can possess the other exclusively.

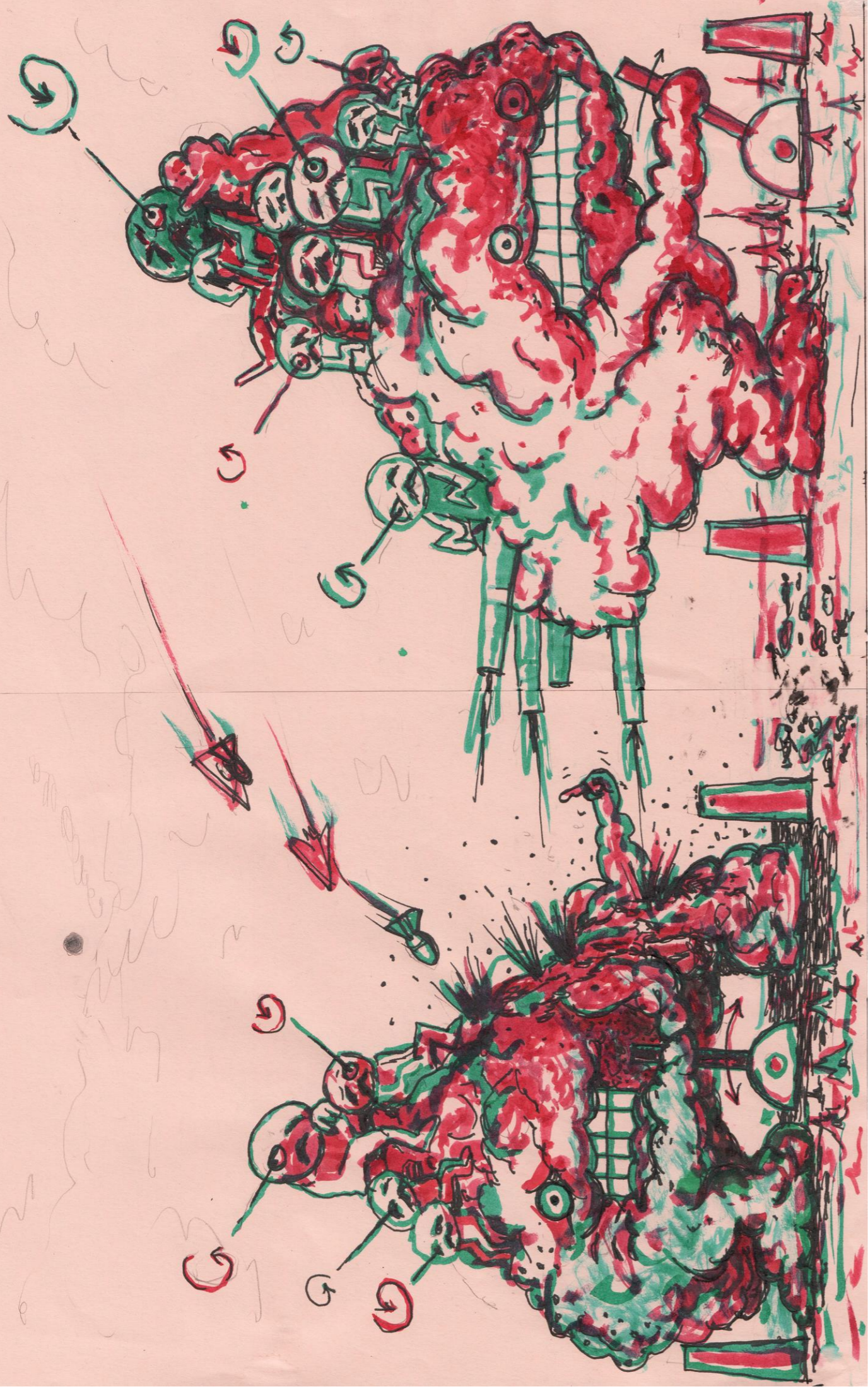
Philosophie dans le Boudoir,  
**SADE 1795**

The land must not be sold permanently, because the land is mine and you reside in my land as foreigners and strangers. Throughout the land that you hold as a possession, you must provide for the redemption of the land.

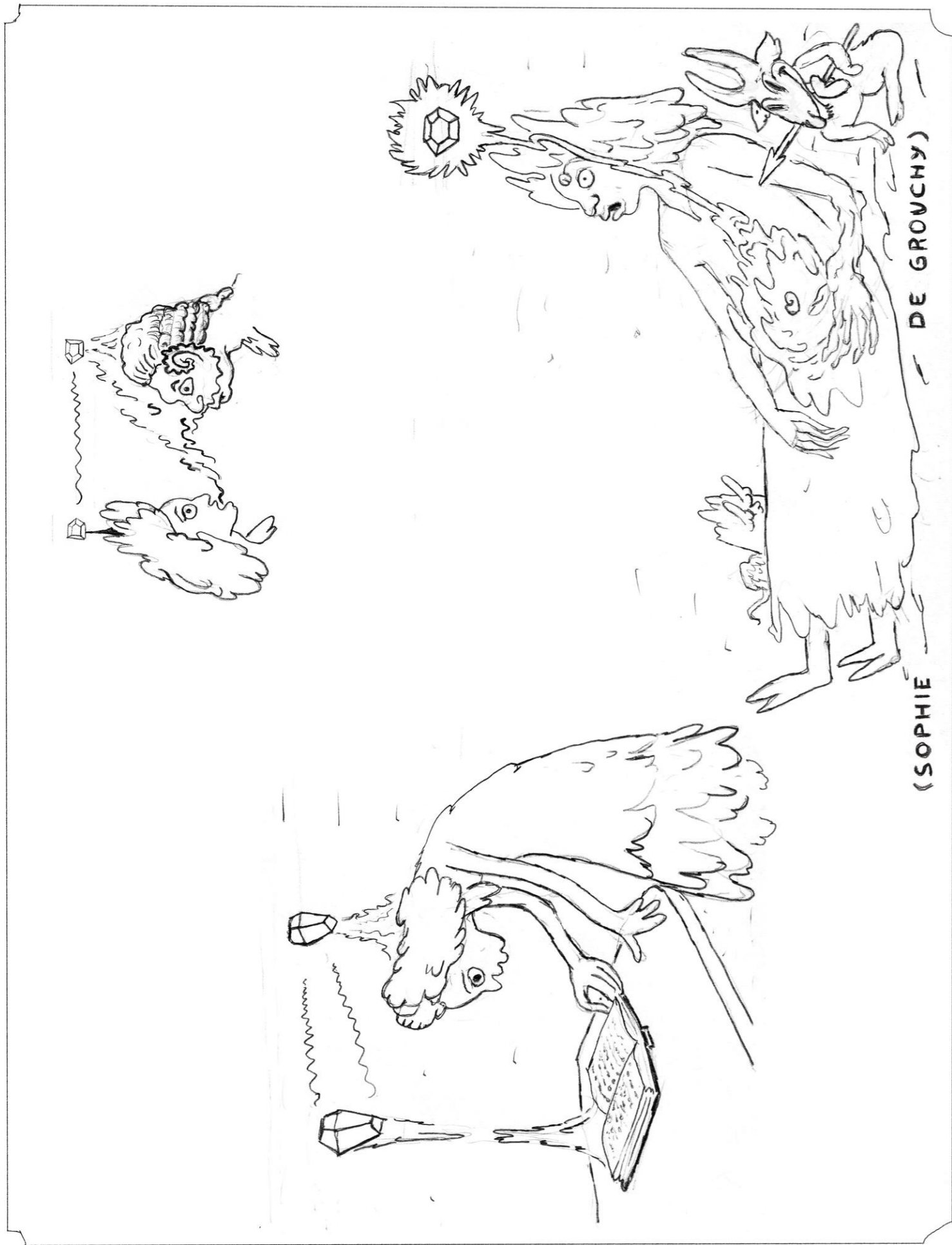
**Leviticus 25:23-24**



CALCULATING NATION AND ITS ISOMORPH



# **TRANSMIGRATIONS**



DE GROVCHY

(SOPHIE)

(INCUBATION)

1790

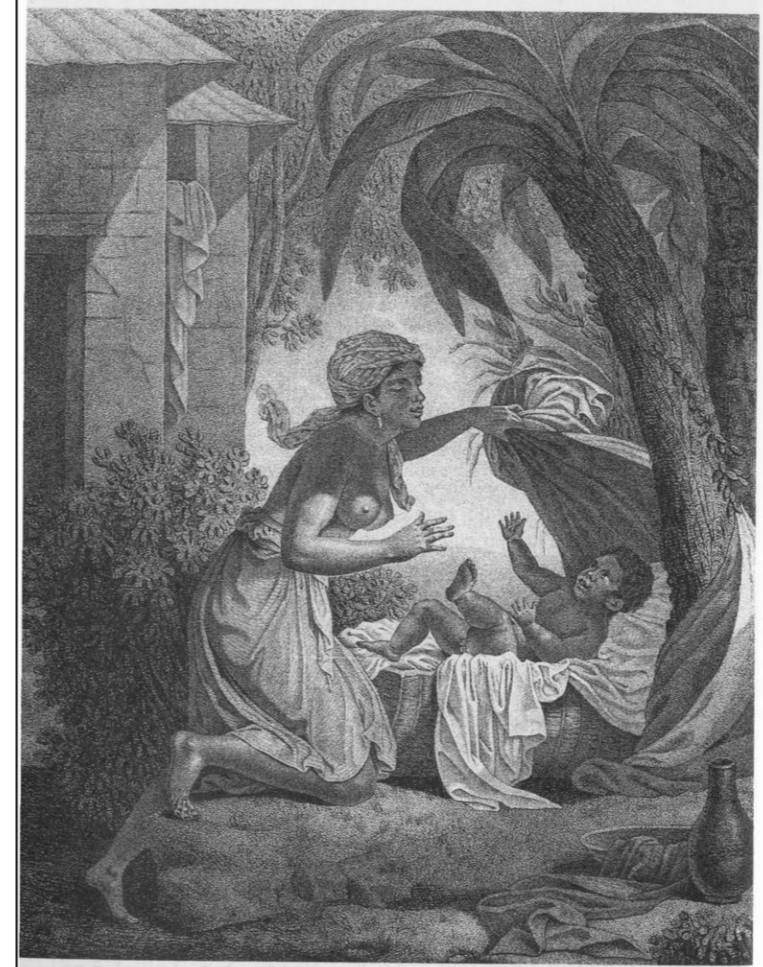
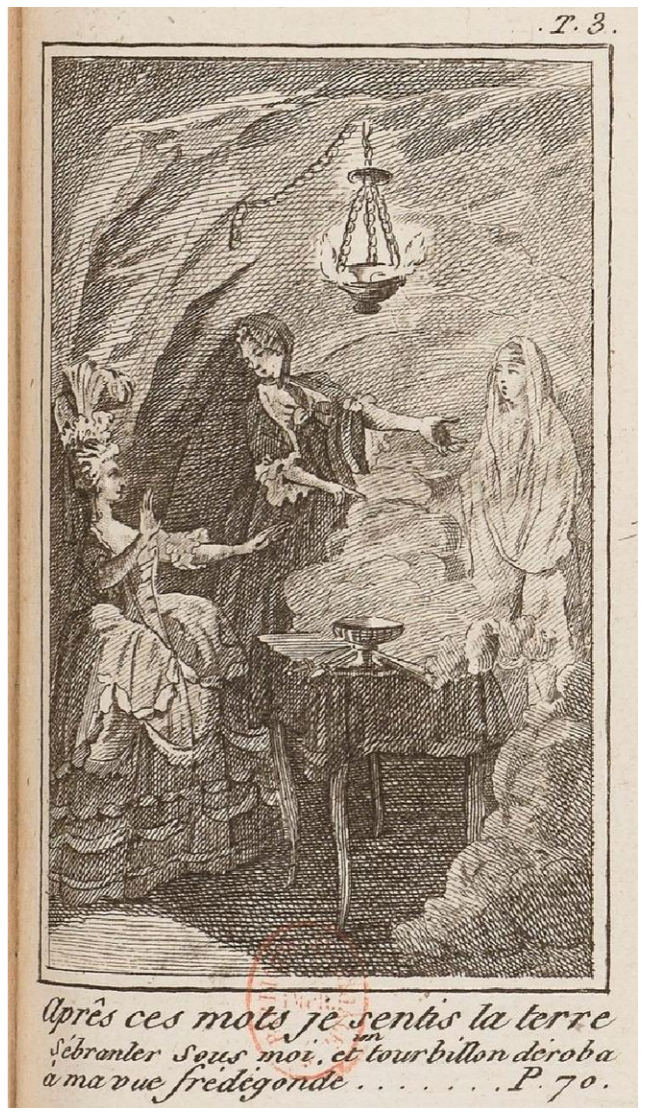


Figure 3. Titled "You Will Be Happy," this is one of the rare engravings known to be from the hand of a woman, Citizeness Rollet. Rollet presumably was sympathetic to the abolition of slavery.



Après ces mots je sentis la terre  
 s'ébranler sous moi, et tourbillon déroba  
 à ma vue Frédégonde . . . . . P. 70.



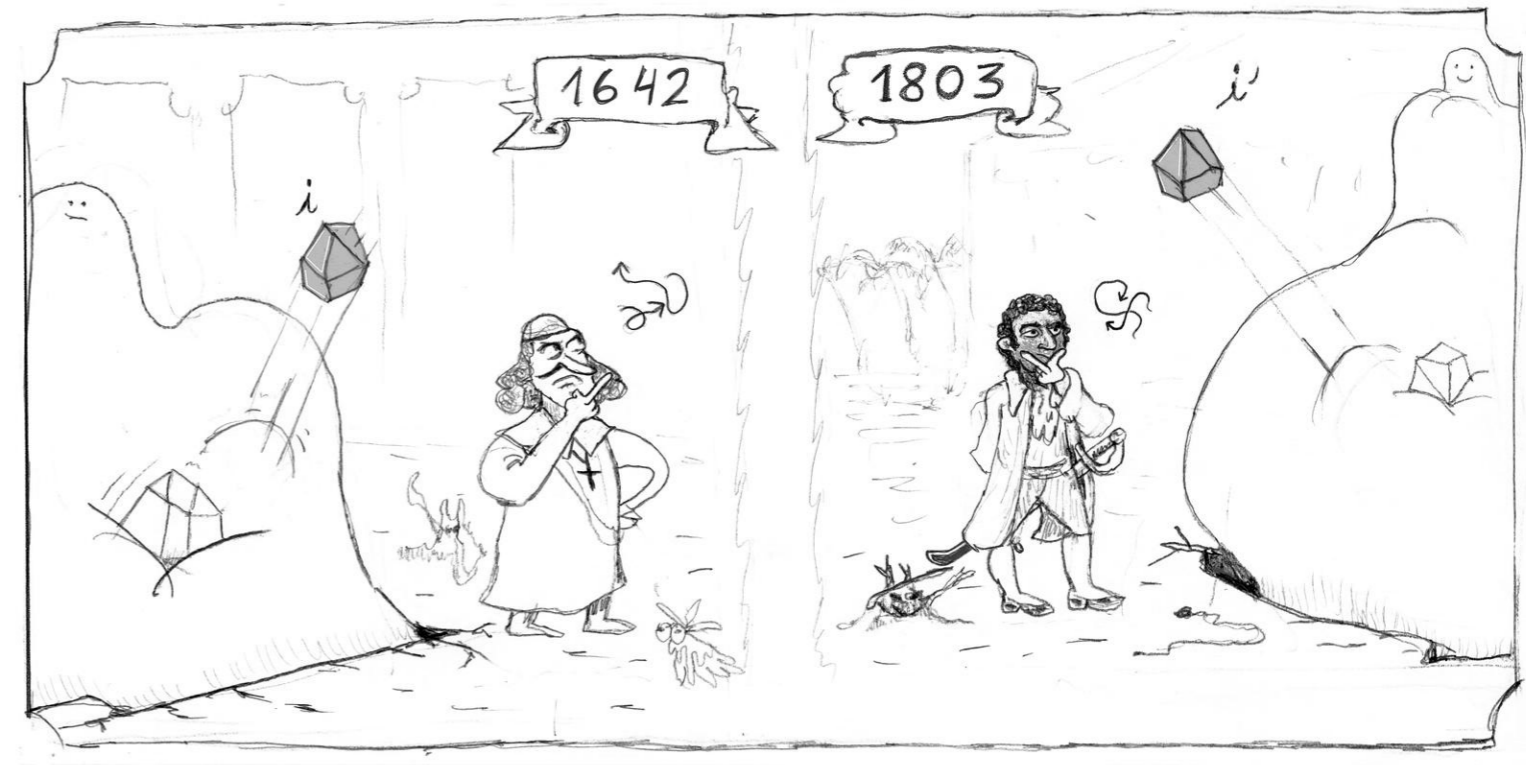
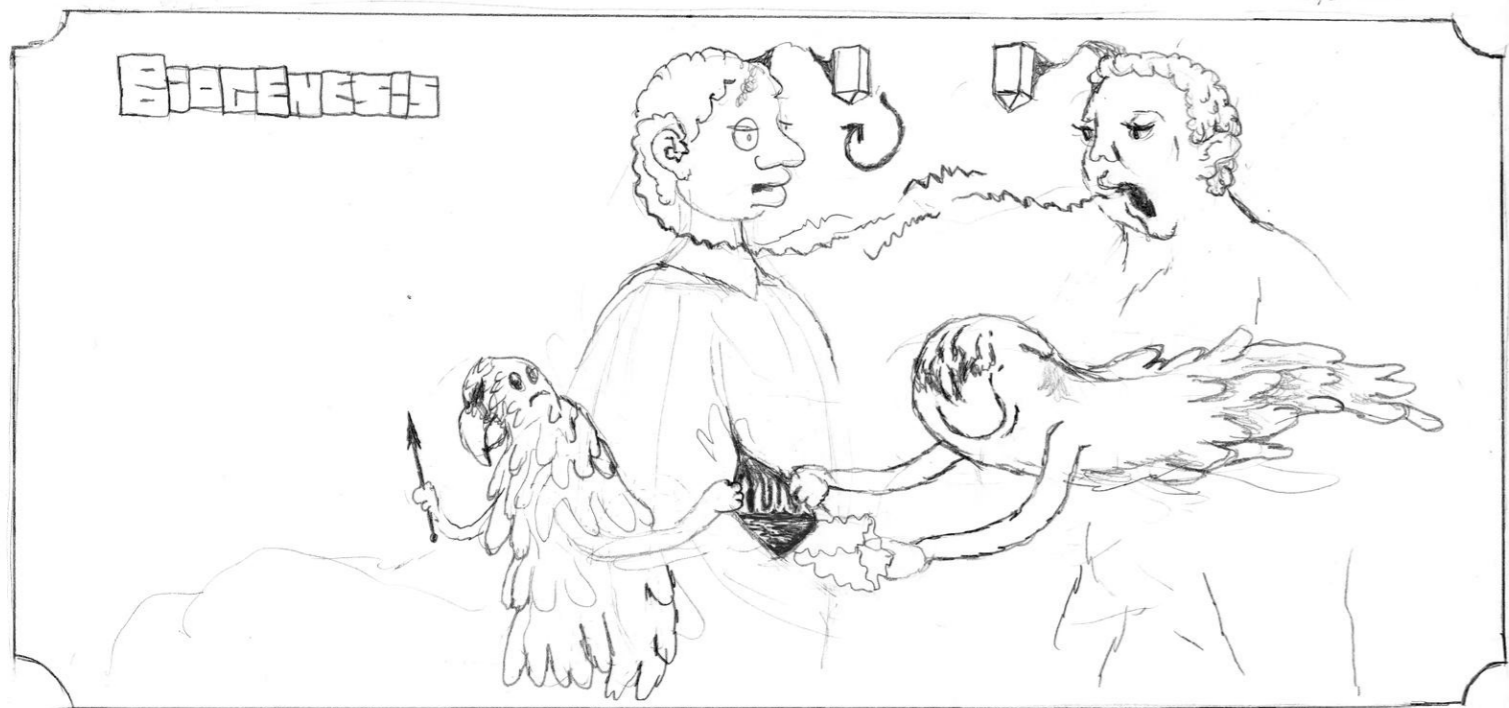
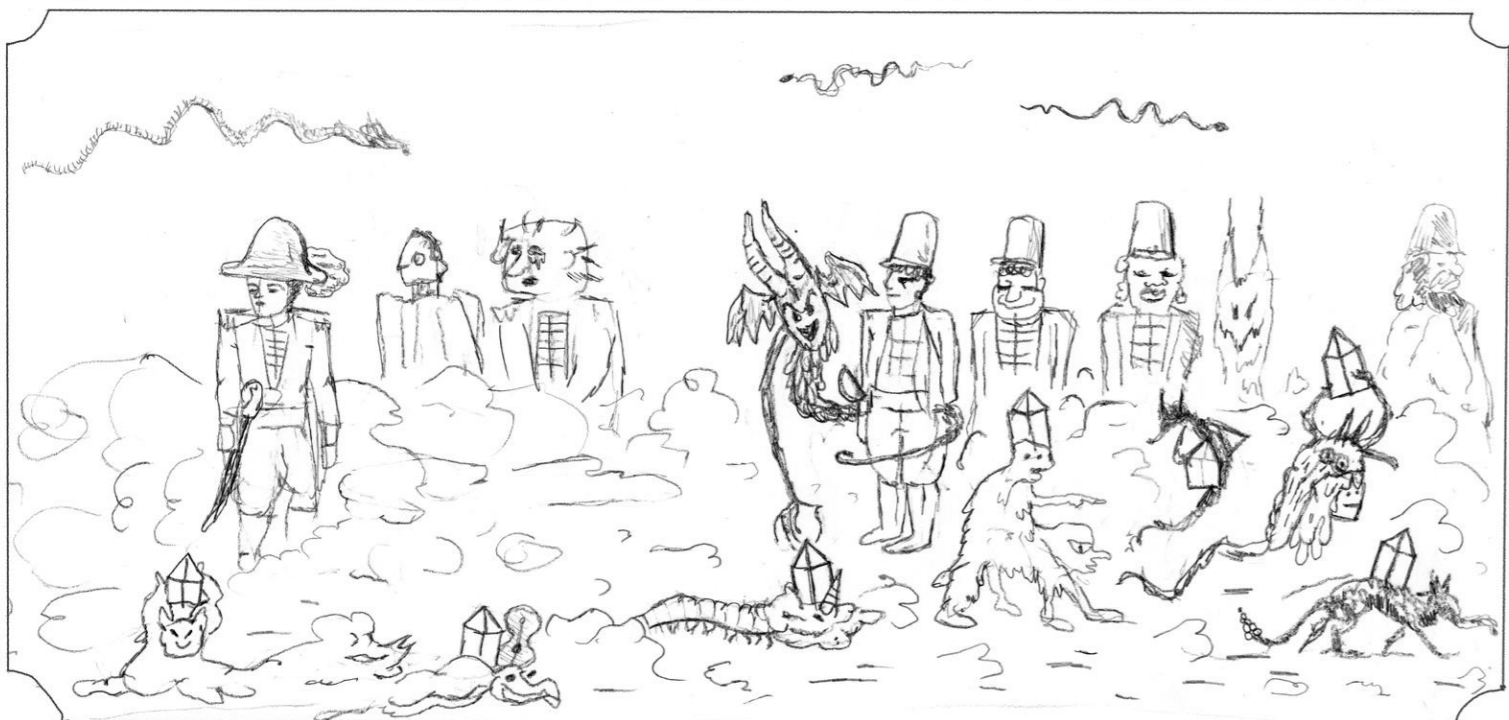
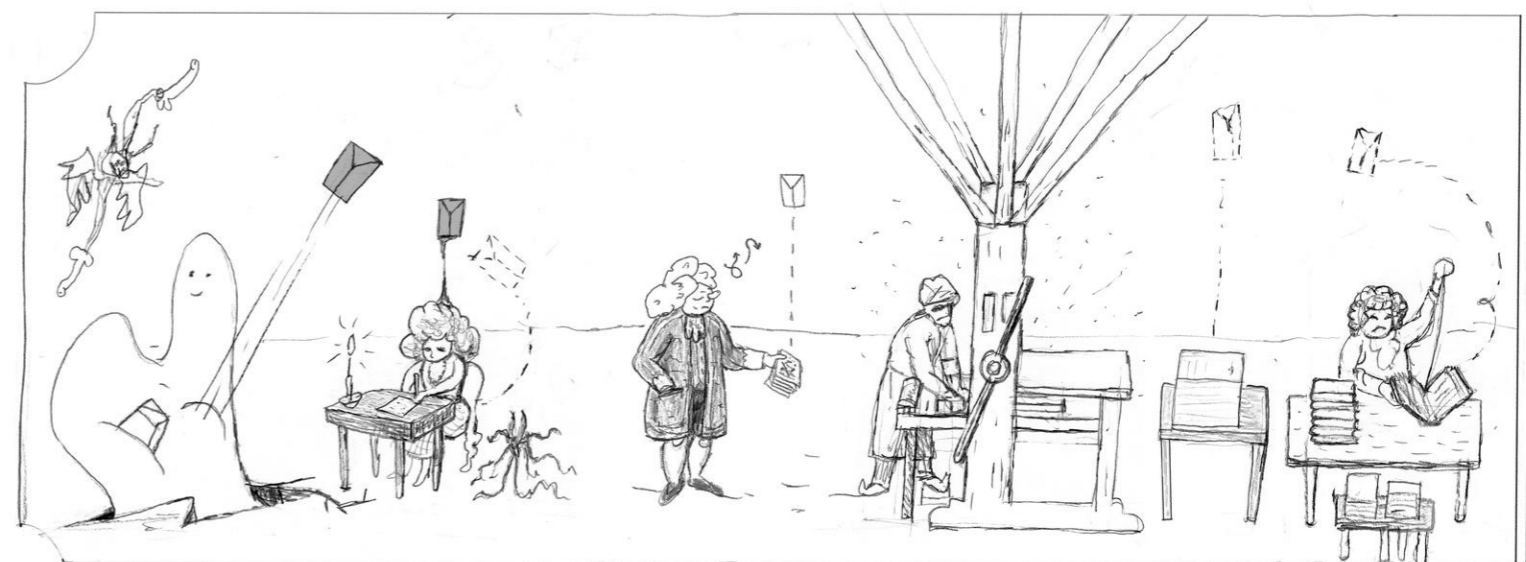
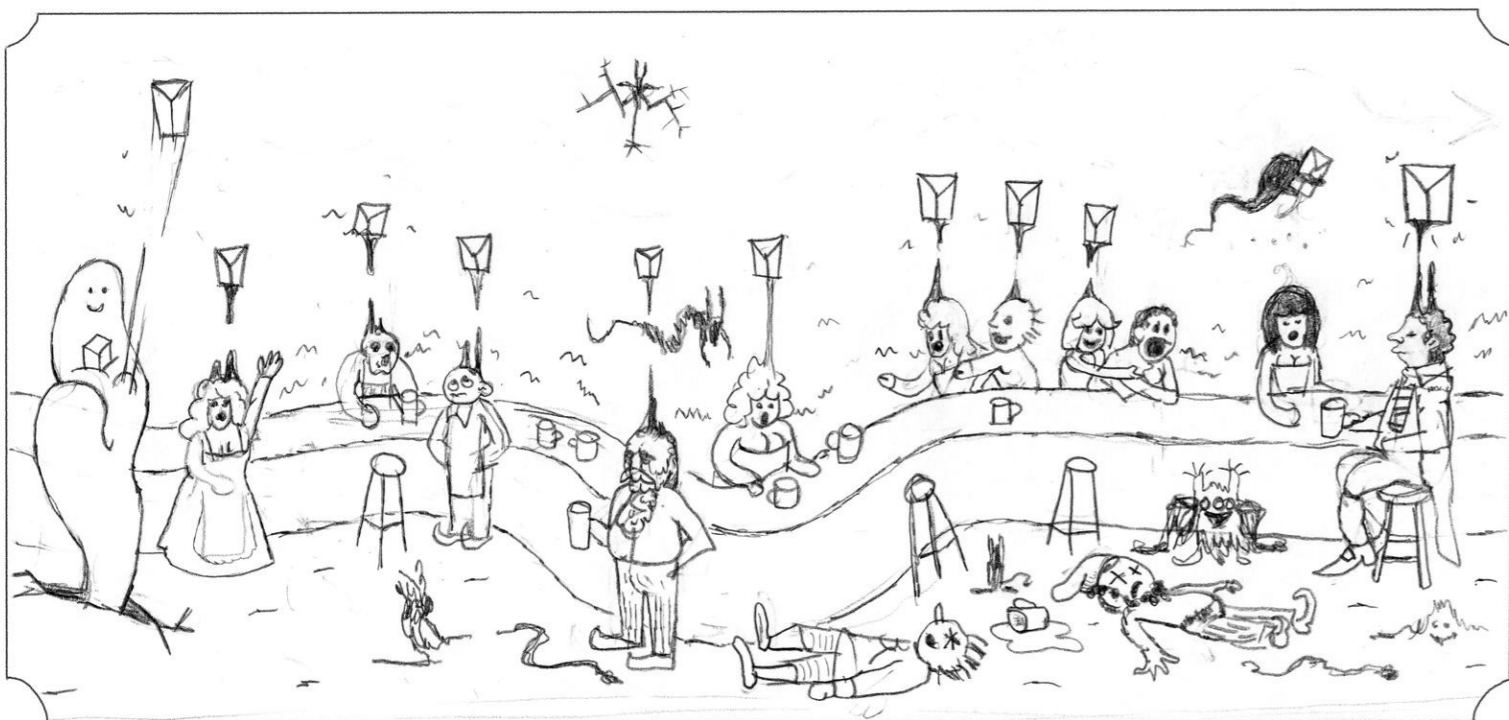
Le Moine au privé

Se trouve dans toutes les Villes, et à Paris chez les Marchands de Nouveautés

exclusion des Patriotes, de Conseil Par  
 les intrigues du despotisme  
 au 6. 18 flor.

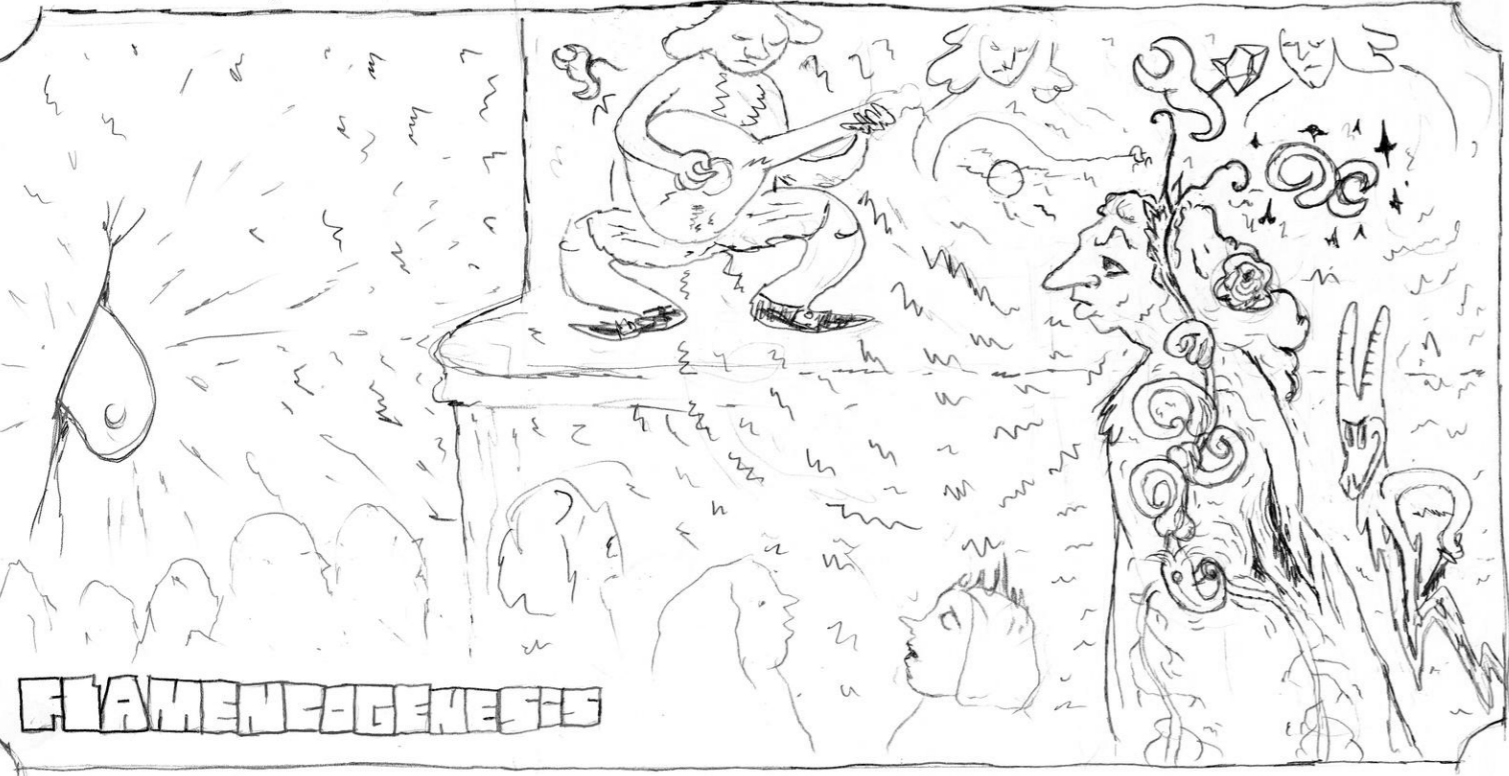
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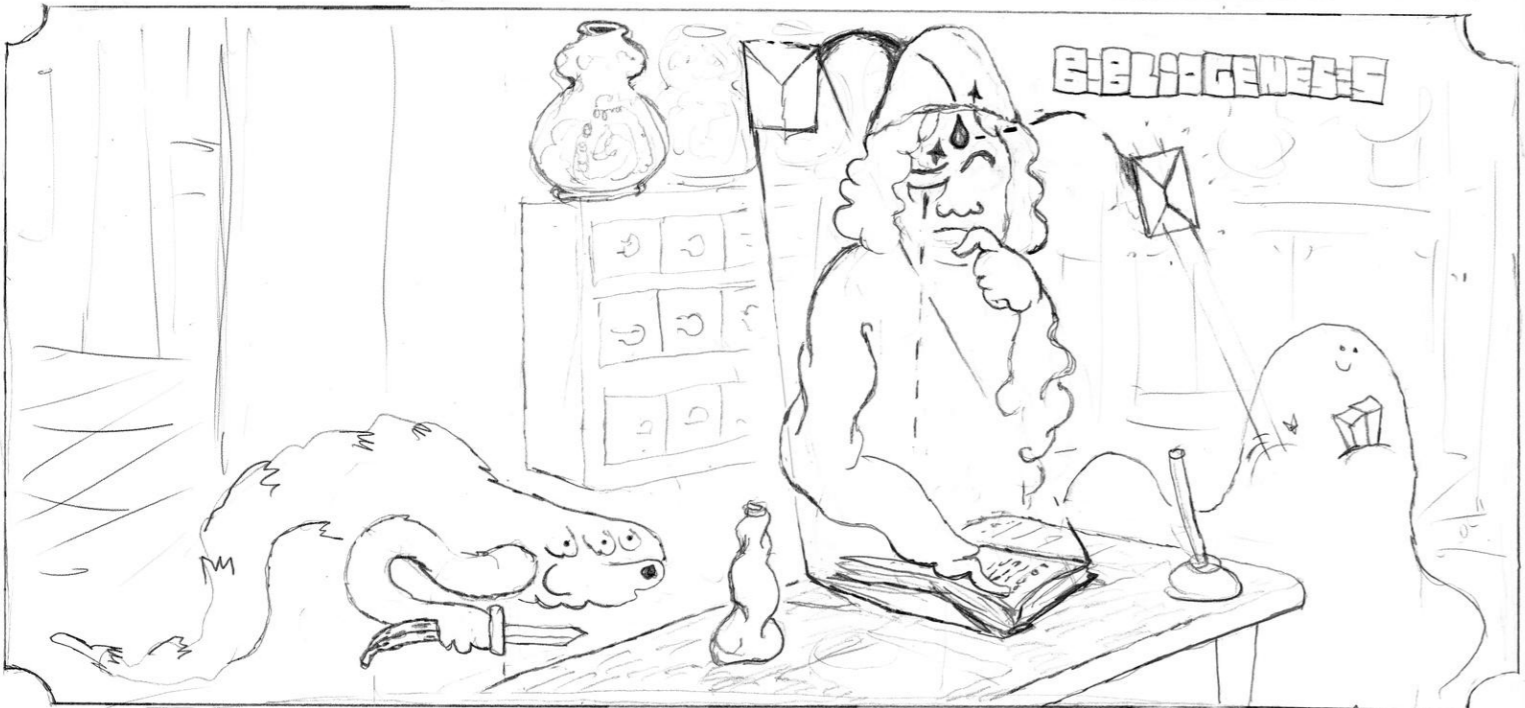


(POPULAR CIRCULATIONS)

SPONTANEOUS/ARTIFICIAL RECURRENCE



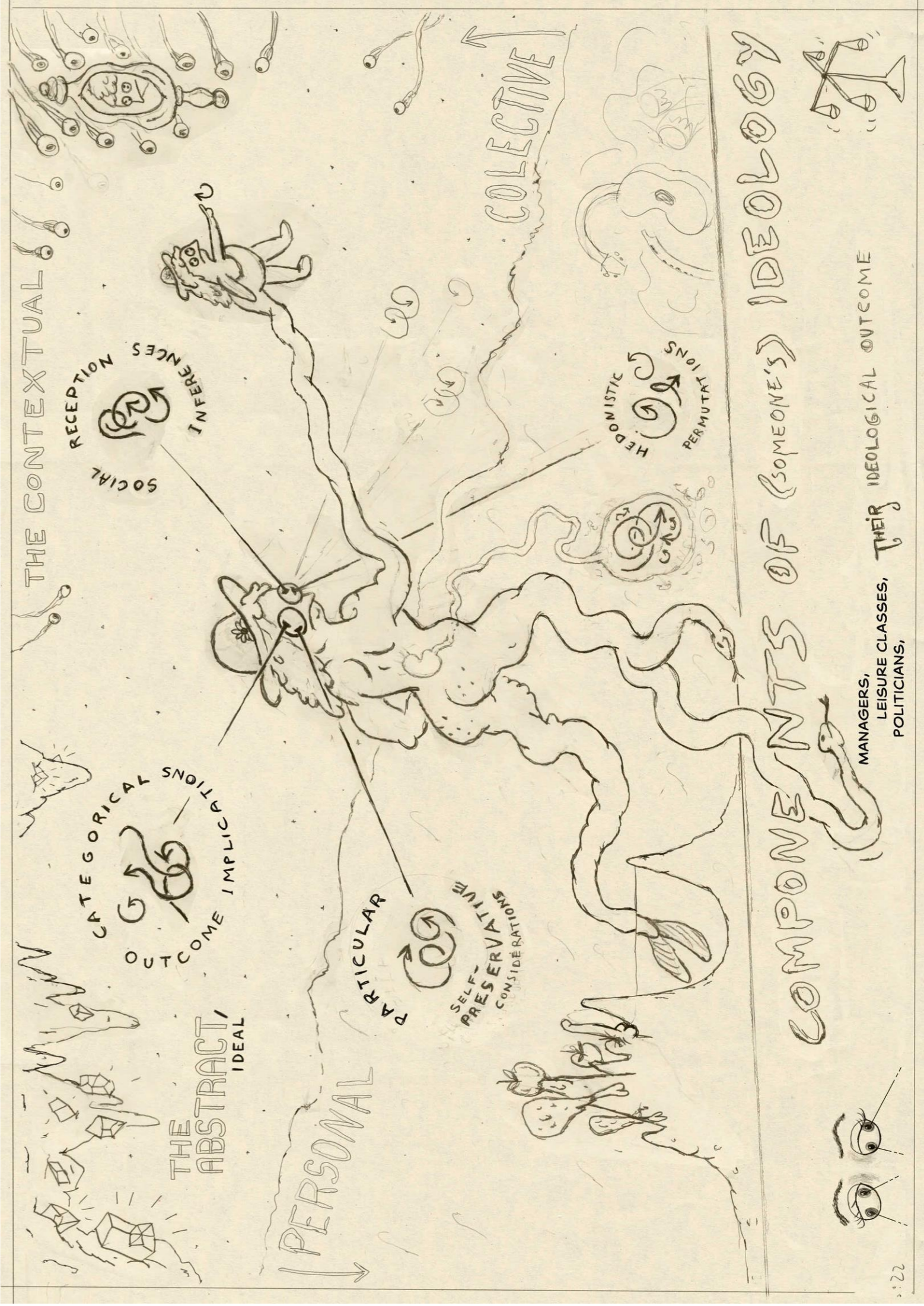
ENTHOGENESES



(EXPERIENCES)



ENTHOGENESES



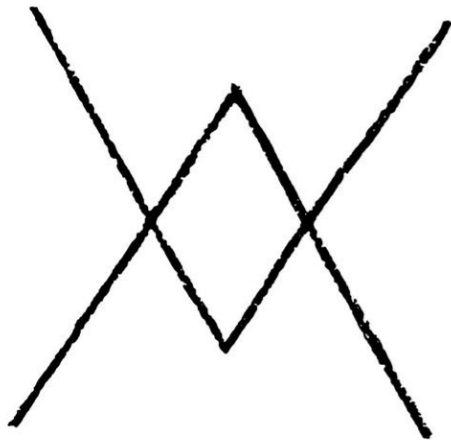
[on sympathy]

The painful impression we experience when recollecting past localised pains of our own is something we also feel as a response to pain being suffered by any other feeling creature—when we can see from the signs that he is suffering or when we know in some other way that he is...

Sympathy is the disposition we have to feel as others do.

... That is why pain and adversity are so effective in making men more compassionate and more human. It is a school that is needed by the rich and powerful, who are distanced from the very idea of misery and misfortune by the almost insurmountable barriers of wealth, egoism, and familiarity with power!

Letters on Sympathy, **Sophie de Grouchy**, 1798



ANDROGYNOUS TOTALITY



**WETHUDIAABEN  
DENBING WITH  
HDEOUBOH**



NOCHE DEL 10 AL 11 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1649

**(SUEÑO DEL MELÓN EXTRANJERO)**

**(on Sympathy)**

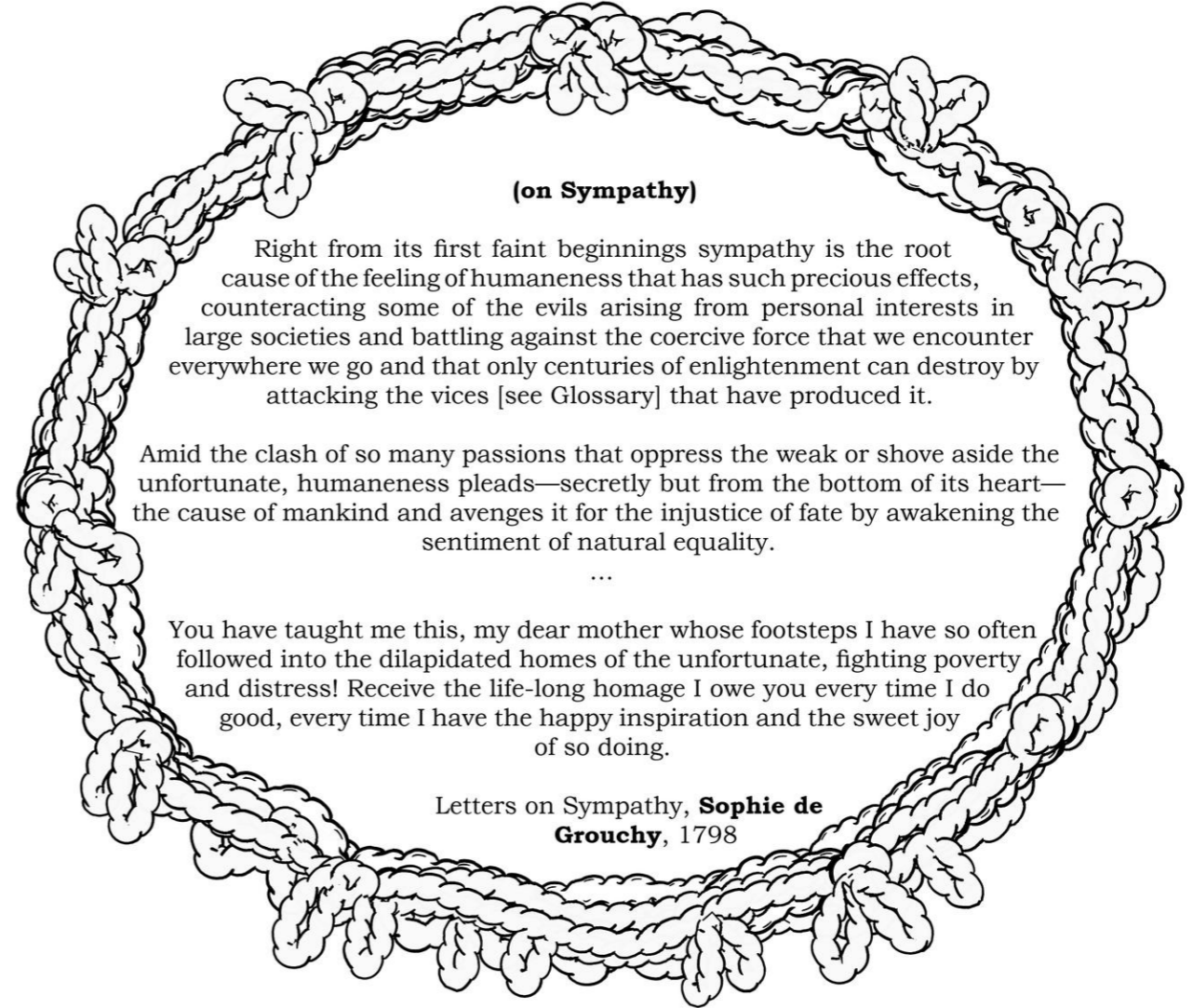
Right from its first faint beginnings sympathy is the root cause of the feeling of humaneness that has such precious effects, counteracting some of the evils arising from personal interests in large societies and battling against the coercive force that we encounter everywhere we go and that only centuries of enlightenment can destroy by attacking the vices [see Glossary] that have produced it.

Amid the clash of so many passions that oppress the weak or shove aside the unfortunate, humaneness pleads—secretly but from the bottom of its heart—the cause of mankind and avenges it for the injustice of fate by awakening the sentiment of natural equality.

...

You have taught me this, my dear mother whose footsteps I have so often followed into the dilapidated homes of the unfortunate, fighting poverty and distress! Receive the life-long homage I owe you every time I do good, every time I have the happy inspiration and the sweet joy of so doing.

Letters on Sympathy, **Sophie de Grouchy**, 1798

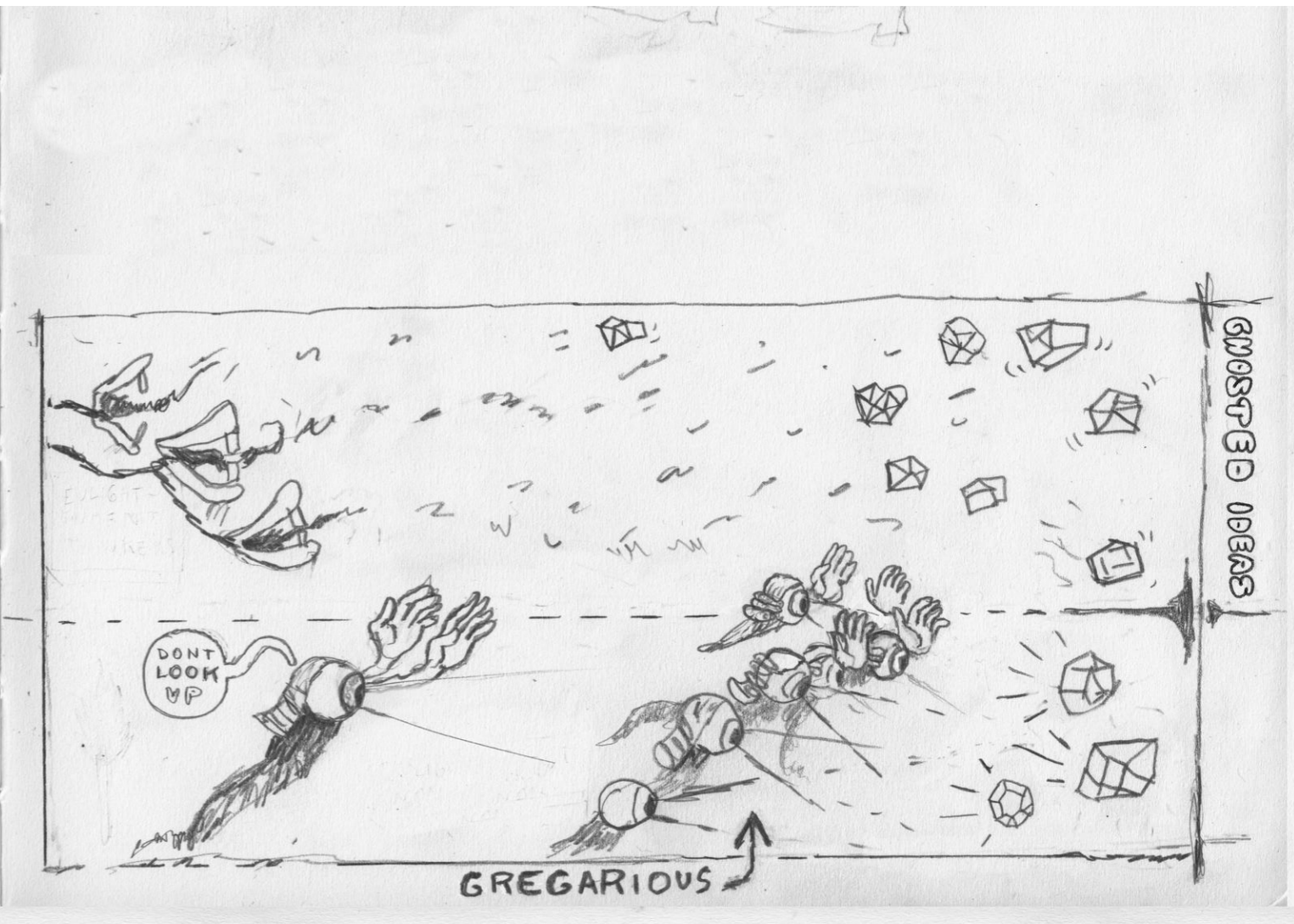
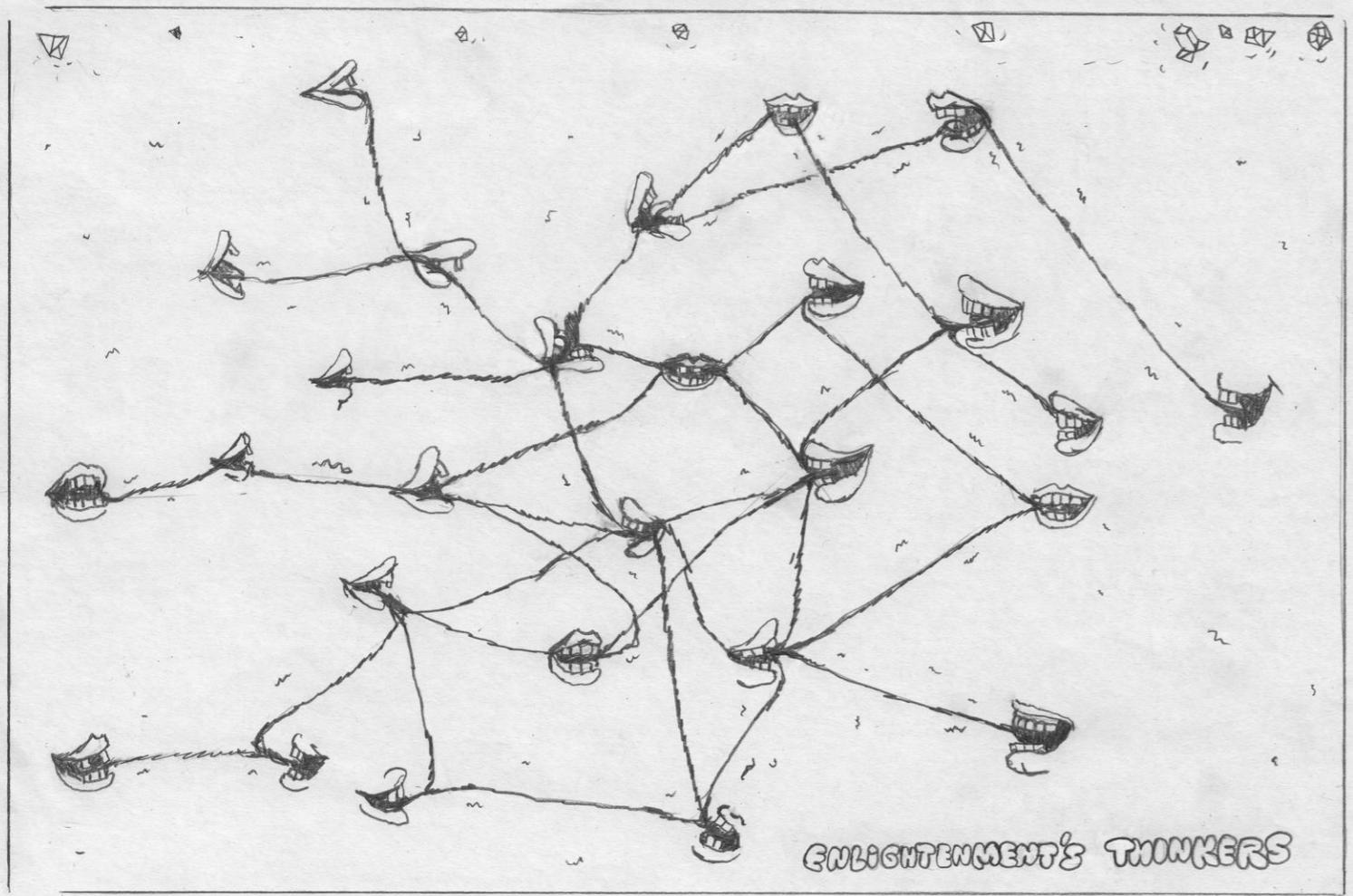
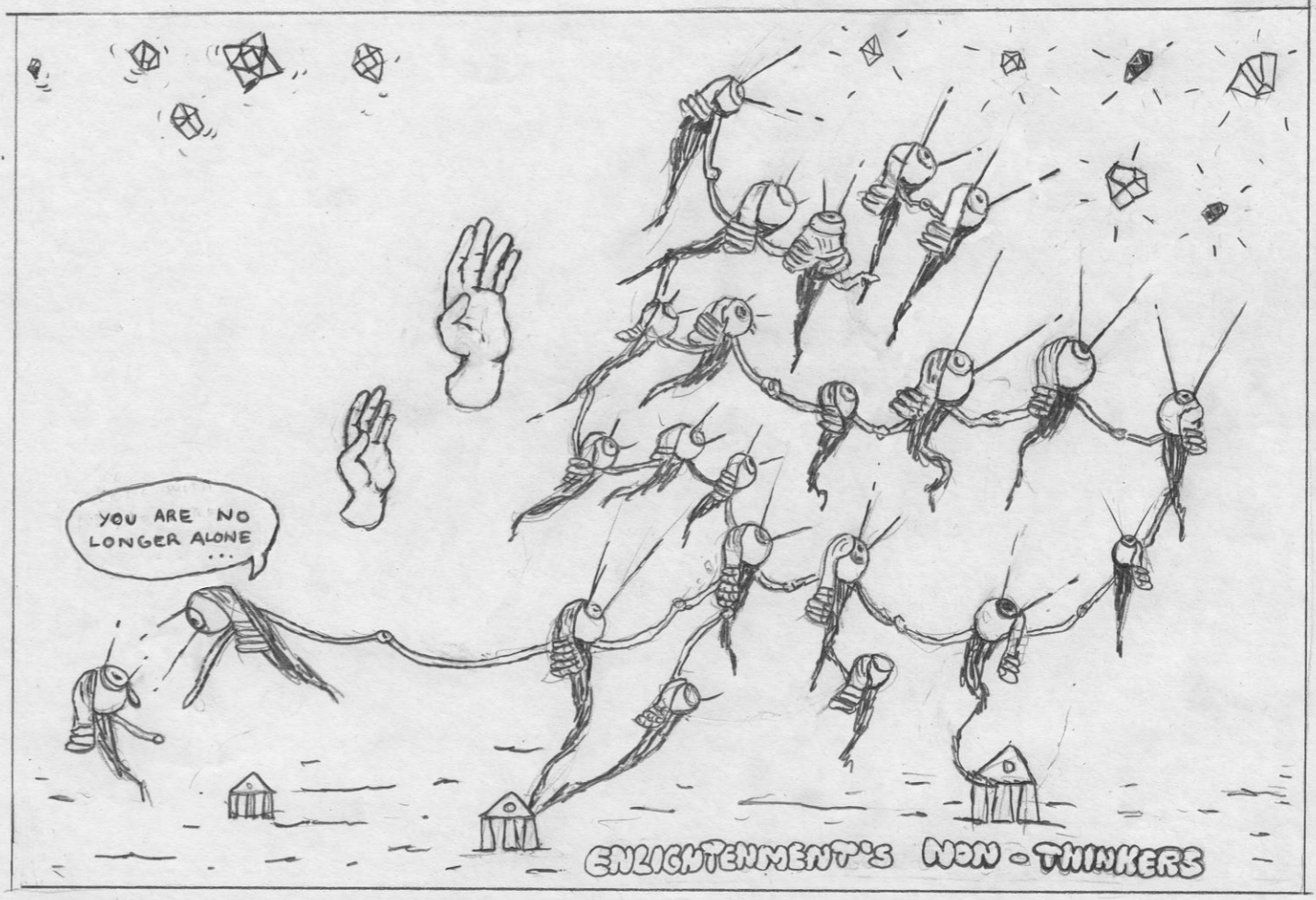


PARIS XVIII TAVERN (INTERIOR)





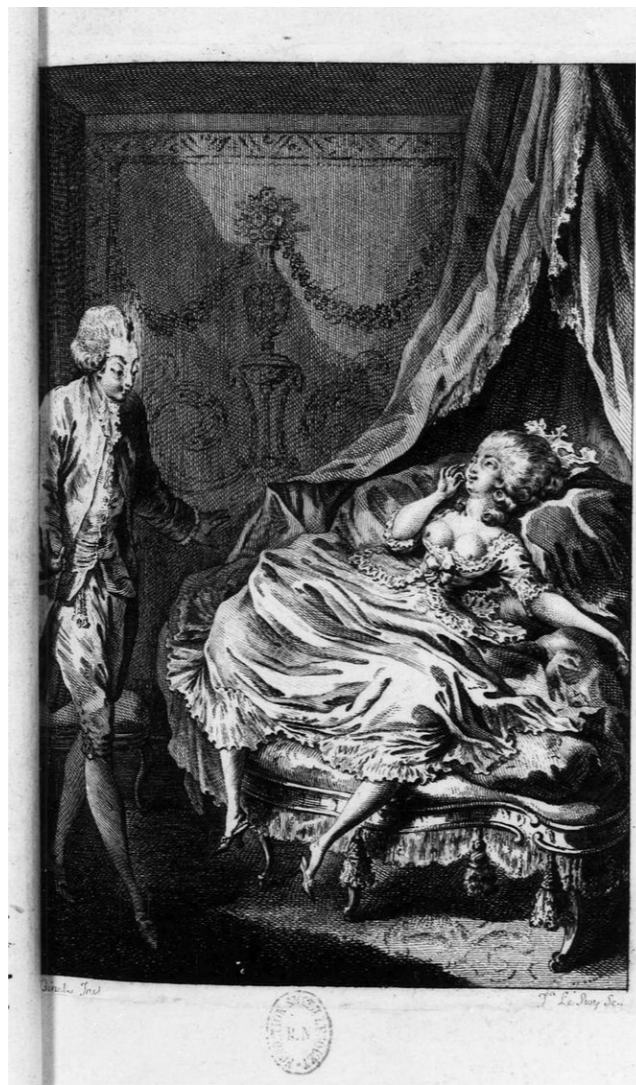
Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



...each individual soon recognises those to whom he owes the better part of his existence, the immediate and permanent causes of his hardships or his joys...

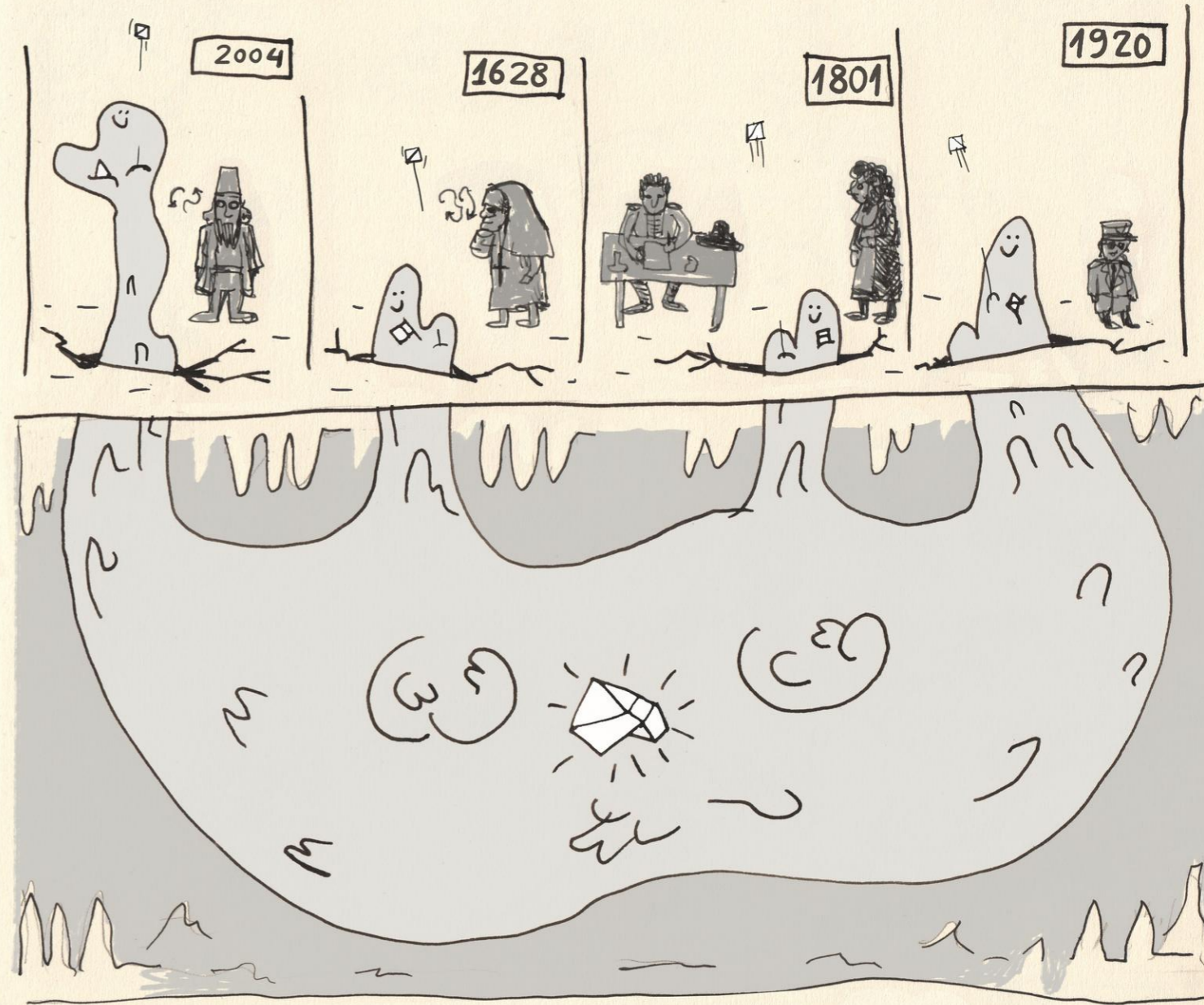
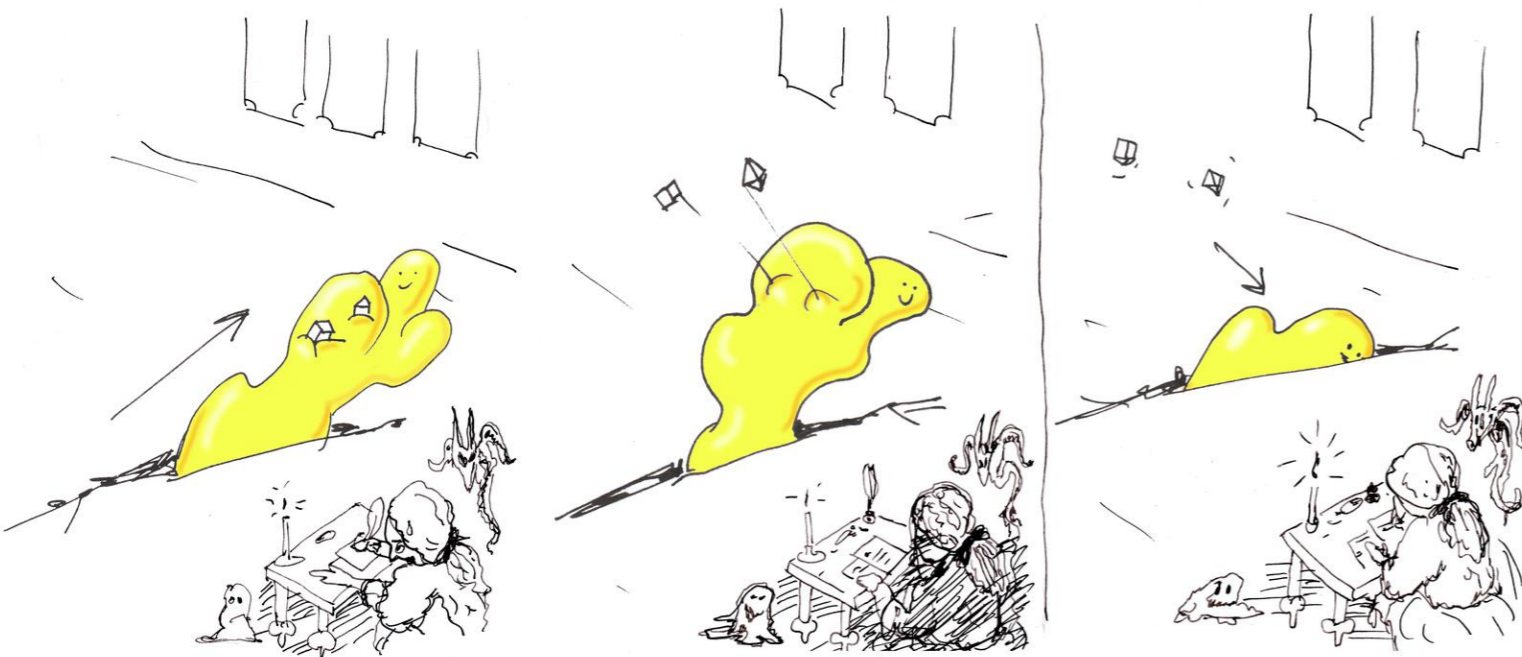
...the mere idea of the persons to whom we owe most of our well-being welfare is sufficient for us to experience a feeling, we are predisposed to have emotions regarding anything that could happen to them; so their pleasures and pains must affect us more intensely than the pains and pleasures of other people.

**Sophie de Grouchy,**  
1798



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

LA PHILOSOPHIE ARRIVES / LEAVES



**SPONTANEOUS EMERGENCE  
OF THE SAME IDEA**

# FILOSOFIE A LA BASTILLE



[A MANS PHILOSOPHIE  
ON WOMANHOOD]

**But for her sex, a woman is a man;** she has the same organs, the same needs, the same faculties. The machine is the same in its construction; its parts, its working, and its appearance are similar. Regard it as you will the difference is only in degree.

...In the union of the sexes each alike contributes to the common end, but in different ways. From this diversity springs the first difference which may be observed between man and woman in their moral relations. The man should be strong and active; the woman should be weak and passive; the one must have both the power and the will; it is enough that the other should offer little resistance.

... When this principle is admitted, it follows that woman is specially made for man's delight. If man in his turn ought to be pleasing in her eyes, the necessity is less urgent, his virtue is in his strength, he pleases because he is strong. I grant you this is not the law of love, but it is the law of nature, which is older than love itself

... the stronger party seems to be master, but is as a matter of fact dependent on the weaker, and that, not by any foolish custom of gallantry, nor yet by the magnanimity of the protector, but by an inexorable law of nature. For nature has endowed woman with a power of stimulating man's passions in excess of man's power of satisfying those passions, and has thus made him dependent on her goodwill, and compelled him in his turn to endeavour to please her, so that she may be willing to yield to his superior strength.

... Is it weakness which yields to force, or is it voluntary self-surrender? This uncertainty constitutes the chief charm of the man's victory, and the woman is usually cunning enough to leave him in doubt

... the woman's mind exactly resembles her body; far from being ashamed of her weakness, she is proud of it; her soft muscles offer no resistance, she professes that she cannot lift the lightest weight; she would be ashamed to be strong. And why? Not only to gain an appearance of refinement; she is too clever for that; she is providing herself beforehand with excuses, with the right to be weak if she chooses.

... There is a law in Deuteronomy, under which the outraged maiden was punished, along with her assailant, if the crime were committed in a town; but if in the country or in a lonely place, the latter alone was punished. "For," says the law, "the maiden cried for help, and there was none to hear." From this merciful interpretation of the law, girls learnt not to let themselves be surprised in lonely places

... On the other hand, women are always exclaiming that we educate them for nothing but vanity and coquetry, that we keep them amused with trifles that we may be their masters; we are responsible, so they say, for the faults we attribute to them. How silly! What have men to do with the education of girls? What is there to hinder their mothers educating them as they please? There are no colleges for girls; so much the better for them! Would God there were none for the boys, their education would be more sensible and more wholesome ...

*Emile or On Education (final chapter/appendix): **Sophy,**  
**Or Woman**, J.J. Rousseau 1762*

# The White Darkness



**VEVER FOR ERZULIE**

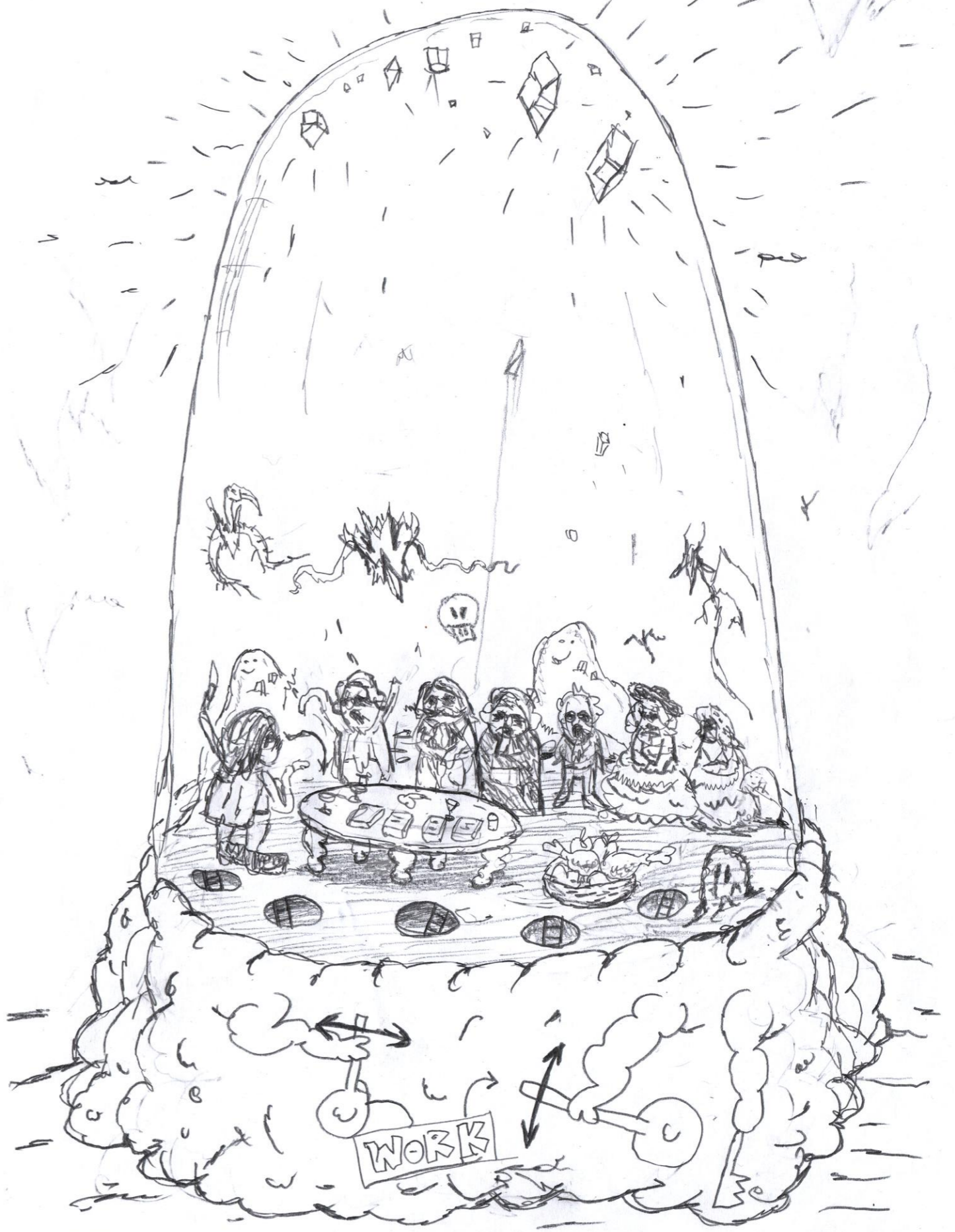


GLOBALIZATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS

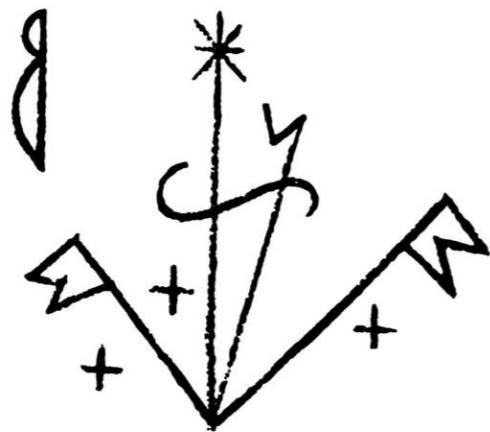


D'HOLBACH'S HOME

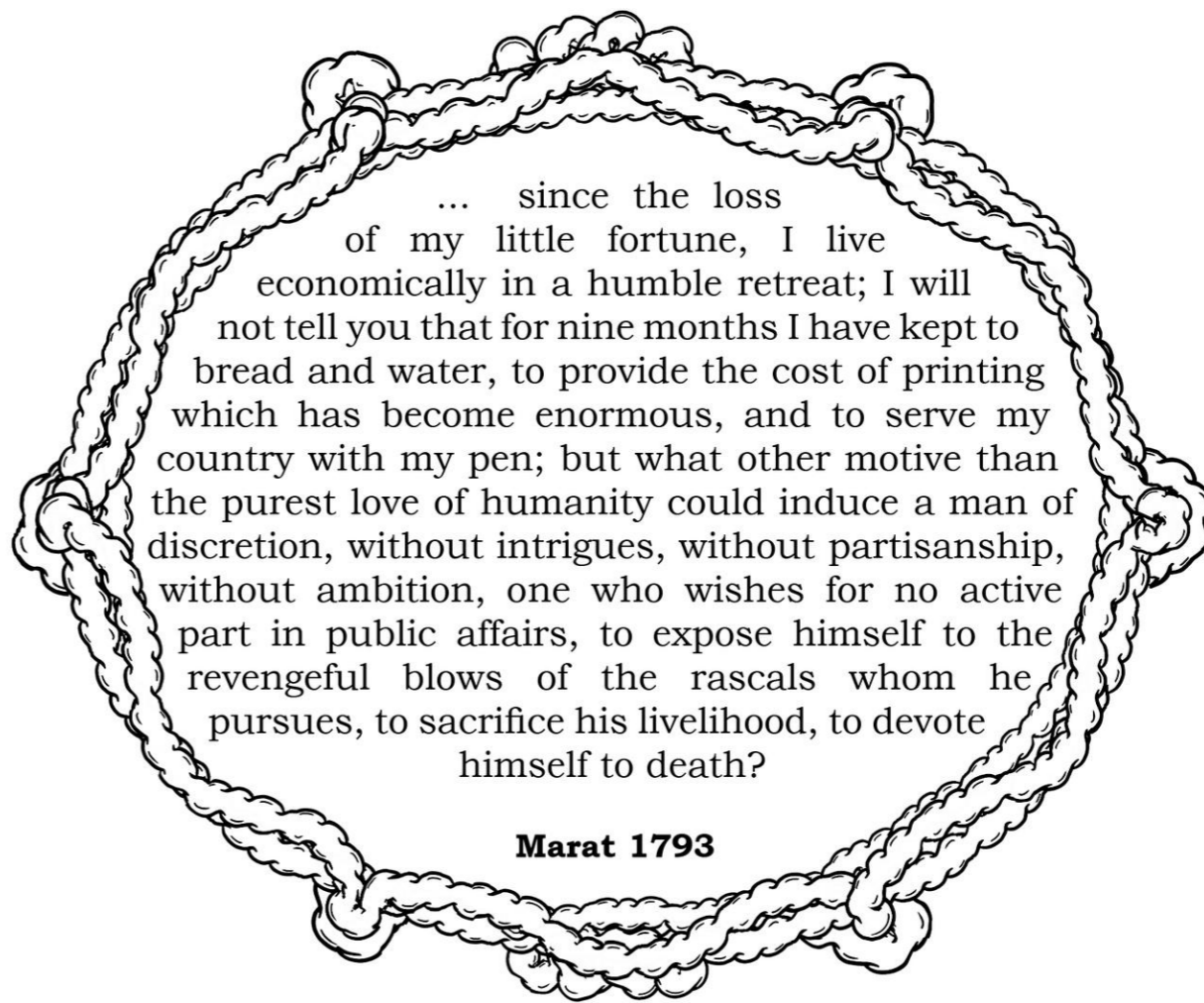
VASE OF ILLUMINATION



The Doors to the Divine World



VEVER FOR OGOUN ST. JACQUES



... since the loss of my little fortune, I live economically in a humble retreat; I will not tell you that for nine months I have kept to bread and water, to provide the cost of printing which has become enormous, and to serve my country with my pen; but what other motive than the purest love of humanity could induce a man of discretion, without intrigues, without partisanship, without ambition, one who wishes for no active part in public affairs, to expose himself to the revengeful blows of the rascals whom he pursues, to sacrifice his livelihood, to devote himself to death?

**Marat 1793**



*L. Boncompagni del. Sculp.*

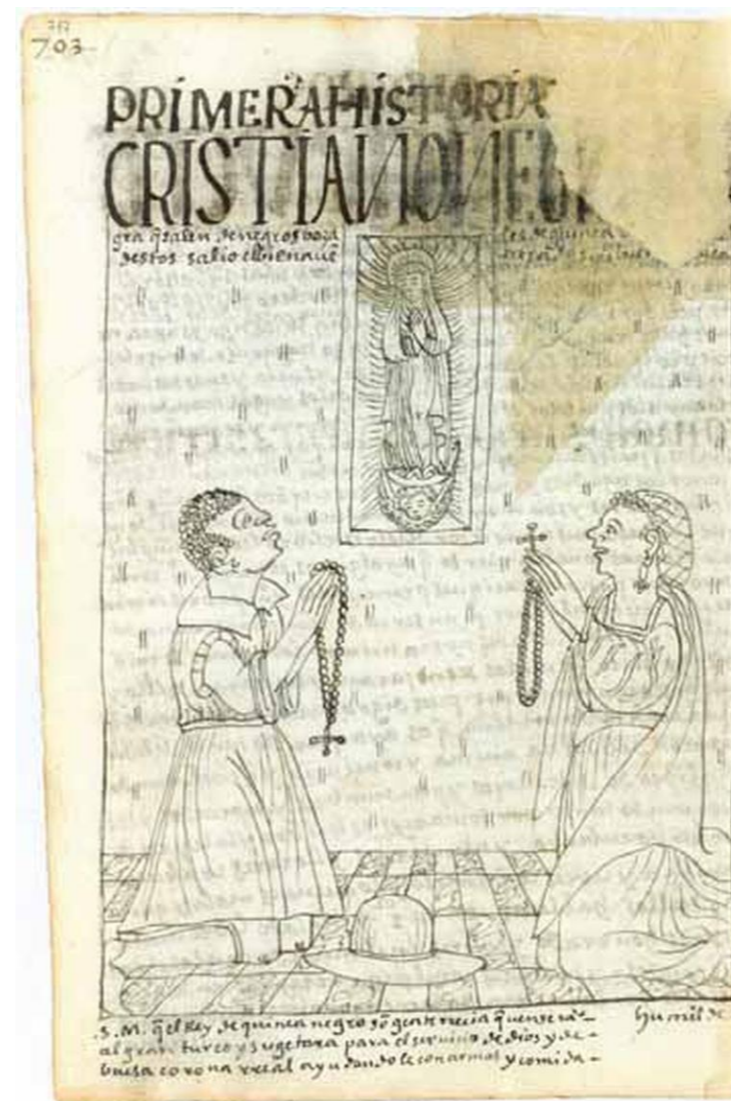
**M. J. PH. ROLAND.**

*Née à Paris en 1756.*

*femme du Ministre de l'intérieur. Assassinée par le Tribunal Révolutionnaire, le 19. Brumaire a. de la Rép.*

PHILOSOPHIE

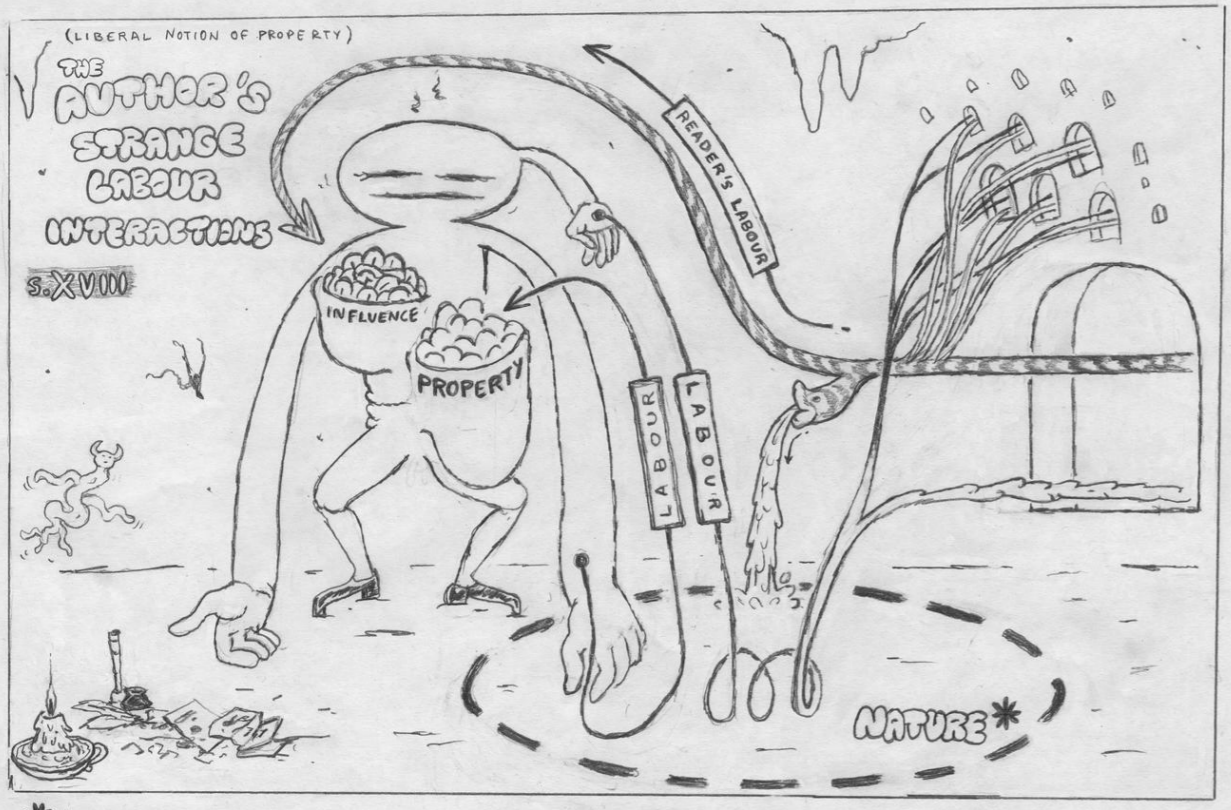
AVEZ TOI AU BOUDOIR



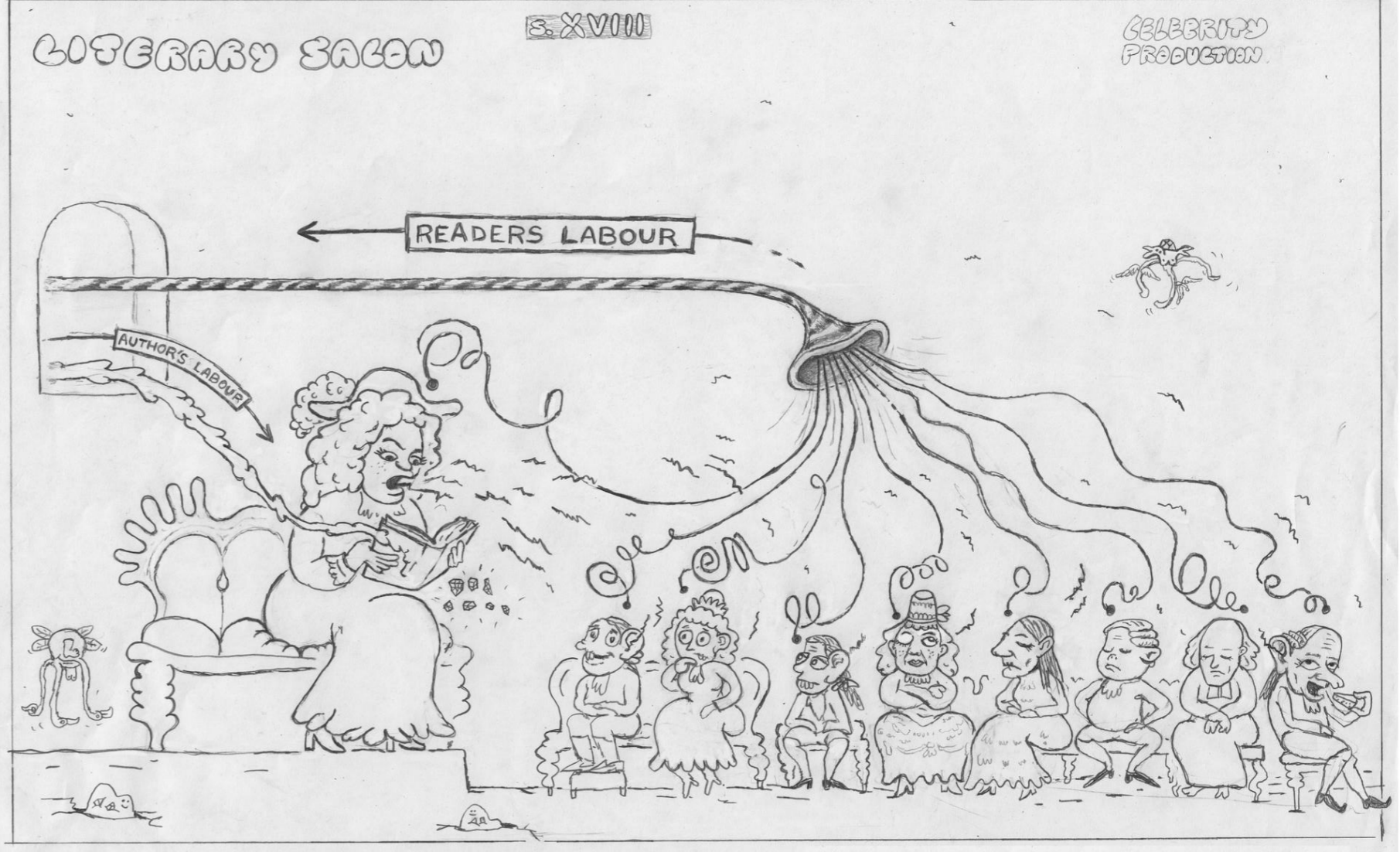
**JUGE DE PAIX.**

*Ces fonctionnaires tâchent de concilier, à l'amiable, les différends qui s'élevont parmi leurs concitoyens; il n'est point dans la magistrature de fonctions plus intéressantes.*

6629 P25884

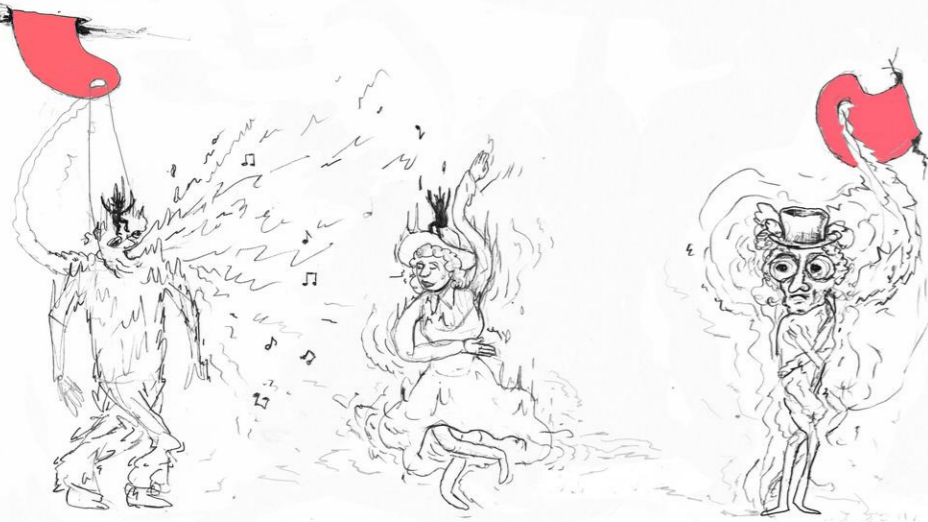


\* INCLUDING THE COMMON CULTURAL HERITAGE OF ALL BEINGS



AUTHOR'S STRANGE LABOUR INTERACTIONS

## ARTISIC LABOURS OF:



I - THE DIVINE



II - SELFOOD

### [REASON, SELF-CENTRISM]

... a virtue so much the more universal, and withal useful to man, as it takes place in him of all manner of reflection; and so natural, that the beasts themselves sometimes give evident signs of it...

... Though it were true that commiseration is no more than a sentiment, which puts us in the place of **ONE** who suffers, a sentiment obscure but active in the savage, developed but dormant in civilized **PERSONS**,

... commiseration must be so much the more energetic, the more intimately the animal, that beholds any kind of distress, identifies himself with the animal that labours under it. Now it is evident that this identification must have been infinitely more perfect in the state of nature than in the state of reason.

It is reason that engenders self-love, and reflection that strengthens it; **it is REASON that makes PERSONS shrink into THEMSELVES**; it is reason that makes **THEM** keep aloof from everything that can trouble or afflict **THEM** ...

It is therefore certain that pity is a natural sentiment, which, by moderating in every individual the activity of self-love, contributes to the mutual preservation of the whole species...

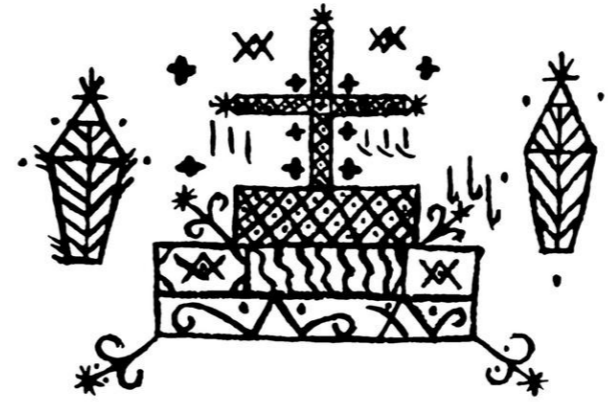
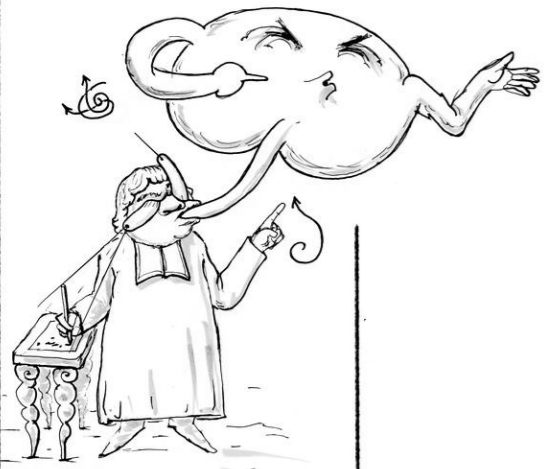
... It is in a word, in this natural sentiment, rather than in fine-spun arguments, that we must look for the cause of that reluctance which every man would experience to do evil, even independently of the maxims of education

J. J. Rousseau 1755

The administration of the great system of the universe... the care of the universal happiness of all rational and sensible beings, is the business of God and not of man.

To man is allotted a much humbler department, but one much more suitable to the weakness of his powers, and to the narrowness of his comprehension: the care of **HIS OWN** happiness, of that of **HIS FAMILY, HIS FRIENDS, HIS COUNTRY**.

The Theory of Moral Sentiments.  
Adam Smith 1759



VEVER FOR GHEDE

**Eb! eh! Bomba chi  
eh! Canga bafio te Canga  
mousselele Canga do ki la Canga li**

We don't know if this is Senegalese or Yolof, Arada or Congo; wedo know . . . these words are a sacramental Voodoo hymn.

Account by a nun of the Community of the Daughters of Our Lady of Cap Français, 1791



virtuosity



**GANARLES EL DINERO  
/ WEELS OF CAPITAL**

The conquest of America gave the first idea of a **new kind of settlement**, the basis of which is agriculture. The governments that sounded those colonies, chose that such of their subjects as they sent thither, should not have it in their power to consume any thing but what they drew from the mother-country, or to sell the produce of their lands to any other state. This double obligation has appeared to all nations to be consonant to the law of nature, independent of all conventions, and self-evident. They have not looked upon an exclusive intercourse with their own colonies as an immoderate compensation for the expenses of settling and preferring them. This has constantly been the system of Europe relative to America.

...when a man of genius, remarkable for the extent of his ideas, ... suggested, that to allow the colonies to receive such foreign goods as cannot be had from France, with ease, and at a moderate price, would be a mode of increasing their prosperity; which must sooner or later flow back to the original country, ... [his] opinion spread an universal alarm in all the ports of the kingdom. They exclaimed that this competition was an infringement of the most sacred rights of the state, and would absorb the principal sources of its wealth.

... Nothing appears to be more consonant to the ends of sound policy, than to allow these islanders the right of governing themselves, provided it be in subordination to the mother-country; nearly in the same manner as a boat follows all the directions of the ship it is fastened to.

*A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*  
**Abbe Raynal 1770**

... good intentions, however, will be useless if the Negroes are not brought under control in the towns and villages whence **the evil is spreading** bit by bit, and if we tolerate their nightly gatherings and gambling dens, their nocturnal dances, associations, and brotherhoods ... and if the town of Le Cap continues to conceal quick-witted fugitive slaves ... who obtain lodgings from ship captains and many town residents, which is an enormous abuse.... There are in the town 2,000 slaves who pay their masters a certain sum every day, week, or month ... but do not see their masters for two or three months.... They rent rooms where they please, where they can commit the worst excesses.... All the slaves are thieves and receivers of stolen goods.

*Report of the Chamber of Agriculture*  
*Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer*  
*Aix-en-Provence 1785*

They became excessively exalted when they meditate a wicked plan. The chief of the plot becomes so ecstatic that he loses consciousness; when he regains consciousness, he claims that his god has spoken to him and has commended the enterprise, but as they do not worship the same god, they hate each other and spy on each other reciprocally, and these plans are almost always denounced.

*Anonymous, 1750*

Who will believe that Voodoo gives place to something further which also goes by the name of dance? In 1768, a slave of Petit-Goave, of Spanish origin, abusing the credulity of the blacks, by superstitious practices gave them an idea of a dance, analogous to that of the Voodoo, but where the movements are more hurried. To make it even more effective the slaves place in the rum, which they drink while dancing, well crushed gun-powder. One has seen this dance, called Dance to Don Pedro, or simply Don Pedro, induce death in the slaves; and the spectators themselves, electrified by the spectacle of this convulsive exercise, share the drunkenness of the actors, and hasten by their chant and a quickened measure, a crisis which is in some way common to them. It has been necessary to forbid them from dancing Don Pedro under grave penalty, but sometimes ineffectually.

*Moreau de Saint-Mery 1789*

ARTICLE 1. There shall be created a provisional corps composed of free men of color.

ARTICLE 2. All free men of color will be eligible for membership therein.

ARTICLE 3. Equally eligible will be all people of color who for want of certification enjoy only a precarious freedom.

ARTICLE 4. For the purpose of providing such people the means to obtain this certification without cost, freedmen who have not had their liberty ratified will be able to acquire the same permanently without cost or tax by serving two years in the said corps at the end of which time their service shall have been completed.

ARTICLE 5. Officers' ranks shall be filled by men of color who are **owners of property** and born of free parents

*Resolution of the General Assembly of Saint-Marc 1790*

Moreau de Saint-Méry: ... For far too long we have been the victims of numerous slanders by men who, calling themselves friends of the blacks, seek to stir up the people of color against the white colonists. Do you not fear the designs of these evil-doers? If you hesitate or delay, they will take advantage of it to spread doubts about your intentions and lead people astray. They will incite war in the colonies and cover them with desolation, ruin, and mourning....

Do you believe that the constitution you have given France is suitable for its colonies? You will either have to give up your wealth and trade, or declare openly that the declaration of rights is not applicable to the colonies. The colonies do not resemble France; this is a truth known to everybody.

They cannot have the same internal regime or the same organization.... Their trade in no manner resembles that of other parts of the empire. If they could not conduct trade in a manner different than you, they would soon cease to be your colonies. If you subjected them to the same laws, they would soon become useless and you would lose your trade with your colonies. Without them, you would lose ... your splendor and your political rank in Europe.  
(Prolonged muttering.) ...

I have heard talk in the assembly of the declaration of the rights of man. Well, if you want the declaration of rights, as far as we are concerned, there are no longer any colonies.  
(Violent grumbling.)

Archives parlementaires de Paris, **Moreau de Saint-Méry, 1791**

...no colony ever so much improved its time as that of St. Domingo. It advanced with the utmost rapidity to a prosperous state.

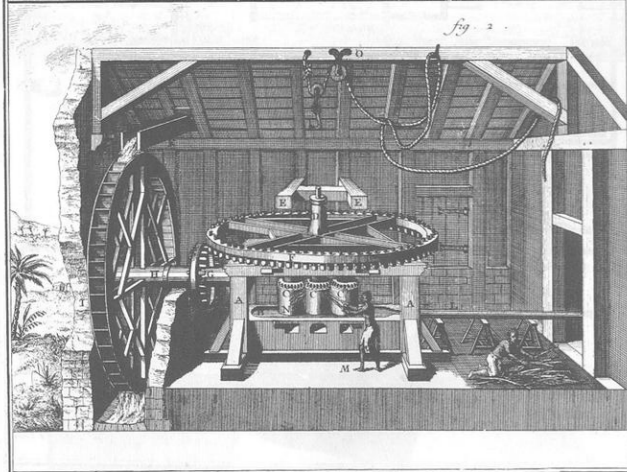
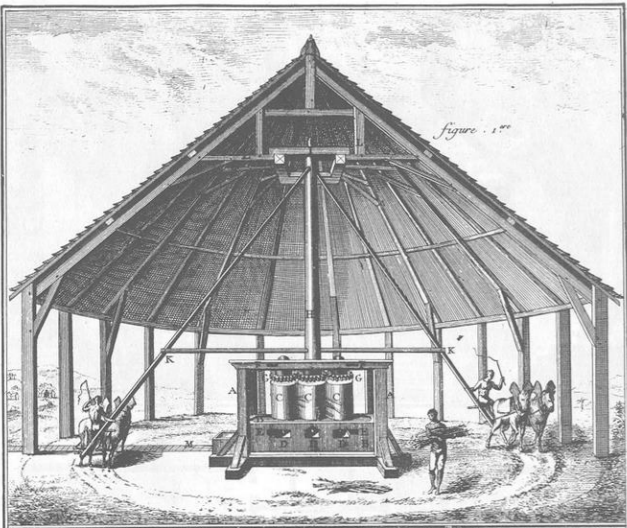
*A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*  
**Abbe Raynal 1770**

... What a fine day it is when we can say with truth that we are all friends and brothers! ... Citizens of color, my friends, you are now to lose this title; there no longer exists any distinction or difference. In the future, we, all together, will have but one title, that of citizen.

*Monsieur the mayor of Port-au-Prince 1791 (concordat)*

Yesterday's law is not binding to-day; but **silence is taken for tacit consent** ... All that [the Sovereign] has once declared itself to will, it wills always, unless it revokes its declaration.

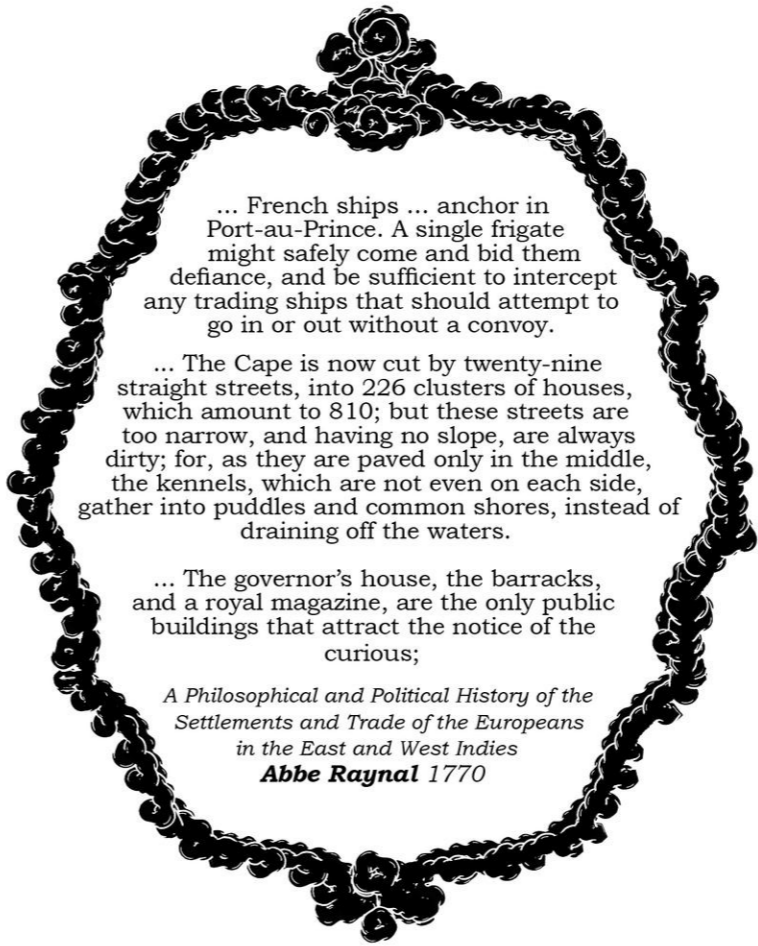
*The Social Contract*  
**Rousseau 1762**



*OEconomie Rustique, Sucre.*



**Selling Females by the pound.** Page 88.

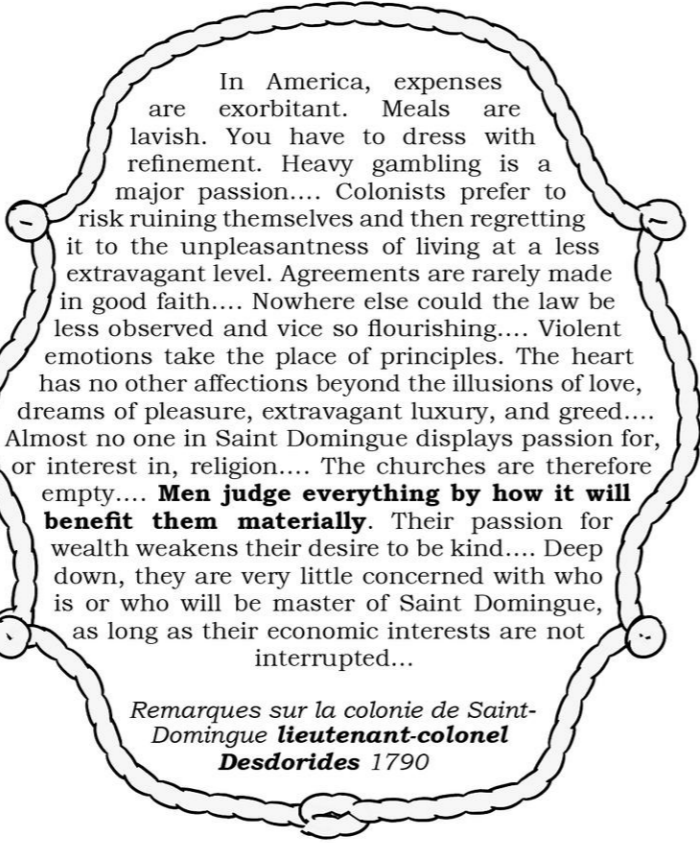
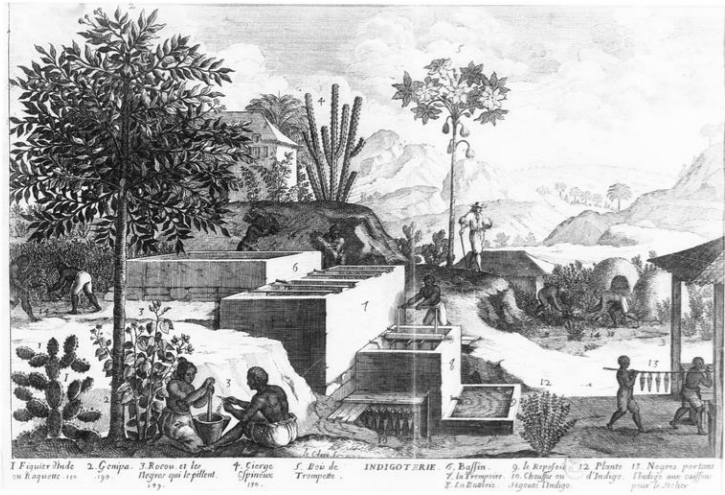


... French ships ... anchor in Port-au-Prince. A single frigate might safely come and bid them defiance, and be sufficient to intercept any trading ships that should attempt to go in or out without a convoy.

... The Cape is now cut by twenty-nine straight streets, into 226 clusters of houses, which amount to 810; but these streets are too narrow, and having no slope, are always dirty; for, as they are paved only in the middle, the kennels, which are not even on each side, gather into puddles and common shores, instead of draining off the waters.

... The governor's house, the barracks, and a royal magazine, are the only public buildings that attract the notice of the curious;

*A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*  
**Abbe Raynal 1770**

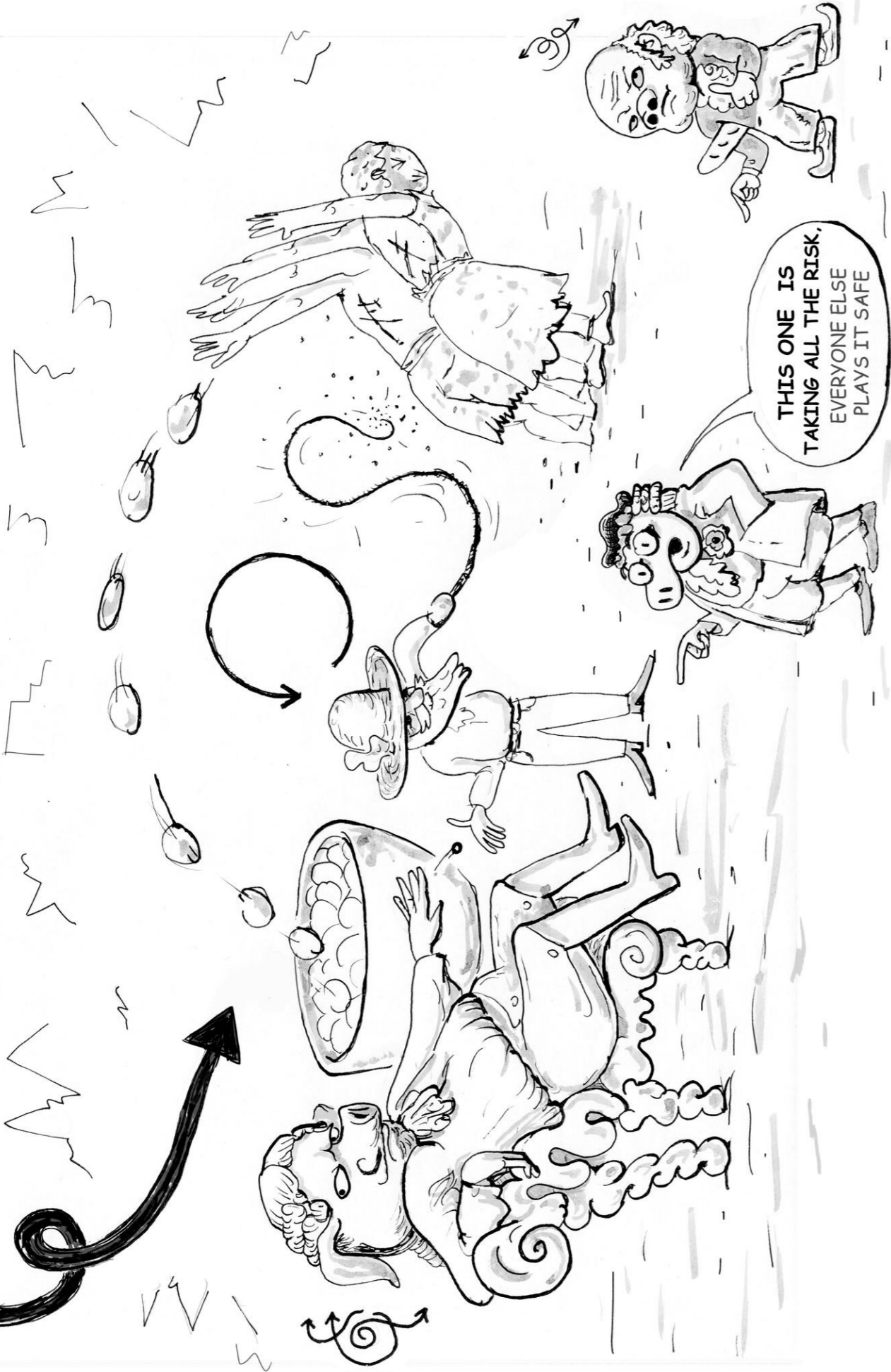


In America, expenses are exorbitant. Meals are lavish. You have to dress with refinement. Heavy gambling is a major passion.... Colonists prefer to risk ruining themselves and then regretting it to the unpleasantness of living at a less extravagant level. Agreements are rarely made in good faith.... Nowhere else could the law be less observed and vice so flourishing.... Violent emotions take the place of principles. The heart has no other affections beyond the illusions of love, dreams of pleasure, extravagant luxury, and greed.... Almost no one in Saint Domingue displays passion for, or interest in, religion.... The churches are therefore empty.... **Men judge everything by how it will benefit them materially.** Their passion for wealth weakens their desire to be kind.... Deep down, they are very little concerned with who is or who will be master of Saint Domingue, as long as their economic interests are not interrupted...

*Remarques sur la colonie de Saint-Domingue*  
**lieutenant-colonel Desdorides 1790**

# THE 'FRUITS OF MY INDUSTRY' MACHINE

OLD



(TO BE CAUTIOUS WITH  
EQUALITY)

.... Nothing has been neglected, gentlemen, to confuse the cause of this class of free men [of color], who are the true strength of the colonies, with that of the slaves themselves. This mistake has been perpetuated for far too long, since the blood of these most unfortunate men is constantly being shed. Let me point out in passing that, every time the free men of color have been mentioned in this assembly, we have immediately been brought back to the slave trade and to the slavery of blacks, which we were not discussing, which we did not want to discuss, and whose cause has nothing in common with that of the mulattoes. (Applause.) We are all well aware that we must not rush things and that immediately giving all political rights to men who are unaware of the duties that go with them would be, perhaps, putting a sword in the hands of a madman. It would be a despicable present for them, too....

*Debates at the National Convention,  
Abbé Grégoire intervention, 11  
May 1791*

## A Petition to the National Assembly

Article 1. The inhabitants of the French colonies are divided and apportioned into solely two classes, that of free men and that of men who were born and are living in slavery.

Article 2. The class of free men includes not only all whites, also all creoles of color, including free blacks, mulattoes, quadroons, and others.

Article 3. The creole freedmen, as well as their children and posterity, must enjoy the same rights, rank, prerogatives, freedoms, and privileges as the other colonists.

Article 4. To this end, the creoles of color demand that the Declaration of the Rights of Man proclaimed in the National Assembly apply both to them and the whites, and in consequence that the articles 57 and 59 of the Edict of March 1685 be renewed and carried out according to their form and intent.

5 . . .

Article 6. In consequence, the National Assembly will be requested to declare:

1. That the Negroes and creoles of color will . . . share with the whites the difficulties and honor of employment in civil government and military service.
2. That, to achieve this, the law courts will be open to them. They will have access to the highest posts in the judiciary and be free to present themselves for the secondary posts such as those of attorney, notary, prosecutor, registrar, court bailiff . . . both in France and the colonies.
3. That they will similarly be promoted under the same conditions to all military posts and appointments, so that their color ceases to be a reason for excluding them.
4. That, to put an end, even as a pretext, to a distinction that must not exist among free men, the Volunteer Companies of blacks, mulattoes, and quadroons shall be combined and from this time on will be recruited among both whites and men of color. . . .
8. That the priesthood, the sciences, the arts, and the skilled trades, in a word all types of employment, will be accessible to citizens of color, as until the present they have been accorded to whites.
9. That there will be founded in the different colonies schools and public colleges in which creoles of color and even black freedmen, or their children, will be admitted together with whites without any sort of preference or favoritism. . . .

Article 20. To consolidate the regeneration of the species and re-establish good manners, . . . the National Assembly will be requested to declare that, from the date of the future decree, all mulattoes and all people of color other than Negroes will be and remain free, so that henceforward there is none living in slavery. . . .

Article 30. Finally, the National Assembly will be requested to admit the deputies that the free citizens of color propose to elect and to order that, in the future, the whites together with the free citizens of color will participate in the primary, municipal, and colonial assemblies, both for the administration of their common interests and to nominate their representatives.

Society of American Colonists, Paris, 1789

By the first, they acquired liberty; by the second, property.

**We should not decide by the laws of liberty ... what ought to be decided by the laws concerning property.** It is a paralogism to say that the good of the individual should give way to that of the public; this can never take place, except when the government of the community, or, in other words, the liberty of the subject is concerned; this does not affect such cases as relate to private property, because the public good consists in every one's having his property, which was given him by the civil laws, invariably preserved.

Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, 1748

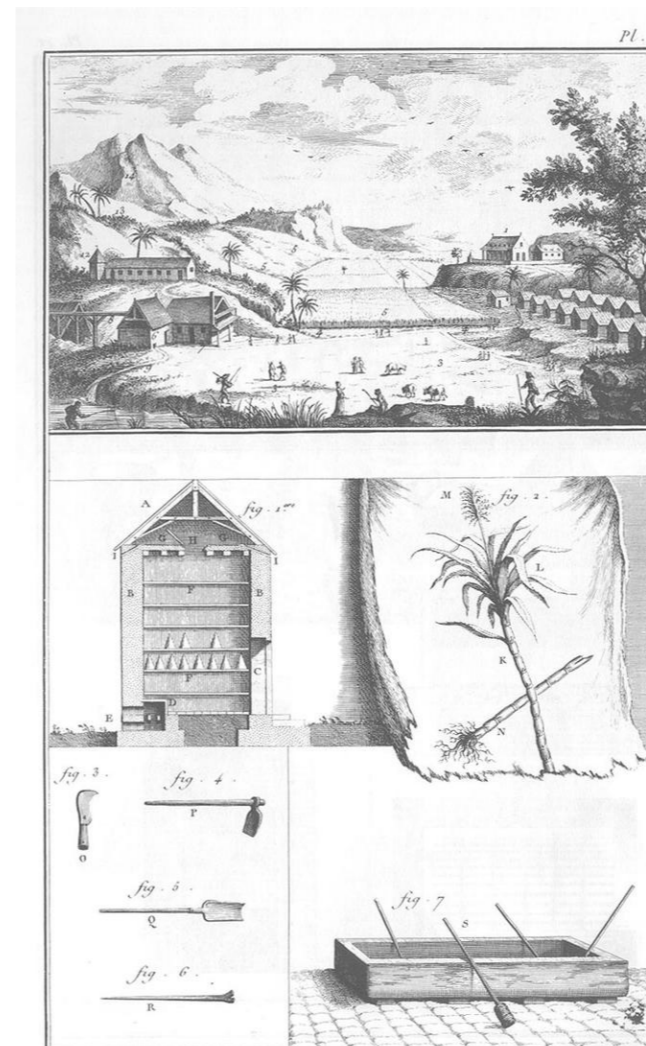
## [PROPERTY RIGHTS]

And can the property of knaves be more sacred than the life of a man?

... Up to the present moment the big merchants who are, by principle criminals and by habit accomplices of kings, have abused the freedom of commerce to oppress the people; they have falsely interpreted that article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man that establishes that it is permitted to do all that is not forbidden by the law...

... The freedom of commerce is the right to use and to make use of, and not the right to tyrannize and prevent use.

Adress to the Natinal Convention by Jaques Roux, 1793



OEconomie Rustique, Suverie.

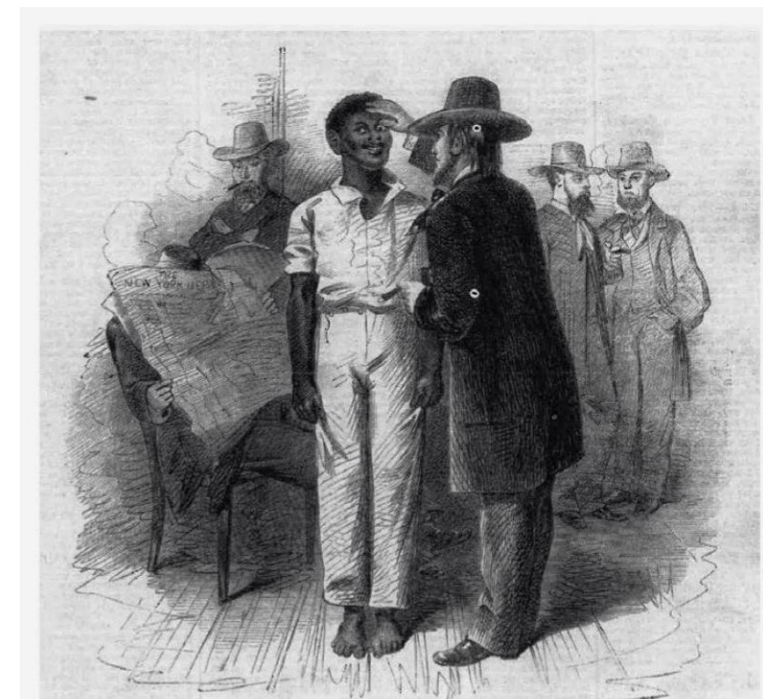


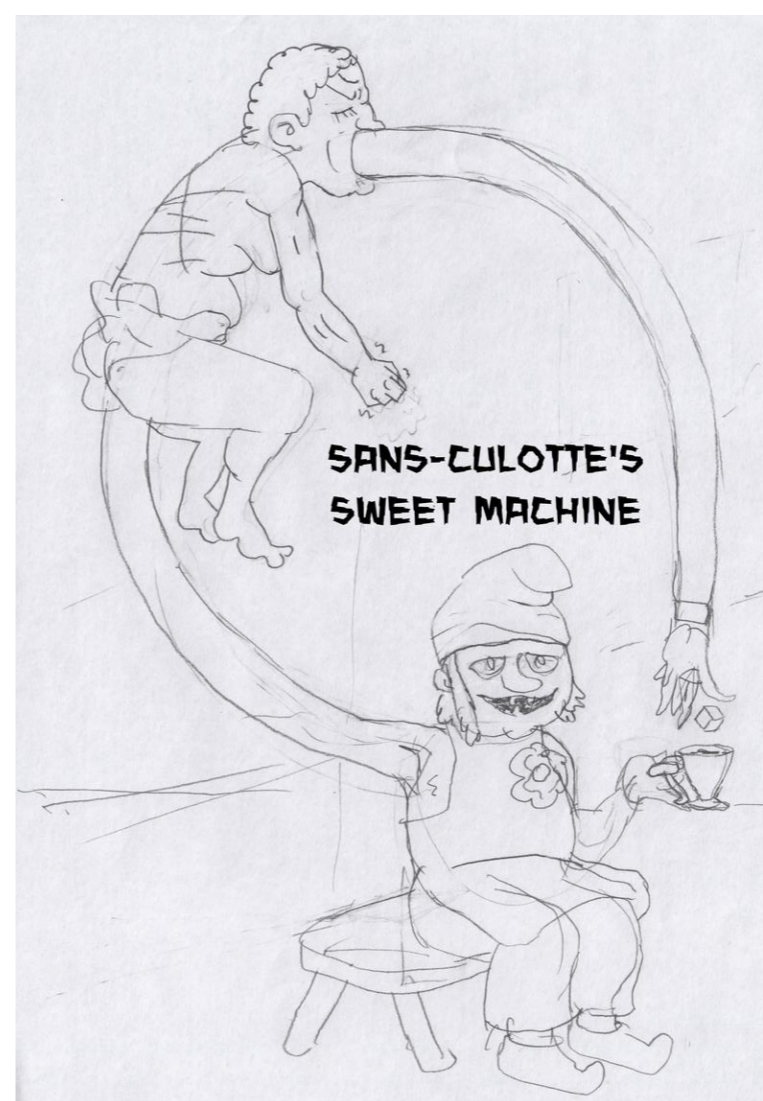
Image 3.3. Inspection was part of the process of establishing a human being as a "hand" available and ready for sale. This was serious business, but here the enslaved person was required to play a role—standing still, not resisting, answering questions with the most market-friendly responses and behaviors. *Illustrated London News*, February 16, 1861, p. 138.



FRENCH LIBERTY.



BRITISH SLAVERY.



[CONFORMITY TO THE MAJORITY... AND LABOUR]

I. ... the first duty of the legislator is to make the laws conformable to the **general will**...

II. The second essential rule of public economy is no less important than the first. If you would have the **general will** accomplished, bring all the particular wills into conformity with it ...

III. ... It is not enough to have citizens and to protect them, it is also necessary to consider their subsistence... the third essential duty of government ... [is] to **keep plenty so within their reach that labour is always necessary** and never useless for its acquisition.

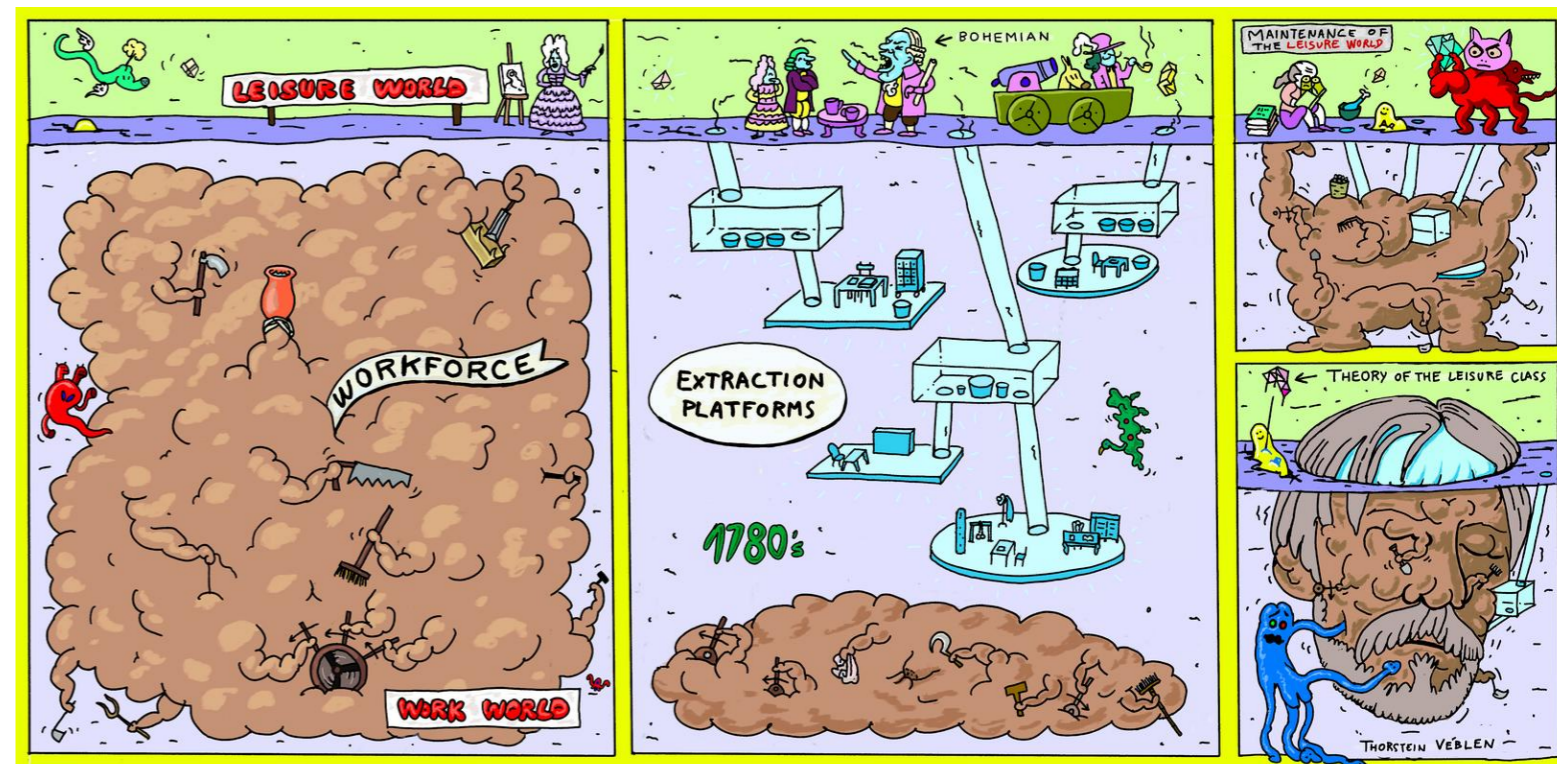
*A Discourse On Political Economy*  
**J. J. Rousseau** 1755



[THE EUROPEAN DREAM]

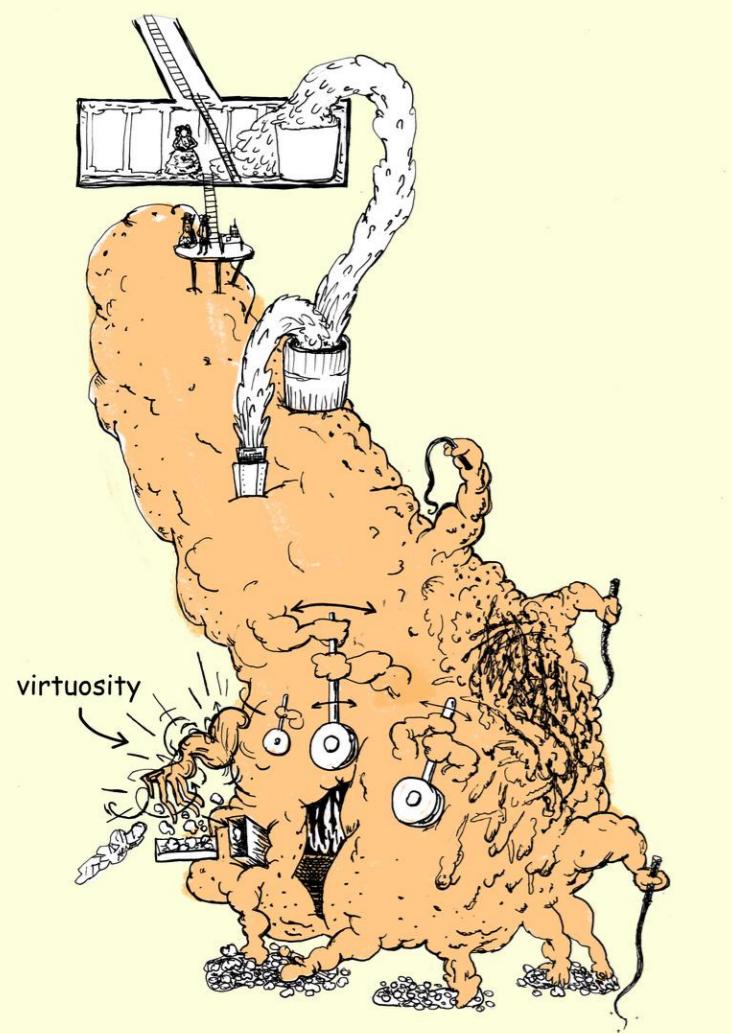
LIX. We grant to freed slaves the same rights, privileges and immunities that are enjoyed by freeborn persons. We desire that they are deserving of this acquired freedom, and that this freedom gives them, as much for their person as for their property, the same happiness that natural liberty has on our other subjects.

1685 Decree Louis XIV



ICONOGRAPHIC KEY

NEW STUFF HERE



THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO NOTHING FOR **THE MERCHANT** EXCEPT TO LEAVE HIM ALONE. NO REGULATIONS CAN GUIDE HIM IN HIS ENTERPRISE SO WELL AS HIS OWN INTEREST.

[...]

THE STATE OWES COMMERCE NOTHING BUT PROTECTION. AMONG COMMERCIAL NATIONS THOSE THAT ALLOW THEIR SUBJECTS THE MOST UNLIMITED LIBERTY MAY BE SURE OF SOON EXCELLING ALL OTHERS.

**PAUL-HENRI THIRY, BARON D'HOLBACH,**  
**ETHIOCRATIE (1776)**

...  
**Abandon the colonies, and these sources of prosperity will disappear or diminish.**

Abandon the colonies, and you will import, at great price, from foreigners what they buy today from you.

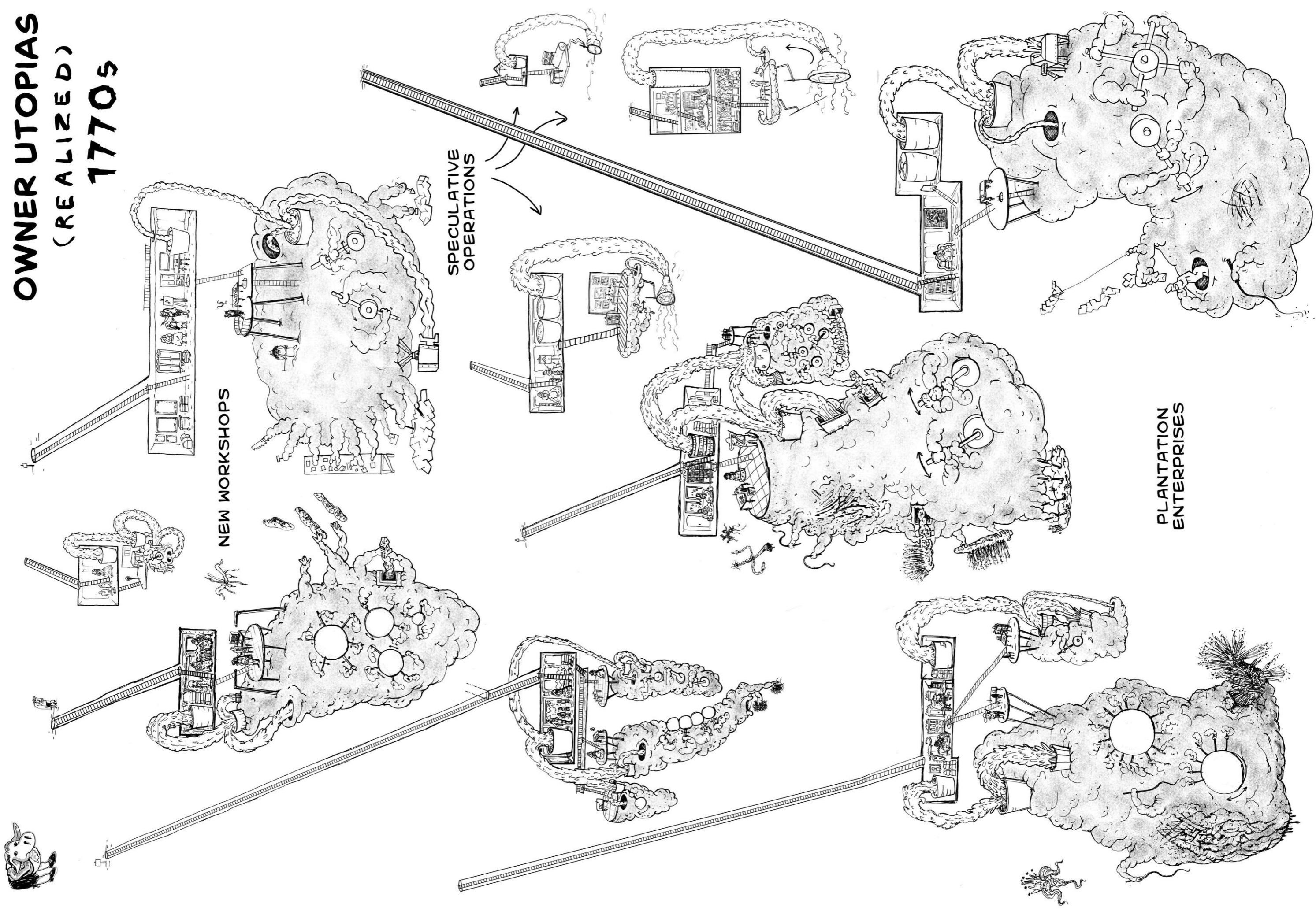
Abandon the colonies at the moment when your establishments there are based on possessing them, and listlessness will replace activity, and misery abundance.

The mass of workers, of useful and hard working citizens, will pass quickly from a state of ease into the most deplorable situation;

Finally, agriculture and our finances will soon be struck by the same disaster experienced in commerce and manufactures.

A lawyer's malediction at the **National Assembly**, 1790

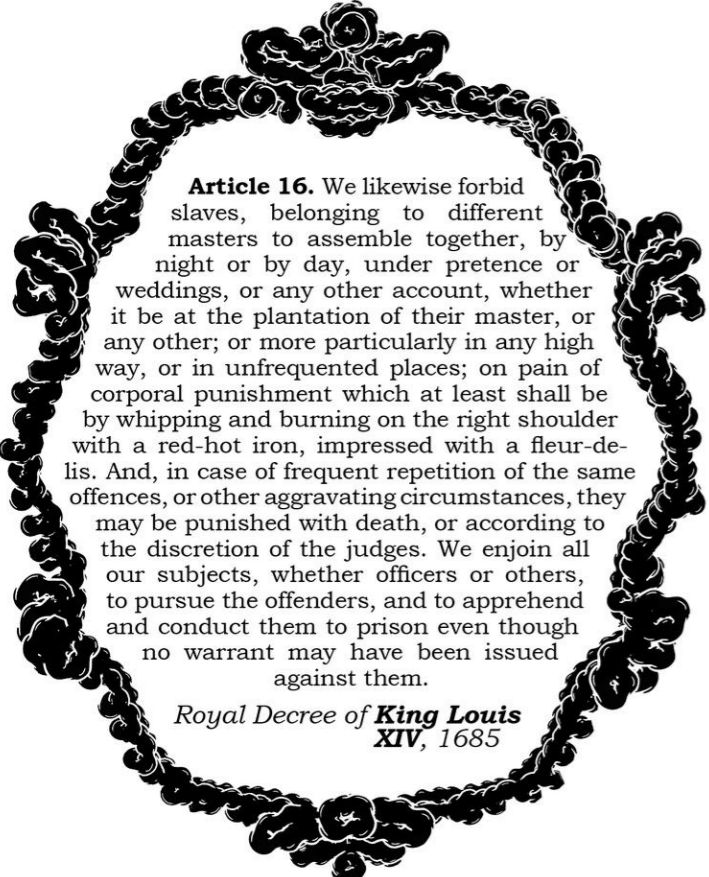
# OWNER UTOPIAS (REALIZED) 1770s



NEW WORKSHOPS

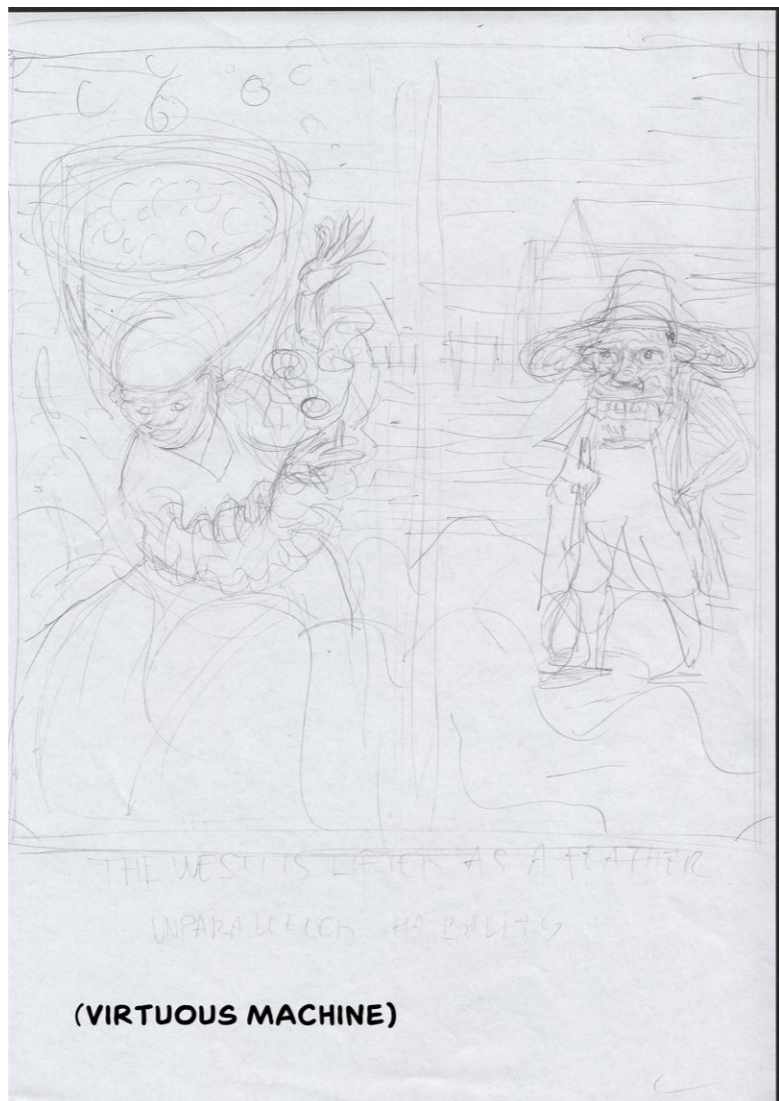
SPECULATIVE OPERATIONS

PLANTATION ENTERPRISES

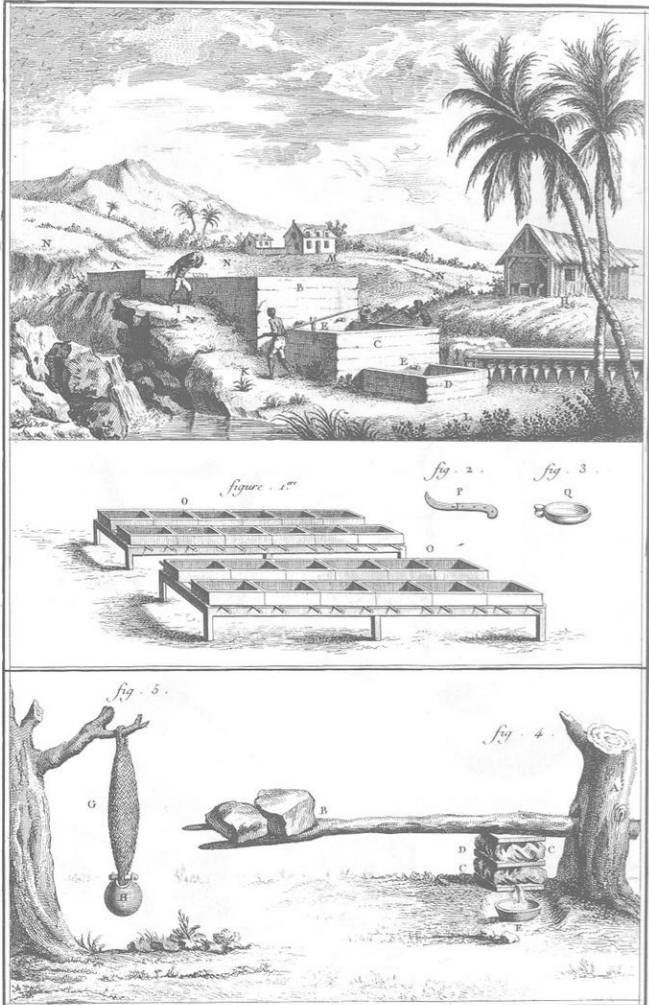


**Article 16.** We likewise forbid slaves, belonging to different masters to assemble together, by night or by day, under pretence or weddings, or any other account, whether it be at the plantation of their master, or any other; or more particularly in any high way, or in unfrequented places; on pain of corporal punishment which at least shall be by whipping and burning on the right shoulder with a red-hot iron, impressed with a fleur-de-lis. And, in case of frequent repetition of the same offences, or other aggravating circumstances, they may be punished with death, or according to the discretion of the judges. We enjoin all our subjects, whether officers or others, to pursue the offenders, and to apprehend and conduct them to prison even though no warrant may have been issued against them.

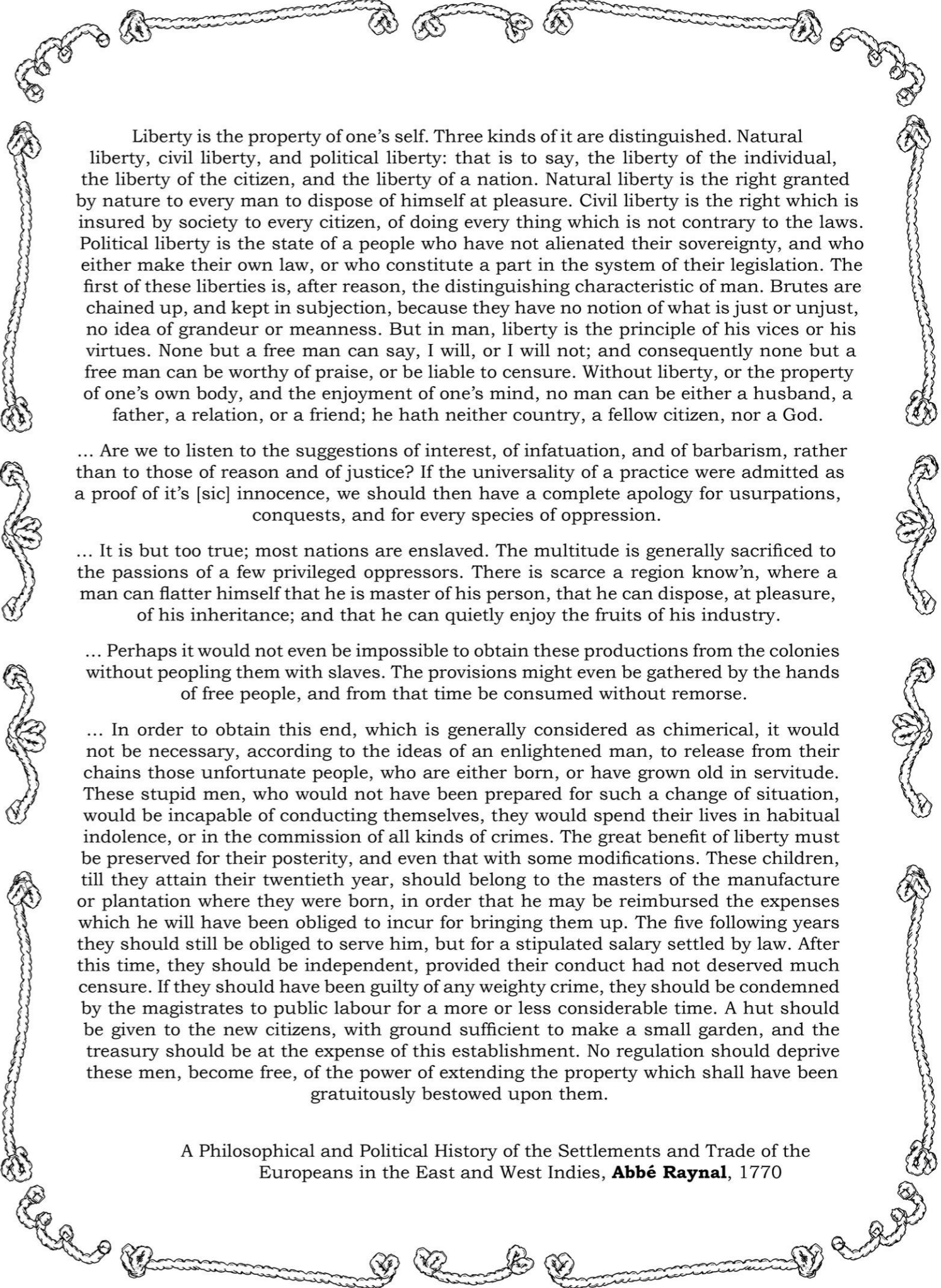
Royal Decree of **King Louis XIV**, 1685



(VIRTUOUS MACHINE)



OEconomie Rustique, Indigobrie et Manoe.



Liberty is the property of one's self. Three kinds of it are distinguished. Natural liberty, civil liberty, and political liberty: that is to say, the liberty of the individual, the liberty of the citizen, and the liberty of a nation. Natural liberty is the right granted by nature to every man to dispose of himself at pleasure. Civil liberty is the right which is insured by society to every citizen, of doing every thing which is not contrary to the laws. Political liberty is the state of a people who have not alienated their sovereignty, and who either make their own law, or who constitute a part in the system of their legislation. The first of these liberties is, after reason, the distinguishing characteristic of man. Brutes are chained up, and kept in subjection, because they have no notion of what is just or unjust, no idea of grandeur or meanness. But in man, liberty is the principle of his vices or his virtues. None but a free man can say, I will, or I will not; and consequently none but a free man can be worthy of praise, or be liable to censure. Without liberty, or the property of one's own body, and the enjoyment of one's mind, no man can be either a husband, a father, a relation, or a friend; he hath neither country, a fellow citizen, nor a God.

... Are we to listen to the suggestions of interest, of infatuation, and of barbarism, rather than to those of reason and of justice? If the universality of a practice were admitted as a proof of it's [sic] innocence, we should then have a complete apology for usurpations, conquests, and for every species of oppression.

... It is but too true; most nations are enslaved. The multitude is generally sacrificed to the passions of a few privileged oppressors. There is scarce a region know'n, where a man can flatter himself that he is master of his person, that he can dispose, at pleasure, of his inheritance; and that he can quietly enjoy the fruits of his industry.

... Perhaps it would not even be impossible to obtain these productions from the colonies without peopling them with slaves. The provisions might even be gathered by the hands of free people, and from that time be consumed without remorse.

... In order to obtain this end, which is generally considered as chimerical, it would not be necessary, according to the ideas of an enlightened man, to release from their chains those unfortunate people, who are either born, or have grown old in servitude. These stupid men, who would not have been prepared for such a change of situation, would be incapable of conducting themselves, they would spend their lives in habitual indolence, or in the commission of all kinds of crimes. The great benefit of liberty must be preserved for their posterity, and even that with some modifications. These children, till they attain their twentieth year, should belong to the masters of the manufacture or plantation where they were born, in order that he may be reimbursed the expenses which he will have been obliged to incur for bringing them up. The five following years they should still be obliged to serve him, but for a stipulated salary settled by law. After this time, they should be independent, provided their conduct had not deserved much censure. If they should have been guilty of any weighty crime, they should be condemned by the magistrates to public labour for a more or less considerable time. A hut should be given to the new citizens, with ground sufficient to make a small garden, and the treasury should be at the expense of this establishment. No regulation should deprive these men, become free, of the power of extending the property which shall have been gratuitously bestowed upon them.

A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies, **Abbé Raynal**, 1770

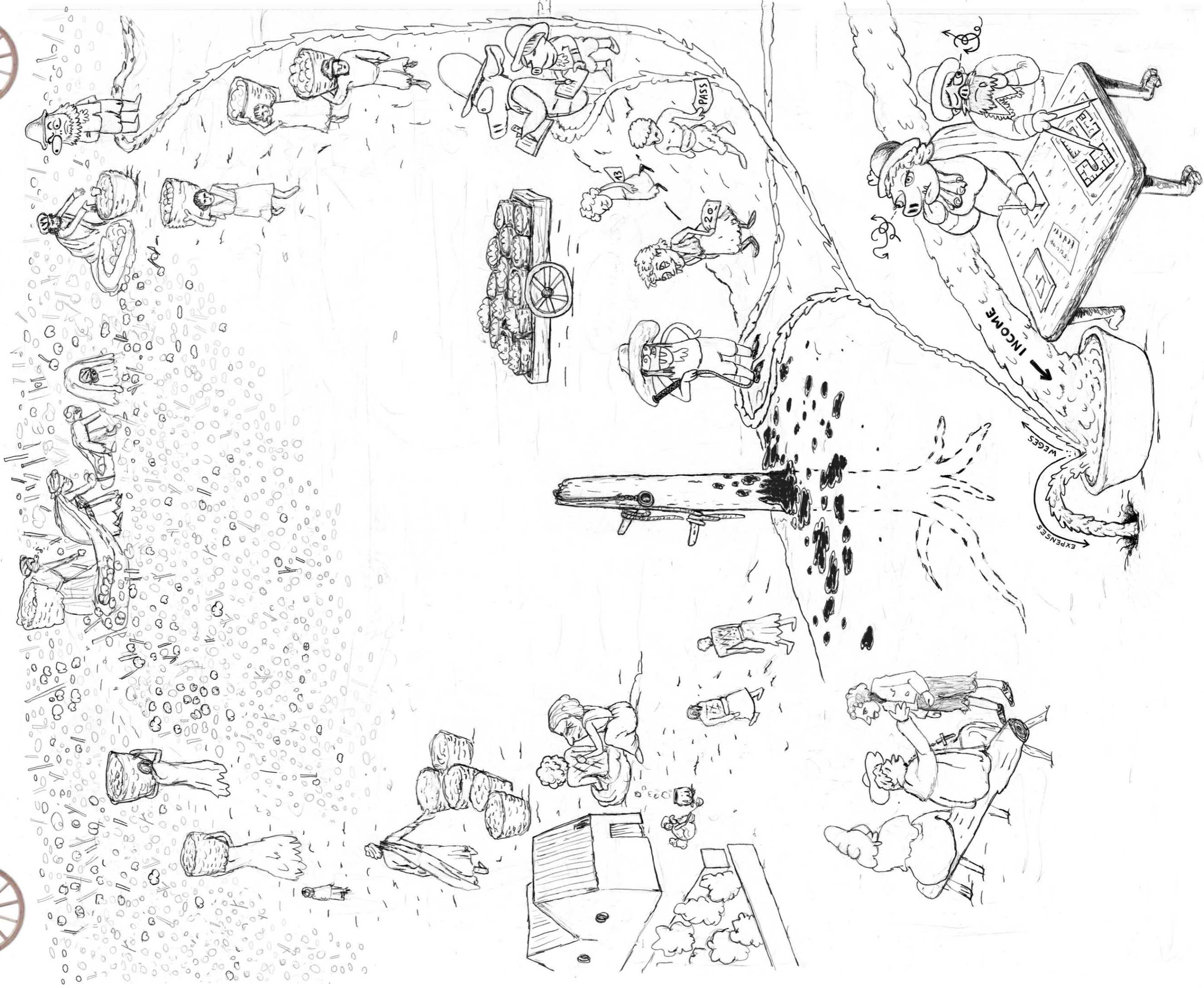
# WHEELS OF CAPITAL

# THE PUSHING SYSTEM

(NORTH AMERICAN COTTON XVIII & XIX)

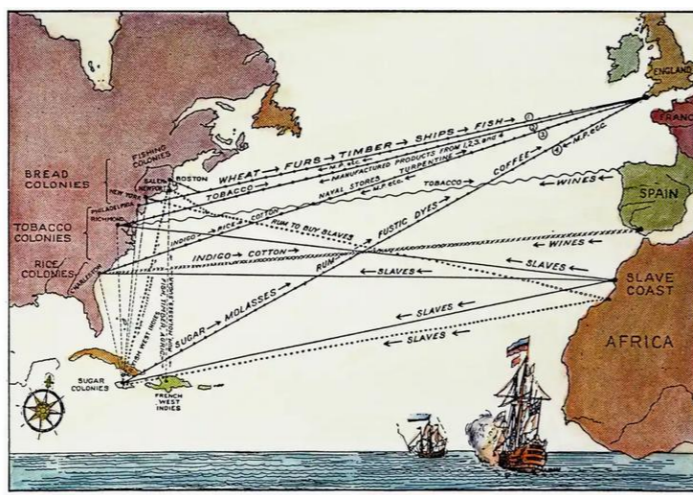


EUROPEAN COLONIAL PLANTATION XVIII - XIX



We may affirm, from undoubted authority, that in the course of the year 1767, there have been exported from this colony no less than 72,18,781 pounds weight of raw sugar; 51,562,013 pounds of white sugar; 1,769,562 pounds of indigo; 150,000 pounds of cocoa; 12,197,977 pounds of coffee; 2,965,920 pounds of cotton; 8,470 parcels of hides in the hair; 10,350 tanned hides; 4,08 casks of rum; and 21,04 casks of molasses.

**Raynal 1770**



■ A 19th-century engraving depicting slave trade routes in the 17th and 18th centuries. Photograph: The Granger Collection/Alamy

Moreau de Saint-Méry .... For far too long we have been the victims of numerous slanders by men who, calling themselves friends of the blacks, seek to stir up the people of color against the white colonists. Do you not fear the designs of these evil-doers? If you hesitate or delay, they will take advantage of it to spread doubts about your intentions and lead people astray. They will incite war in the colonies and cover them with desolation, ruin, and mourning....

Do you believe that the constitution you have given France is suitable for its colonies? You will either have to give up your wealth and trade, or declare openly that the declaration of rights is not applicable to the colonies. The colonies do not resemble France; this is a truth known to everybody.

They cannot have the same internal regime or the same organization.... Their trade in no manner resembles that of other parts of the empire. If they could not conduct trade in a manner different than you, they would soon cease to be your colonies. If you subjected them to the same laws, they would soon become useless and you would lose your trade with your colonies. Without them, you would lose ... your splendor and your political rank in Europe.  
(Prolonged muttering.) ...

I have heard talk in the assembly of the declaration of the rights of man. Well, if you want the declaration of rights, as far as we are concerned, there are no longer any colonies.  
(Violent grumbling.)

Archives parlementaires de Paris, **Moreau de Saint-Méry, 1791**

**[POEMA CONTRA-REVOLUCIONARIO]**

¡Qué clamores, qué gritos  
fúnebres  
golpean nuestros espíritus  
consternados!  
¡Qué fuegos, en medio de las  
tinieblas,  
se ofrecen a nuestros ojos  
asombrados!  
El ruido de las llamas devoradoras,  
los acentos de cien voces  
moribundas,  
todo está confundido en los aires.  
El Cielo, a nuestros ruegos  
inflexible,  
¿ha marcado este día terrible  
como el último del Universo?

Mas qué multitud rebelde  
corre al matadero con arrebato;  
el Esclavo, en sus manos crueles  
porta el incendio y la muerte.  
Detente, instrumento parricida,  
un brazo invisible y pérfido  
te conduce a horribles traiciones;  
y el único fruto de tus crímenes  
será llorar a tus víctimas  
bajo el peso de tus nuevos  
grilletes.

Feroz y sangrienta manía,  
te reconozco los rasgos;  
bajo nombre de Filosofía  
pretendes consagrar tus  
crímenes;  
quieres, en nombre de la  
naturaleza,  
curar males por la  
impostura,  
y adelantarte a la mano  
del tiempo.  
...

A la luz de los incendios,  
armas con tus manos  
enemigas  
cien mil esclavos sublevados;  
y cansada al fin de la matanza,  
vienes a contemplar en la ribera  
nuestros cadáveres  
ensangrentados.

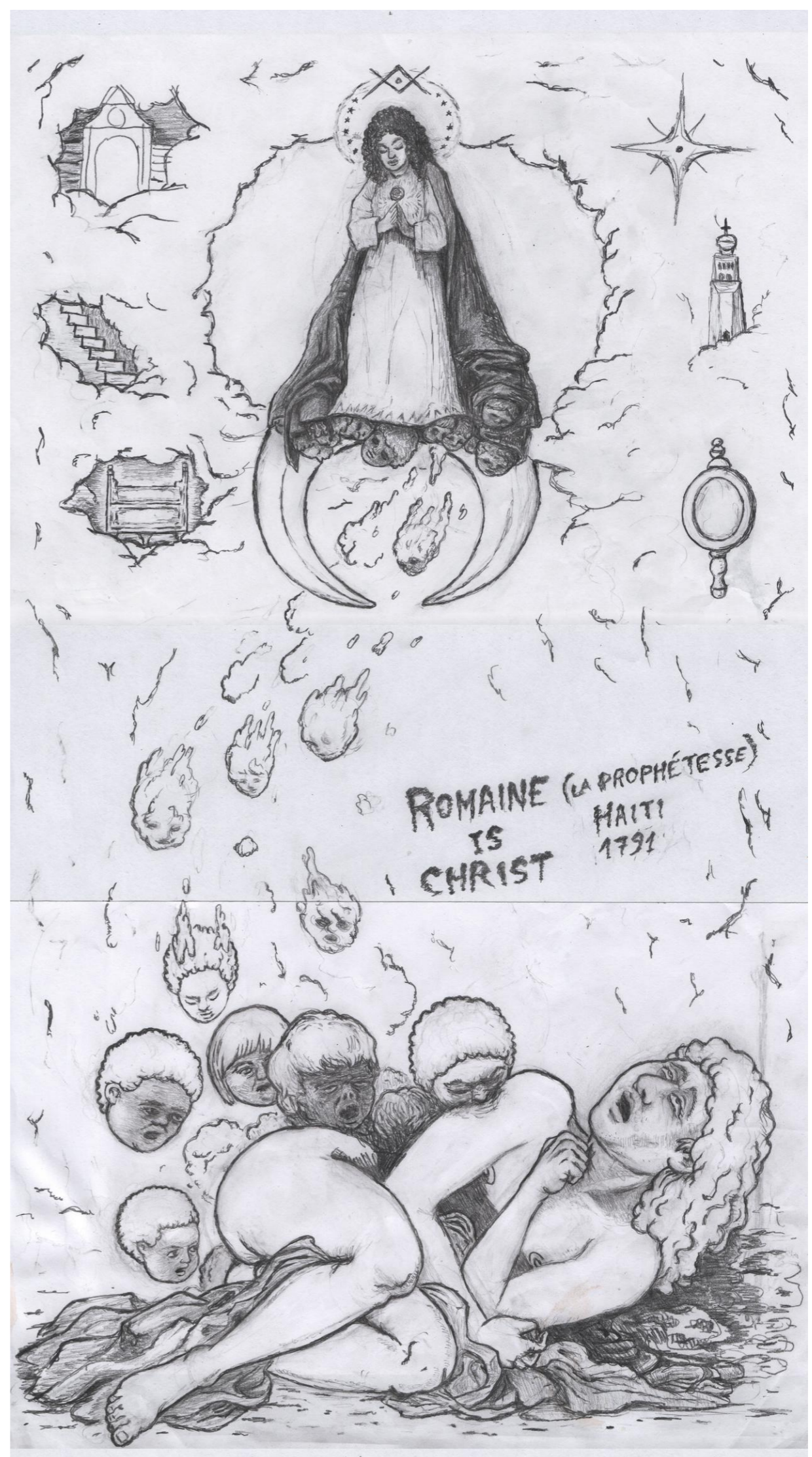
...  
Sobre esta tierra aún humeante  
desciende, Deidad bienhechora,  
enciende tu divina antorcha,  
ilumina las hordas bárbaras,  
calma el arrebato que las extravía;  
y díles quién es su verdugo.

**Msr. CHAUD**

Diputado-Suplente de la  
Asamblea General de  
Santo Domingo,

Moniteur général de la  
partie française de Saint-  
Domingue

1791



ROMAINE (LA PROPHÉTESSE)  
IS CHRIST  
HAITI  
1791

**Article 3.** We forbid the public exercise of any other than the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion. We will that all persons who act contrary to this prohibition, shall be punished as rebels, and trouble makers. In this view, we forbid all heretical assemblies; declaring the same to be illegal and seditious conventicles, subject to the like punishment, which also shall be inflicted upon those masters who permit their slaves to attend such assemblies.

Royal Decree of **King Louis XIV**, 1685



LA PROPHEÉTASSE

**[DOM PEDRO]**

1 May 1769. In June/July 1768 and on into 1769, [I] carried out the very extensive investigation for the criminal case against the infamous black slave Pierre, of the Congo nation, who called himself Dom Pedro, and his adherents and accomplices to the number of forty-two imprisoned Negroes, mulattoes, and Negresses. The Negro Dom Pedro was extremely dangerous. He went from plantation to plantation dominating the minds of the blacks by means of performing crude tricks. He informed them that they would soon be free, and he had the slave drivers of each plantation whipped, telling them that they could no longer flog the slaves in their charge and, moreover, that they would not be punished by their masters. He demanded tribute in either money or animals from initiated or compliant slaves, and he imposed it on those who did not remain loyal to him.

15 October 1773. [The jails of Petit Goave were full of] the accomplices of a black slave calling himself Dompède who stirred up the workforces of the north and south coasts [of the southern peninsula] inciting them to rebellion and to be independent of their masters...

*Letters of judge Ferrand de Beaudière to the Naval and Colonial Minister*

One often finds blacks that one may have good reason to believe that they are slaves. But although every colonist has the right to obtain information as to whether these blacks are free and how they were freed, the colonist prefers to believe what the blacks say about their status. For nobody wants to pay the price for a trial to contest the state of a man who could be actually a freedman. As soon as a black lives for two or three years in a district, claiming that he is a freedman, he is usually recognised as such by everyone.

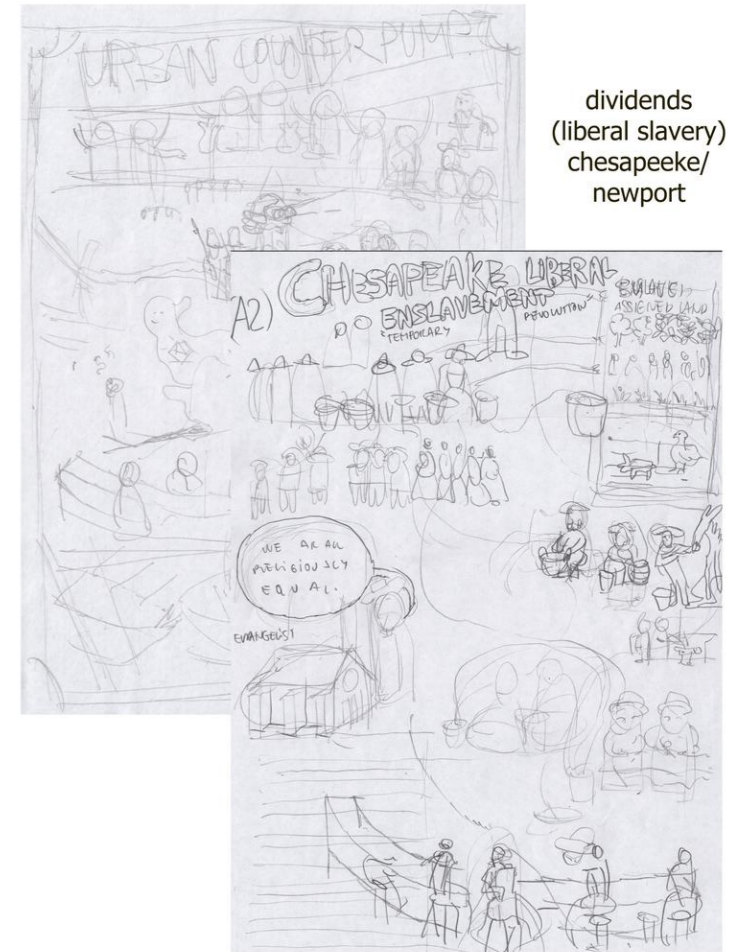
*Memoire de la Chambre d'Agriculture du Port-au-Prince, 1690*

with hands placed in those of the king and queen, they renew the promise of secrecy which is the foundation of the association, and it is accompanied by every thing horrible that delirium has been able to devise to make it more impressive.

*Moreau de Saint-Mery*  
1789

[this assembly] provisionally suspends enfranchisements: marriages between slaves and free people . . . reserves to itself the examination of requests for granting freedom through acts or wills.

*General Assembly of Saint-Marc* 1790



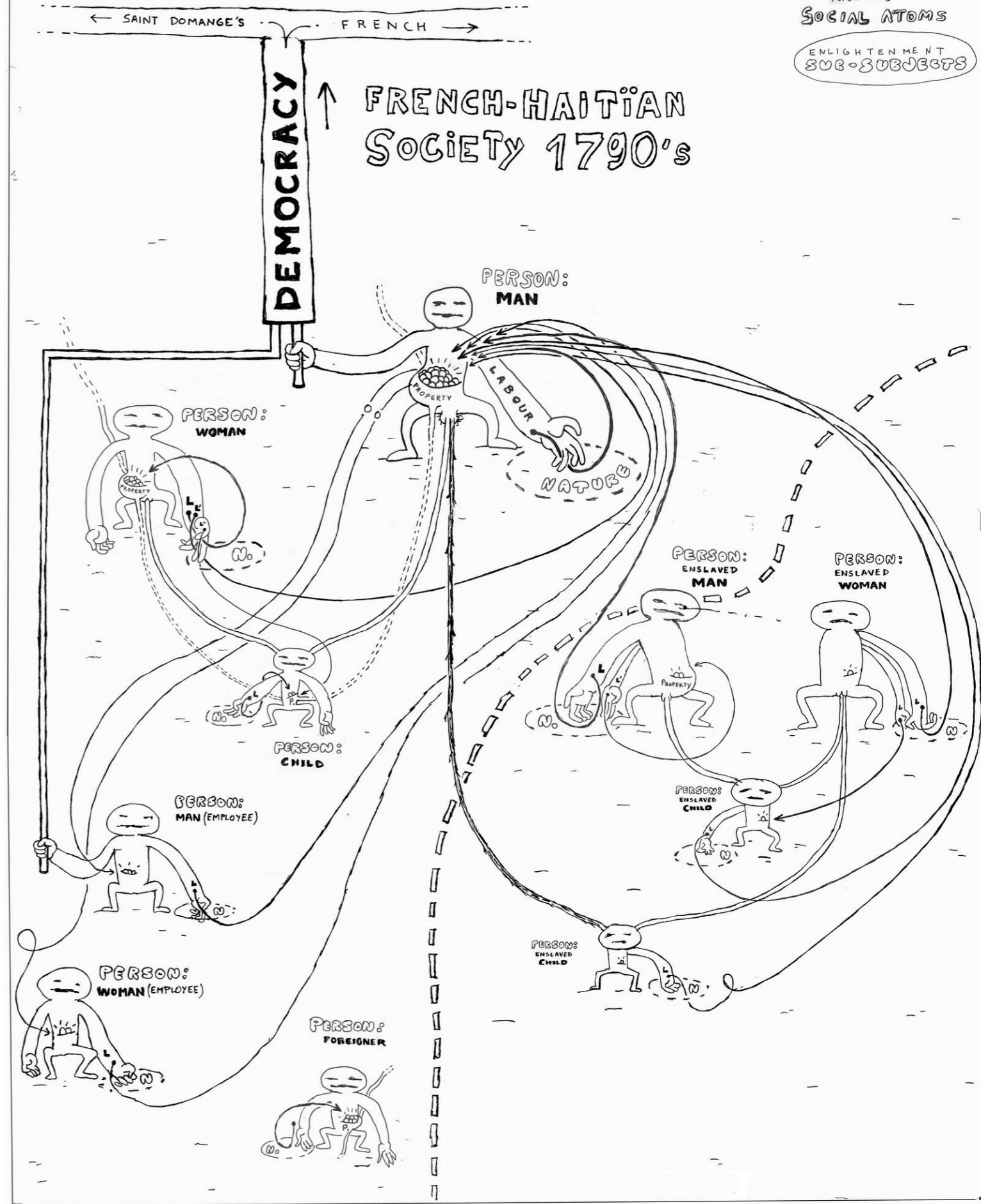
"It was announced in the Affiches in November 1788 that the Negro Nerestan, Mozambique, had been missing for several months. This slave is branded across the chest VALADON, and underneath St. MARC & P. AU-PRINCE, aged twenty-eight, height, 5'8" to 5'9", very stout, quite a good-looking face, the teeth of the upper jaw filed. He has a scar between the heel and calf of his right leg, and speaks French with a nasal accent. He has been seen in the meantime armed with a machete and claiming to be free . . .

**Supplément aux Affiches  
Américaines, 26 Dec.  
1789**

Charlotte,  
Poulard [Fulani],  
branded PAPILLON, pretty face,  
black and very tall, missing for five months.  
It is said she has a pass and claims to be free. She  
often moves from one district to another; is presently  
thought to be in Port-au-Prince or its surroundings.  
She dresses like a free black woman. People who come  
in contact with her are requested to have her arrested  
and put in jail. Inform Madame Papillon at Le Cap, to  
whom she belongs. A reward of 2 portugaises will  
be paid, or more if it is demanded.

**Gazette de Saint-Domingue, 6 Aug.  
1791**

UNITS OF  
POPULATION  
**SOCIAL ATOMS**  
ENLIGHTENMENT  
808-80308378



**[Miscellaneous Provisions]**

The French colonies and possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, although they make up part of the French Empire, **are not included in the present constitution.**

National Assembly,  
**Constitution of 1791**

**Madame Joubert, a Coffee planter:**

... I fear these people so little that I would have put the chain around his neck, even if he was still armed. Believe me, the white race has a real ascendancy over them. The poor devil is still chained up and very submissive. He strongly denies having been with Robert. He says he was coming to give himself up when he was injured, and that he didn't mean to be disrespectful when he approached me with his machete

... (31 January) I am giving Antoine a note this evening to go and look for Pompée. He will surely bring him back. Loulou is driver with Michel... I didn't give out the pardons. Sénégal and Clément keep their collars. We just exchanged Loulou's large chain for a ball and chain. Mr. Jamet wants to tame them. I didn't object. Azor is still a rascal. He is completely slashed with whip marks. He gets a ball and chain. None of this makes him change his ways. He won't be whipped any more. It is useless. There is only one way to tame him. It is to have a mask made for him to stop him eating. Then, he will never steal.

*Letters of Marie Joubert to Anne-Louis Tousard, Saint Domingue, 1788 (Via: Geggus)*

The young European overseer, after two days on the job, is fully aware how unpleasant his situation is, not only how tiring it is but also how little respect he gets from the owner or estate-attorney. The zealous overseer ... gets up during the night to supervise the irrigation workers so they don't waste the water destined for the canes. On rainy days he joins them to make sure the rain falling in torrents isn't lost. He observes everything that happens on the plantation and uses a few trusted blacks as spies. He makes his report by handing a note to the owner or attorney when he joins them for breakfast. They scarcely pay attention to him. If he is ... drenched with sweat and his shoes covered with mud, that proves he's been busy.... No sooner has he eaten than he goes back to the fields, does the rounds two or three times ... and returns when the slaves finish their work. Then he goes to his hut, throw himself down on his wretched bed, waiting to be called to lunch. At the dinner table, he sits at the lower end, doesn't look up, and doesn't say a word.... He follows the slaves back to the fields, leaves at 6:00 p.m. and has supper at 8:00 p.m. Finally the moment of rest has arrived. He will forget his troubles ... in the arms of an attentive African girl, whom he generally ends up buying, or at least her children, if the owner is good enough to sell them to him. This is the origin of the free blacks and free mulattoes. The young man is a thousand times worse off than a shepherd's dog. He is even more worse off, if he is sensitive to the treatment of the blacks. If he looks like he pities them, he will immediately be told, "You don't know those scoundrels. Nature has made them to be slaves. We thought like you when we first came but we soon found out. If you want to get on in life, you must give up all those European feelings when you come to the Tropics. They aren't suited for the colonies.... Little by little, the poor young man gets used to [it.] ... After becoming a manager, he makes his tour of the fields on foot or on horseback. He relies on his overseer's diligence, having set an example himself during his three or four years on the job. His salary is 5,000 to 6,000 francs plus the perquisites of the plantation. If he becomes an estate-attorney, he has reached the summit of his ambition. He immediately buys a coach. The black housekeeper is abandoned for a mulattress, which upsets the plantation slaves; she is nearly always an insatiable goat. Every Sunday, or Saturday night, he goes into town visiting the merchants with whom he does business. All the owners and attorneys are there. A good dinner, served with taste and elegance, awaits him. He plays cards, goes to the mulattresses' ball or to the theater, and returns to the plantation the next day. During the week he busies himself with accounts and correspondence. He receives 10 percent of the plantation's revenue. He goes outside only during the cool hours of the morning and evening and compensates himself amply for the fatigues he endured as an overseer. He gives orders to the slave drivers, punishes, lashes the blacks at will, chains them up, kills them if he wishes. In sum, he is the haughtiest and most insolent of despots. His main aim is to send the owner in France the maximum revenue possible. The owner scarcely gives a thought to what is happening to the slaves on his estate.

*Des colonies et particulièrement de celle de Saint-Domingue Charles Malenfant 1814*

**DES COLONIES,  
ET PARTICULIÈREMENT  
DE CELLE  
DE SAINT-DOMINGUE;  
MÉMOIRE**

**HISTORIQUE ET POLITIQUE, \***

OU L'ON TROUVERA :

- 1° Un Exposé impartial des causes et un Précis historique des guerres civiles qui ont rendu cette dernière colonie indépendante ;
- 2° Des Considérations sur l'importance de la rattacher à la métropole et sur les moyens de le tenter avec succès, d'y ramener une paix durable, d'en rétablir et accroître la prospérité.

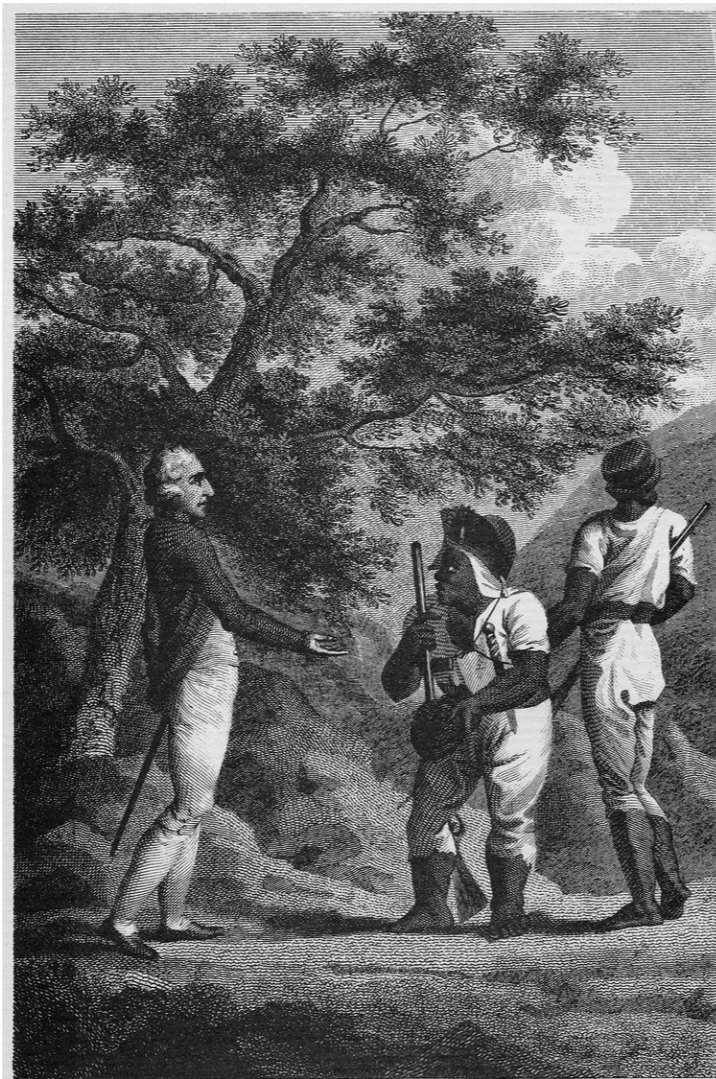
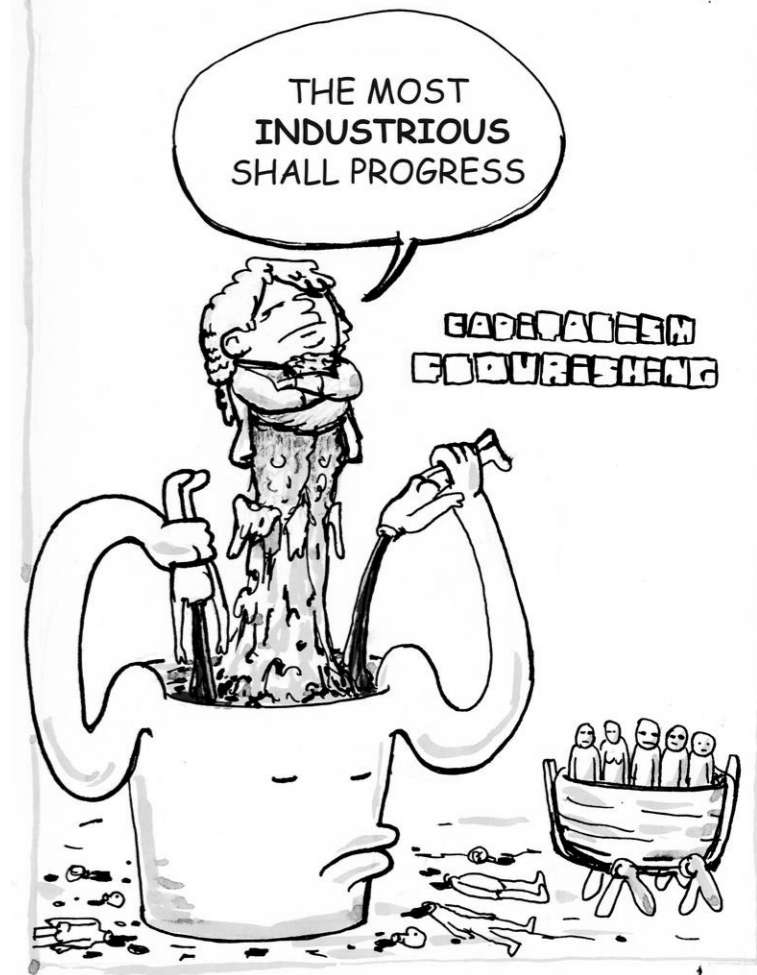
**PAR LE COLONEL MALENFANT,**

Sous-Inspecteur aux Revues, chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, Propriétaire à Saint-Domingue, ex-Délégué du Gouvernement français à Surinam.

**A PARIS,**

Chez AUDIBERT, lib., rue de la Colombe, n° 4, en la Cité.  
Et au Cabinet de lecture, rue de l'Échiquier, n° 42.

**AOUT 1814.**



*Jos. Smith del et sculp.*

*Landscape by E. Smith.*

The Congos were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese 200 years ago; their kings have always been Christians since this time, and many of those Blacks are baptised. Some Senegalese close to Morocco are Muslims and circumcised. The Aradas are in the darkest darkness of idolatry and worship the snake.

**Father Charlevoix, 1730**

The elements of this plan had been worked out a few days before by the main leaders on the Lenormand plantation at Morne Rouge. Before carrying it out, they held a sort of celebration or sacrifice in the middle of an uncultivated, wooded area on the Choiseul plantation called **Le Caiman**, where the Negroes gathered in great number. An entirely black pig, surrounded with fetishes and loaded with a variety of bizarre offerings, was sacrificed to the all-powerful spirit of the black race. The religious ceremonies that accompanied the killing of the pig were typical of the Africans, as was their eagerness to drink its blood and the value they placed on getting some of its hairs as a sort of talisman that they thought would make them invulnerable. It was natural that such a primitive and ignorant caste would begin the most terrible attack with superstitious rites of an absurd and bloodthirsty religion.

Histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue,  
**Antoine Dalmas** 1793

There is reason to believe [Nerestan] is being hidden by the slaves of several plantations in the Matheux district and receiving goods that they manage to steal from their owners, paying for them with rum that he is able to buy from several sugar plantations that set up drink shops at their gates for selling this treacherous liquor that is ruining the colony.

Those who may have knowledge of this slave are requested to have him arrested and to notify Mr. Bonneserre, boat-owner of L'Arcahaye, or Mr. Valadon, planter in the Matheux. There will be a reward of 4 portugaises.

**Supplément aux Affiches  
Américaines**, 26 Dec.  
1789

... To become a Maroon he goes to join other slaves, who subsist in bands in the woods, fortified in kinds of retrenched camps, closed by palissades wicke red with lianas and surrounded with ditches twelve to fifteen feet deep, eight to ten wide, and protected by sharpened posts.

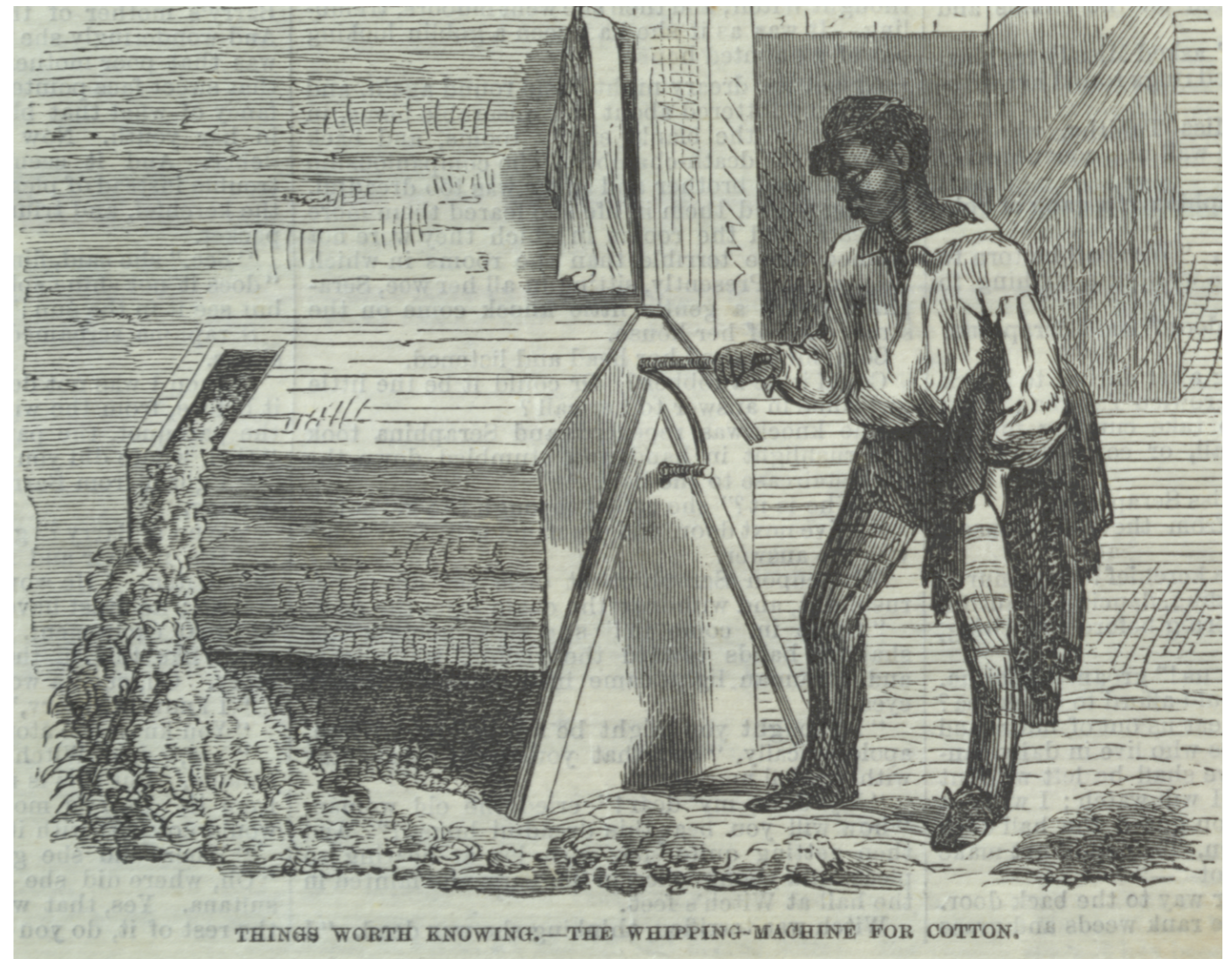
**Ministere des Colonies**, Correspondance Generale, Saint-Domingue

... some [fugitives of slavery] gather in the woods and live there exempt from the service of their masters, with no other leader than he whom they elected; others under cover of the canefields by day lie in wait by night on the highways to rob passers-by, and move from plantation to plantation to carry off whatever food or animals they can find and hiding in the house of their comrades who usually are participants in their thieving knowing well the situation on the plantations and advising said fugitives so that they can take measures to carry off their thefts undetected.

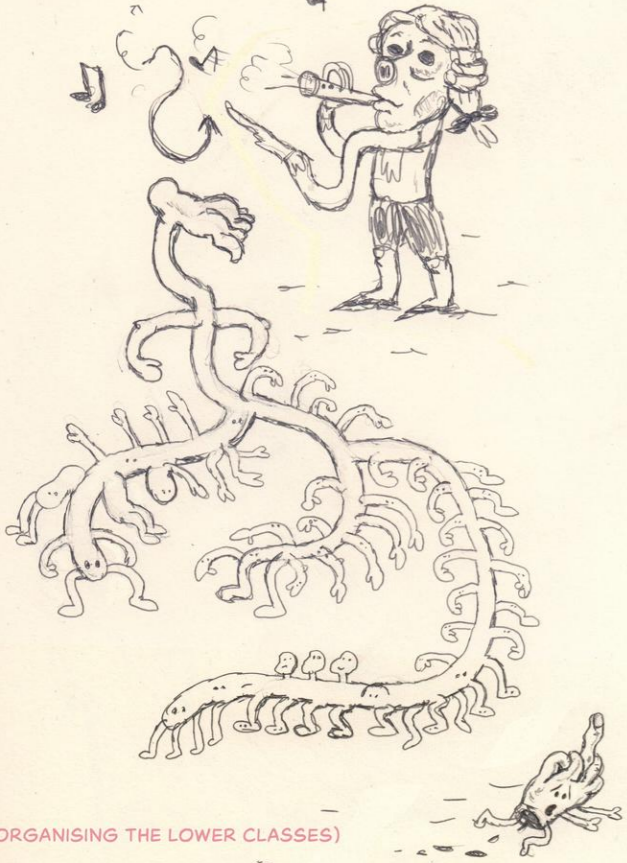
**Fragment of a regulation of  
the Conseil Superieur of  
Leogane**, 1706

Maroons had as remote stations huts where two men could fall back to another hut and successively fall back until they reached the corpus of the troop. Their sentinels were dogs which they had in great number, and Spaniards bought weapons and munitions for maroons in the French part of the island...

**Moreau de Saint-Mery** 1789



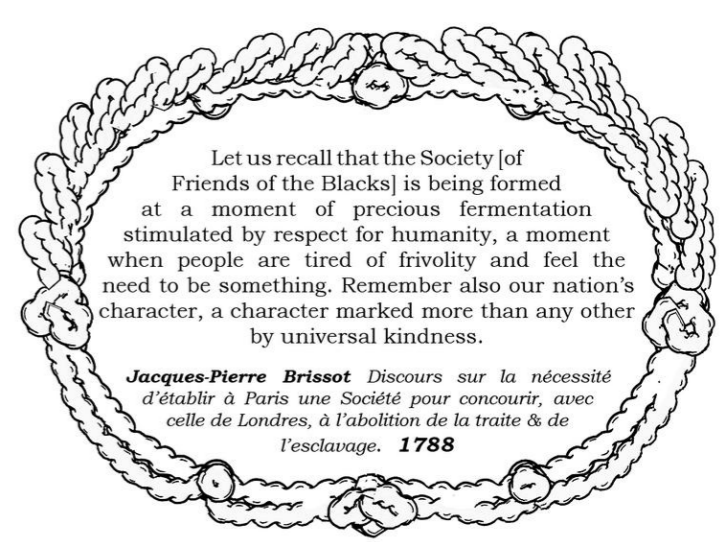
# FUNCTION IN CONCERT



(ORGANISING THE LOWER CLASSES)



LES CALLENGÉES À SIERRA-LEONE.  
DURAND, VOYAGE AU SÉNÉGAL. PARIS, 1802. — CL. LAROUSSE.



Let us recall that the Society [of Friends of the Blacks] is being formed at a moment of precious fermentation stimulated by respect for humanity, a moment when people are tired of frivolity and feel the need to be something. Remember also our nation's character, a character marked more than any other by universal kindness.

*Jacques-Pierre Brissot Discours sur la nécessité d'établir à Paris une Société pour concourir, avec celle de Londres, à l'abolition de la traite & de l'esclavage. 1788*



# CASUAL ENCOUNTER

AFTER A MEETING OF:

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS DES NOIRS

PARIS  
1789



In February **1792** we marched to attack a camp of blacks

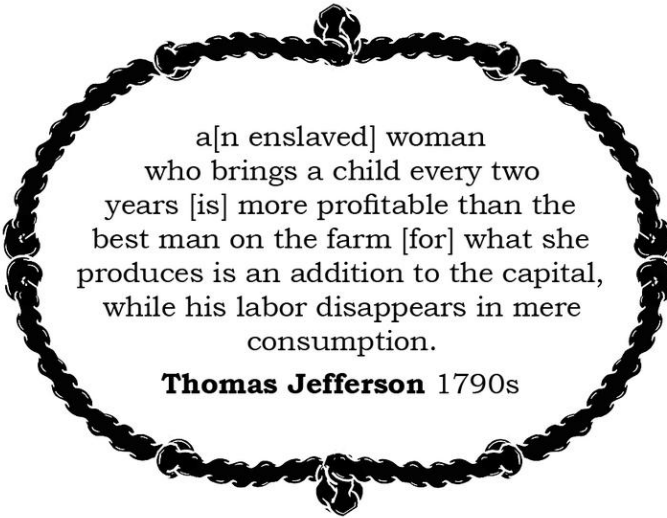
at Fond Parisien in Plaine du Cul-de-Sac. The army was composed

of two thousand infantry and four hundred colonial dragoons. On approaching the camp we were astonished to see, stuck in the ground along the route, large perches on which a variety of dead birds had been affixed ... On the road at intervals there were cut

up birds surrounded by stones artistically arranged, also a dozen broken eggs surrounded by large circles in zigzag ... After a quarter of an hour's march I saw the camp which was dotted with ajoupas ranged like army tents. What was our surprise to see black males leaping about and more than two hundred women dancing and singing in all security ... The Voodoo high priestess had not fled ... She was a very beautiful black woman, well dressed. Had I not been hunting down the blacks, I would not have allowed her to be killed, at least not without extracting from her a great deal of information about her activities.

I questioned several women in detail; some of them, from the little Gouraud plantation in Fonds Parisien knew me; they could not understand how we were able to pass through the obstacles the grand mistress of Voodoo had strewn in our way. It was due to the assurance this woman had given them that they so confidently had taken to dancing ... The priestess was a beautiful creole black from the des Boynes plantation ... In the Sainte-Suzanne Mountains we captured an Arada woman. She was of the Voodoo cult. She was taken to Cap; she was questioned, but she spoke no Creole... Both the men and women frankly said that there could be no human power over her ... At Gouraud there was a Voodoo high priestess and a black high priest. I learned this from a woman initiate. There was a password but she would never give it to me: she claimed the women did not know it. She gave me the band recognition sign: it was somewhat similar to that of the Masons. Very few creoles are initiated, only the children of Voodoo chiefs. She told me this as a secret, assuring me . . . I would be killed or poisoned if I tried to penetrate the great mystery of the sect.

*Des Colonies etc. Charles Marie François Malenfant 1814*



a[n enslaved] woman  
who brings a child every two  
years [is] more profitable than the  
best man on the farm [for] what she  
produces is an addition to the capital,  
while his labor disappears in mere  
consumption.

**Thomas Jefferson** 1790s



**Pierre Pincbinat, Lubin, Golaid, Louise Rateau,**

**Louis-Jacques Beauvais. Alexandre Pelion, Carrcaux,**

**Ferdinand Deslandes, Gedeon Jourdain, Gerin, Baptiste Manne,**

**Eliacin Dubose, Desmaretz; Poisson, Renaud, Mme. Beaugc, Lambert Daguin,**

**Rigaud, Pierre Coustard, Marc Borno, Obran, Doyon, Joseph Labastillc, Lafontant,**

**Faubert Larose, Morisset, Tessier; Losier, Cambe, Fouguy, Baptiste Boye, Borgella,**

**Lys, Dupuche, Pierre Michel, Nau, Ardouin, Labee, Bayard, Vessicre, Alexis Ignace,**

**Jean-Pierre Singla, Cameau, Bourry, Degand, Chanlatte, Barbancourt; Drouillard, Ster-**

**ling, Pcrodin, Paul, Jolly, Leopard, Savary, Ducla, Pinson, Perisse, Coquille, Toussaint**

**Boufflet, Pierre Thimote, Jean-Louis François son of Alexis François and de Tiatin (both**

**free blacks), Nicolas Geffrard (born on Plantation Perigny of a mulatto father and Julie Coudro,**

**Senegalese in origin), Jean-Louis Rebecca (born to a free family of Port-de-Paix), Samedi Smith,**

**Janvier, Gilles Benech, nicknamed "Petit Malice", Nicolas Regnier, Goman, Nicolas Regnier, Jean**

**Panier, Mavougou, Gingembre Tropicfort, Jean Rouge, Adam Duchemin, Toby, Bossou, Cande,**

**Lubin Hudicourt, Chavanne, Metellus, l'Amerique, Sylla, Sans-Souci, Vamalheureux, oel**

**Prieur, Pierre Fontaine, Joseph Dessources, Destrade, Labarre, Dugotier, Bazin, Yagou, Noel**

**Buquet, Thomas Duchemin, Sanglaou, Mathieu Fourmi, Henriette Saint-Marc, Labruni,**

**Cacapoule, Giles Bambara, Jeannot Bullet, Jean-François Papillon, Georges Biassou,**

**Toussaint Breda, and Paul Blin, Romaine Riviere called the Prophetess, Pompee**

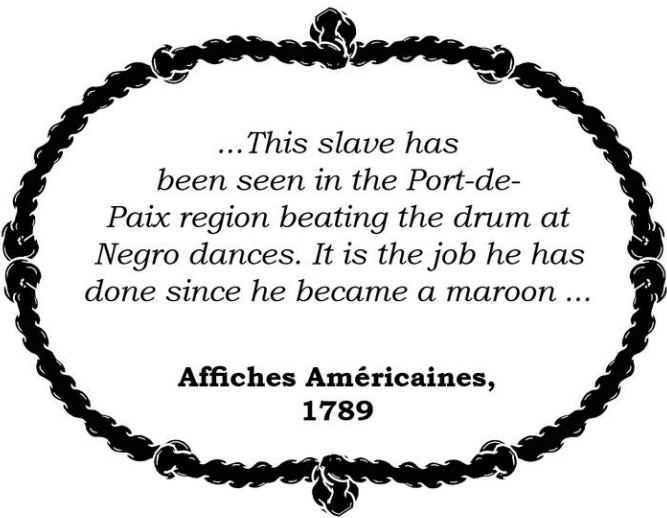
**Benjamin, Barthelemy, Bebe Coutard, Diedonne, Carreau, Despinville, Jean**

**Pineau, Michant, Thomas, Elie, Noel, Le Sec, Lefevre, Halaou,**

**Courlonge, Guiambois, Caoili, Pierrot, Hyacinthe,**

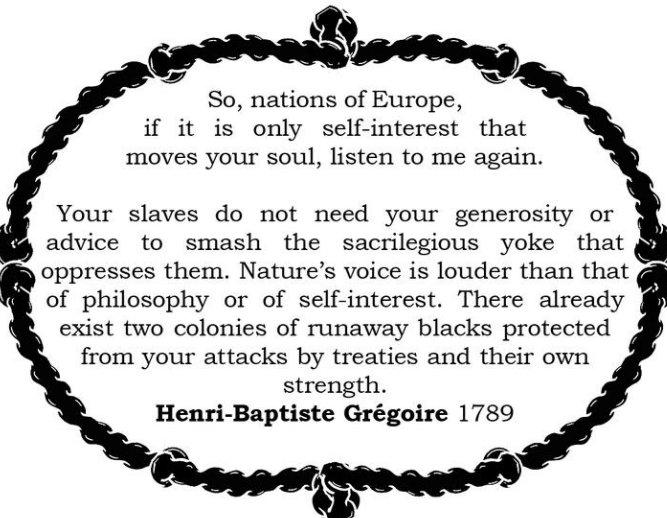
**Macaya, Jean Kina, Belair . . .**

# REMEMBER OURSELF



*...This slave has  
been seen in the Port-de-  
Paix region beating the drum at  
Negro dances. It is the job he has  
done since he became a maroon ...*

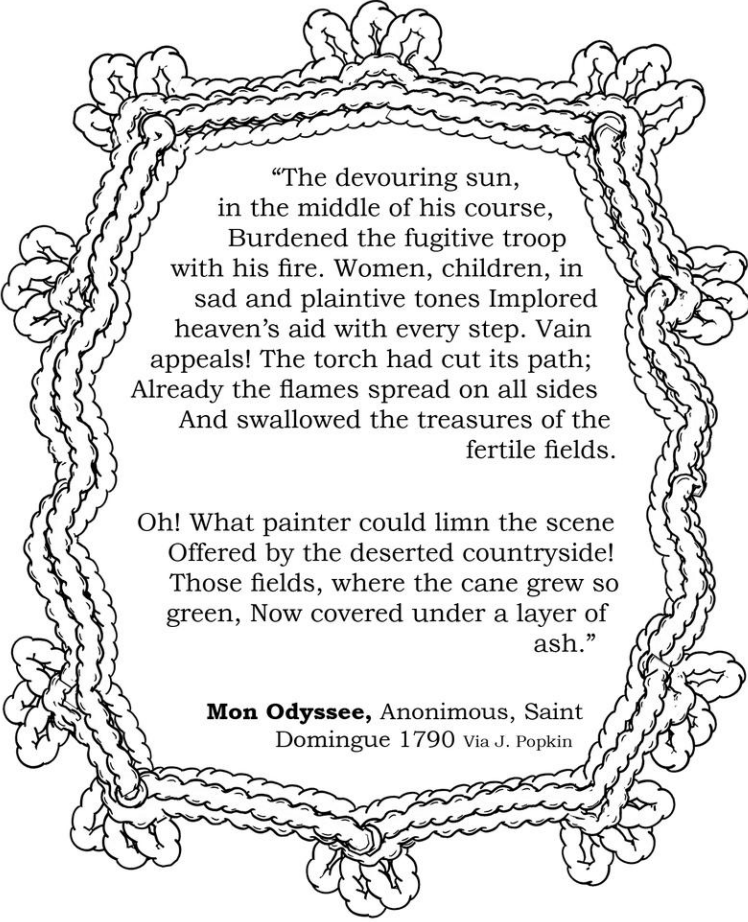
**Affiches Américaines,  
1789**



So, nations of Europe,  
if it is only self-interest that  
moves your soul, listen to me again.

Your slaves do not need your generosity or  
advice to smash the sacrilegious yoke that  
oppresses them. Nature's voice is louder than that  
of philosophy or of self-interest. There already  
exist two colonies of runaway blacks protected  
from your attacks by treaties and their own  
strength.

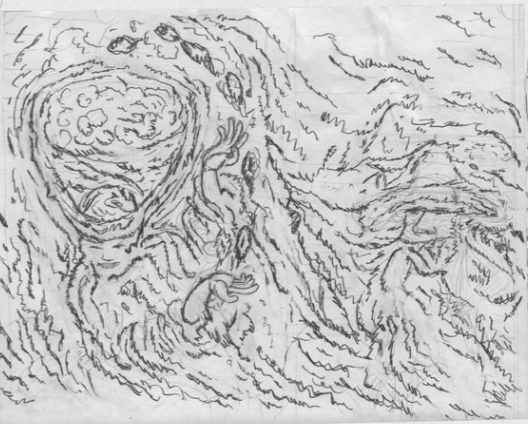
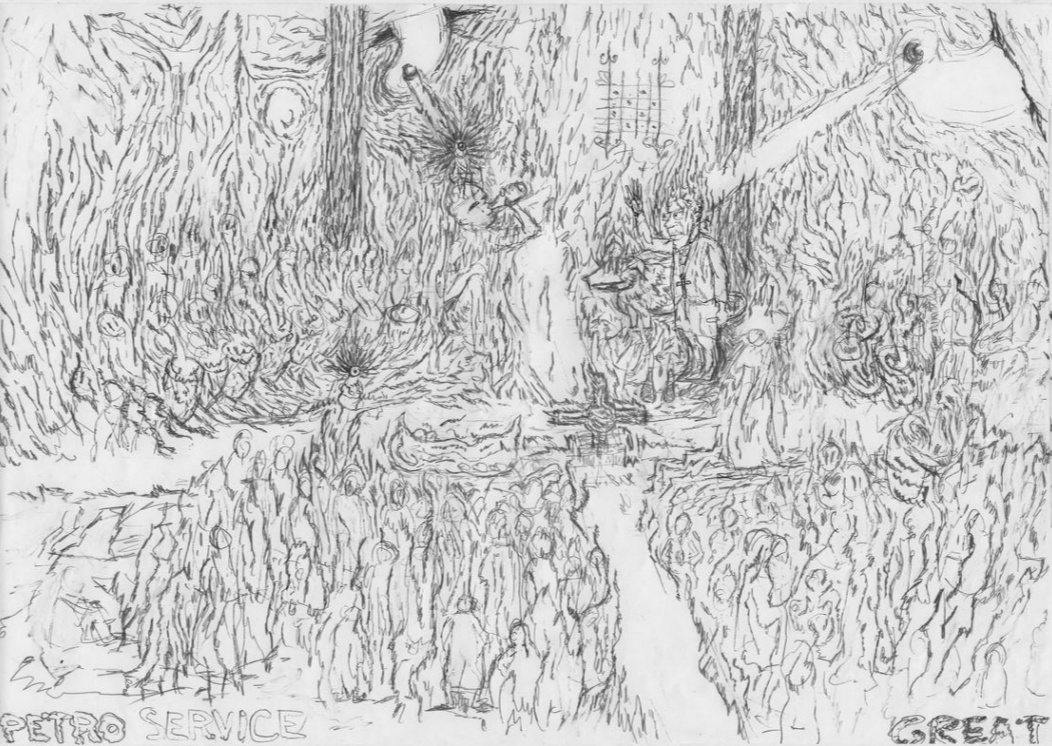
**Henri-Baptiste Grégoire 1789**



"The devouring sun,  
in the middle of his course,  
Burdened the fugitive troop  
with his fire. Women, children, in  
sad and plaintive tones Implored  
heaven's aid with every step. Vain  
appeals! The torch had cut its path;  
Already the flames spread on all sides  
And swallowed the treasures of the  
fertile fields.

Oh! What painter could limn the scene  
Offered by the deserted countryside!  
Those fields, where the cane grew so  
green, Now covered under a layer of  
ash."

**Mon Odysee**, Anonimous, Saint  
Domingue 1790 Via J. Popkin



1790-1792

SAINT-DOMINGUE  
(FUTURE  
HAITI)

Pop. 500,000

ILLE DE FRANCE  
(PARIS)

Pop. 600,000

LEISURE  
WORLD

LABOUR  
WORLD

AMERICAS

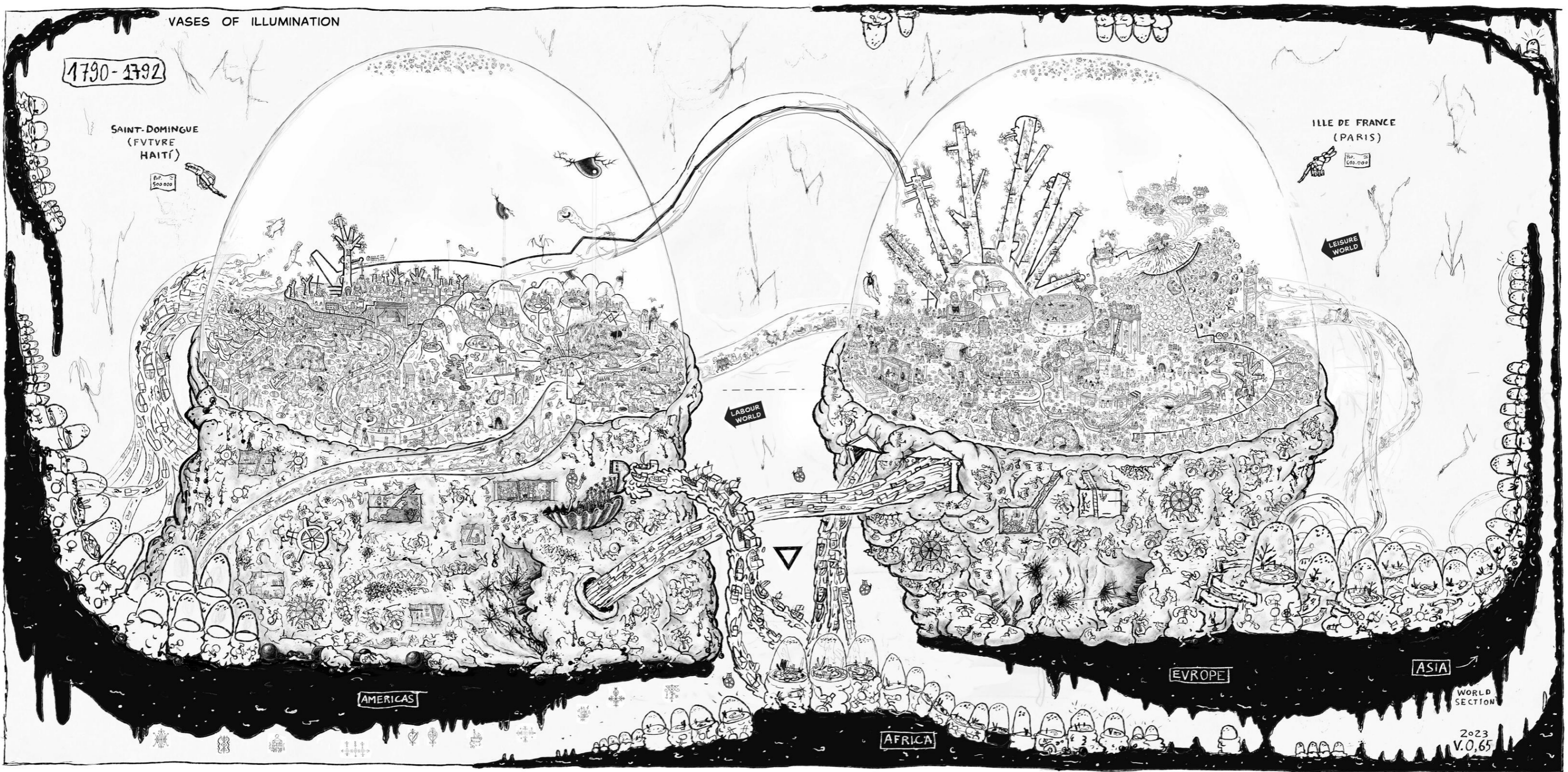
AFRICA

EVROPE

ASIA

WORLD  
SECTION

2023  
V.O.65



...The dance called water  
 mama and in our colonies La  
 Mere de l'Eau is strictly forbidden  
 to them. They make a great mystery  
 of it, and all that is known of it is that  
 it excites very much their imagination.

*Essai Sur L'Esclavage Et Observations  
 Sur L'Etat Present Des Colonies,  
 Anonymus, 1750*

... a prejudice that  
 has been sustained for too  
 long is finally going to meet its  
 end. I call on you to have promulgated  
 throughout the colony the National  
 Assembly's decree of March 28 that gives to  
 all free citizens, without exception, the right  
 to be admitted to all posts and employment.  
 My claim is just, and I hope you will give  
 it your attention. **I will not raise the  
 slaves.** That would be unworthy of me.

*V. Ogé to the Assembly of the North  
 Province, 1790*

[Ogé Addresses the Planters' Club]

... As a property owner from the Le Cap  
 region of Saint Domingue and a native of the  
 island, I come to ask the Assembly to admit me to  
 its discussions. I have no other aim than to collaborate  
 with it in the preservation of our property and to avoid  
 the disaster that threatens us.... To bring about this  
 happy revolution, the flame of Reason is not enough;  
 the flame of Freedom must blend its brightness with the  
 gentleness of the other, so that their union may produce a  
 uniform, fierce, and pure light that will enlighten minds and  
 enflame hearts....

... if we do not quickly bundle together all our abilities, our means,  
 and our effort, if we sleep for an instant on the edge of the abyss,  
 let us tremble at the moment of our waking. Blood will  
 flow, our property will be invaded, the fruits of our labor  
 destroyed, and our homes burned. Our neighbors, our  
 friends, our wives and children will be slaughtered and  
 mutilated. The slave will have raised the standard of  
 revolt. The islands will be no more than a vast and  
 fateful inferno. With commerce destroyed, France will  
 receive a mortal wound, and a multitude of decent  
 citizens will be impoverished, ruined; we will  
 have lost everything.

*Motion faite par Vincent Ogé, jeune à  
 l'Assemblée des Colons Paris, 1789*

They  
 never run away without  
 having put some order in their  
 private affairs. That is why they  
 bring with them tools like bill-hooks,  
 axes and knives; they bring also clothes,  
 a good amount of big millet, and go to the  
 highest places in the mountains where they  
 clear woods and make gardens by planting  
 manioc and yams. Before being able to have  
 their own subsistence, every night they come  
 down close to the plantations and plantation slaves  
 bring to them what they need to eat. When they  
 cannot have the help of some other slaves,  
 they come proudly at night to steal on the  
 plantations and take everything that comes  
 under their hands; some steal even the  
 guns and swords that belong to colonists...

*Histoire Generale des Antilles  
 Habitees Par des Français, Jean-  
 Baptiste Dutertre 1667*

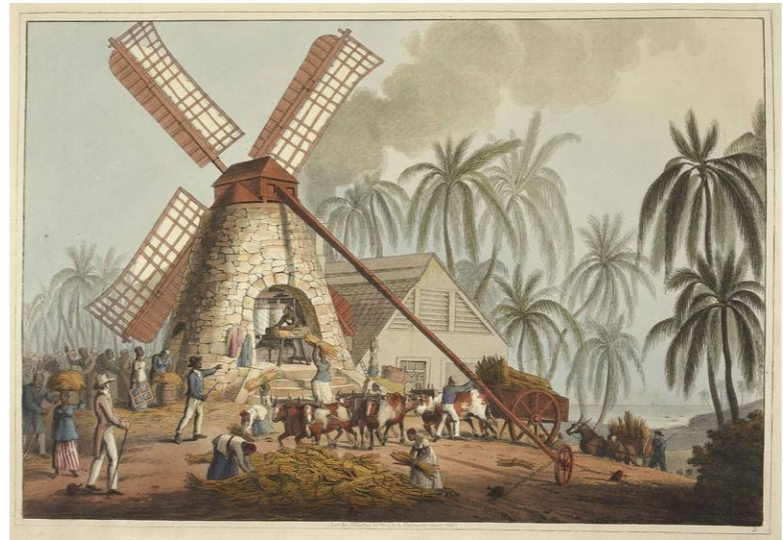
...never did a **dead head**  
 conserve so much expression.  
 The open, still-glistening eyes  
 seemed to be giving his troops  
 the signal for a massacre.

*anonymous, 1791  
 Via Aimé Césaire*

...This  
 fatal prejudice has plunged  
 the mixed-bloods into the greatest  
 of misfortunes under the convenient  
 pretext of necessity and security.  
 Interpreting to our disadvantage all the edicts  
 and regulations concerning the Negroes, judging  
 our class by a few vagabonds who roam the  
 towns, it has continuously weighed us down with  
 its chains ... vexing and humiliating us.... It ended  
 up misleading the [colonial] ministry into issuing  
 several decrees in which we saw to our deep distress  
 that our monarch was confusing with the slaves in his  
 colonies affectionate and loyal subjects, born free and  
 French, who are as valuable to culture, commerce, the  
 arts, and population growth as are his European subjects.

... How much more sharp is the pain for those  
 who are born from respectable relationships, for  
 worthy citizens who own property and happily pay  
 their taxes and public dues, and who have always  
 demonstrated unflinching loyalty, to see all their  
 descendants forever condemned to disdain  
 for no other crime than that of their  
 color! ...

*J. M. C. Américain Précis des  
 gémissimens...1789*



If I had to defend the right we had of making **PERSONS** slaves, here is what I would say:

The peoples of Europe, having exterminated those of America, had to make slaves of those of Africa in order to use them to clear so much land.  
 Sugar would be too expensive if the plant producing it were not cultivated by slaves.

Those **PERSONS** concerned have a **DIFERENT COLOR** from head to toe, and they have such **DIFERENT HUMAN SHAPES IN PARTS OF THEIR BODIES** that it is almost impossible to feel sorry for them.

One cannot get into one's mind that God, who is a very wise being, should have put a soul, above all a good soul, in a body that was entirely **OF A DIFFERENT COLOR...**

**De l' esprit des loix,  
 MONTESQUIEU  
 1748**



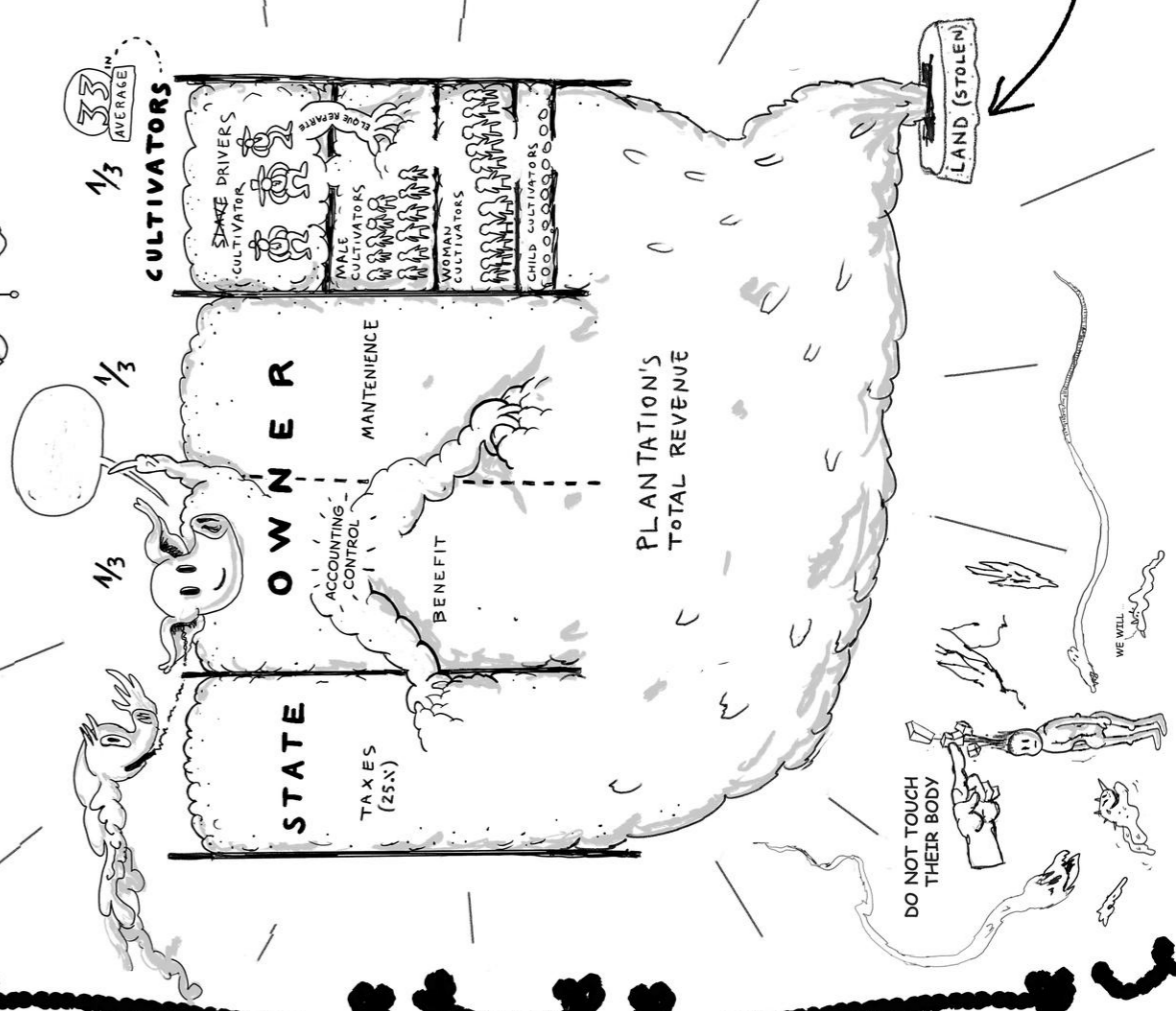
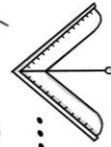
The Author in Conversation with a private Soldier of the Black Army on his Excursion in S. Domingo.

... whatever aspect we regard the question, **the right of slavery is null and void**, not only as being illegitimate, but also because it is absurd and meaningless. The words slave and right contradict each other, and are mutually exclusive.

*The Social Contract*  
**J. J. Rousseau 1762**

NEW PLANTATION MODEL INSTITUTED TO SUBSTITUTE SLAVERY IN COLONIAL HAITI BY FRENCH AUTHORITIES IN 1793

**SONTHONAX'S  
 ROAD TO EQUALITY ...**



**EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION**

**Proclamation au nom de la République**

Léger-Félicité Sonthonax  
 Cap Français, 29 August 1793

Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. There you have it, citizens: the Gospel of France. It is high time it was proclaimed in all the departments of the Republic. Sent to Saint Domingue by the Nation as civil commissioners, our mission was to ensure the enactment of the law of April 4, to fully enforce it, and to gradually prepare without upheaval the general emancipation of the slaves.6 ... The French Republic wants all men without distinction of color to be free and equal. Kings are only happy amidst slaves... Do not believe, however, that the liberty that you are going to enjoy is a state of sloth and idleness. In France, everyone is free and everyone works... After becoming citizens by the will of the French nation, you must also become zealous observers of its laws, and you shall defend the interests of the Republic against kings... out of gratitude for the beneficence it has showered on you... Have the courage to want to be a people, and soon you will equal the nations of Europe...

**Article 1:** The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen will be printed, published and posted everywhere necessary by the municipal authorities in the towns and villages and by military commanders in the camps and posts.

**Article 2:** All Negroes and people of mixed blood currently enslaved are declared free and will enjoy all rights pertaining to French citizenship. They will, however, be subject to a regimen described in the following articles...

**Article 9:** Slaves currently attached to the plantations of their former masters will be obliged to remain there and to work the land...

**Article 11:** Former agricultural slaves will be hired for one year, during which time they will not be able to change plantations without the permission of a magistrate...

**Article 12:** The revenue of each plantation will be shared into three equal portions after the deduction of taxes on the entirety. A third will be attached to ownership of the land and will go to the proprietor. He will have use of another third for running costs.

The remaining third shall be divided between the cultivators...

**Article 14-18:** The slave drivers, who will henceforth be called foremen, will have three shares in the third of the revenue going to the cultivators... The other cultivators aged fifteen and above will have one share. Women aged fifteen and above will have two-thirds of a share. Between the ages of ten and fifteen, children of both sexes will receive a half-share.

**Article 23:** The crops will be shared out at each harvest between the owner and the cultivator either in kind or in cash at the market rate...

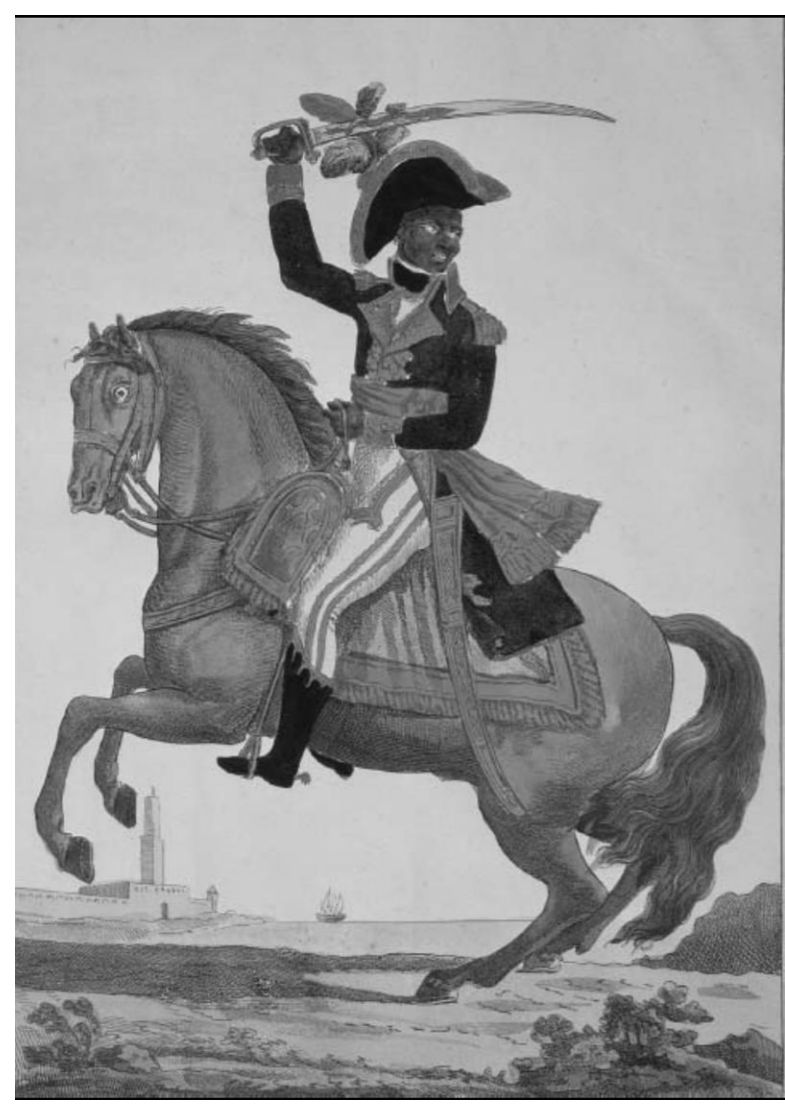
**Article 24:** In each district there will be a justice of the peace and assessors, whose job will be to adjudicate in disputes between the owner and cultivators, and between the cultivators... They will ensure that the cultivators are taken care of when sick, that all do an equal share of the work, and they will keep order in the workforces.

**Article 27:** Punishment by whipping is absolutely forbidden and will be replaced, for problems of disobedience, by one to three days in the stocks, as necessary. The strongest punishment will be the loss of a part or the entirety of the salary. It will be imposed by the justice of the peace and assessors...

**Article 29:** Cultivators cannot be made to work on Sundays. They will have two hours per day to work on their provision grounds...

**Article 31:** Women will not work in the field after their seventh month of pregnancy and will not return to work before two months after giving birth...

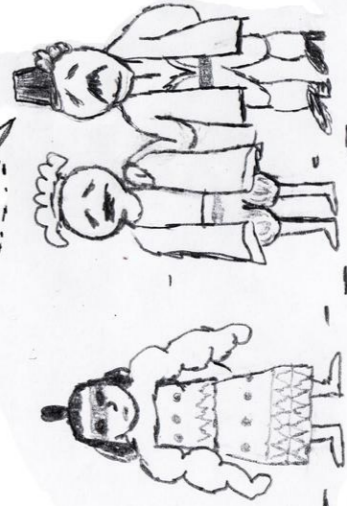
**Article 33:** Two weeks after the promulgation of this proclamation all men who do not own land, are not soldiers, and are not attached to agriculture or employed in domestic service, and who are found wandering will be arrested and put in prison...



# "CONTRACTS" OF SERVITUDE

## (ENCOMIENDA) IMPERIAL APPROACH:

THIS IS MY FRIEND,  
FROM NOW ON YOU WILL OBEY HIM AND  
GIVE HIM YOUR LABOUR UNTIL YOU OR  
YOUR CHILDREN BECOME CONDITIONED ENOUGH TO  
BE MY SUBDITS, THEN...



E.

AND PAY  
PIEZMO



SXV - S XIX

## MONARCHIC APPROACH

YOU AND YOUR  
PROGENY ARE MY SUBJECTS  
AND ALL OF YOUR LINEAGE OWES  
ME A PART OF THEIR  
LABOUR DETERMINED  
ONLY BY ME, FOREVER



Se.

## MERCANTILE APPROACH

FROM NOW  
ON YOU AND YOUR  
PROGENY BELONG TO  
ME, AND MOST OF  
YOUR LABOUR IS  
MINE



Sl.

## LIBERAL APPROACH

FROM NOW ON  
MOST OF YOUR  
LABOUR IS  
MINE  
AND YOUR CHILDREN  
WILL VERY LIKELY ACCEPT  
THE SAME DEAL.



W.

OH OUI  
C'EST  
TRES  
VRAI!



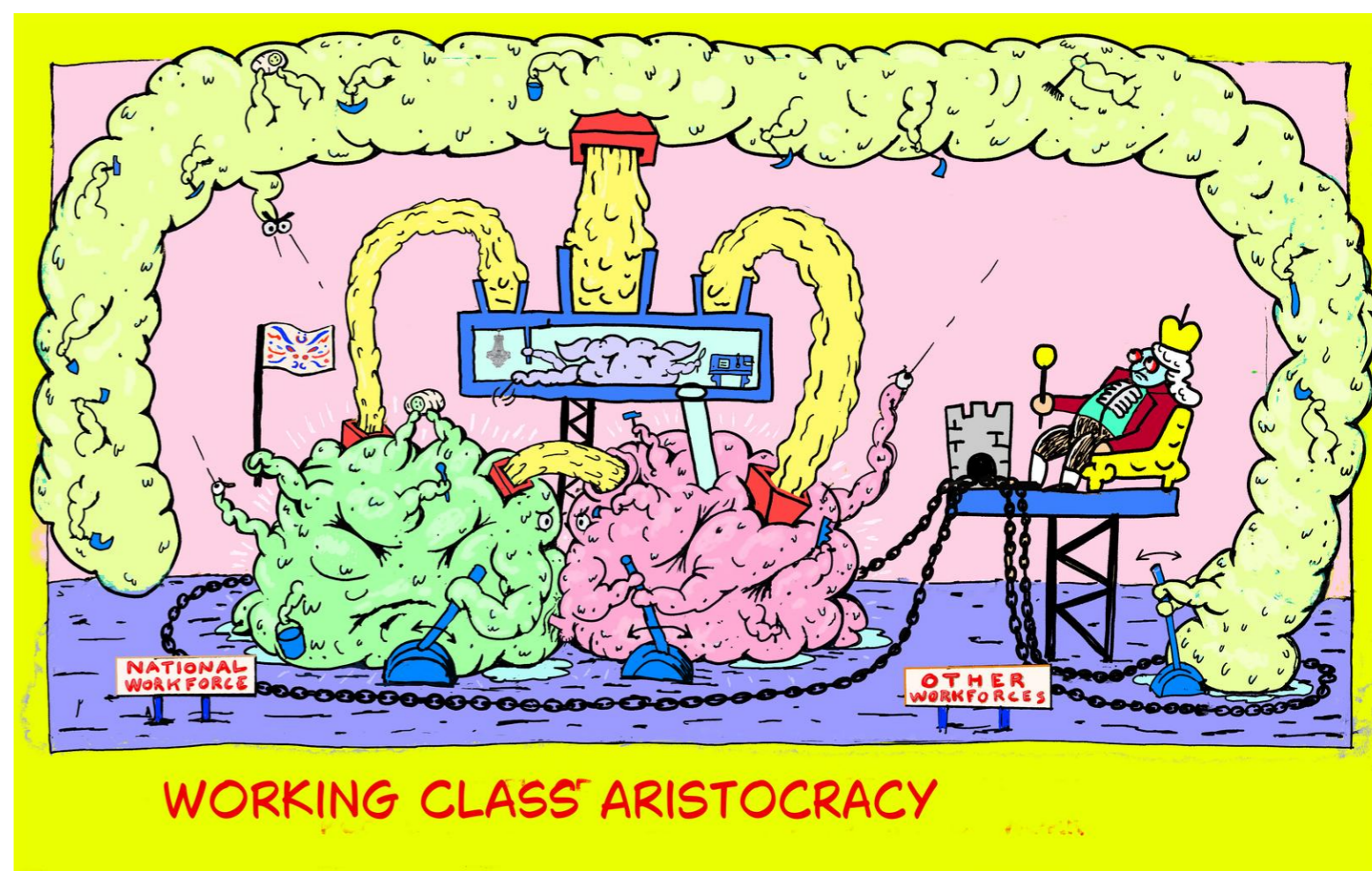
SXV - S XXI

Every individual neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it... he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by **AN INVISIBLE HAND** to promote an end which was no part of his intention.

... In the ordinary course of their dealings with one another, the motive of the parties is merely their own gain, and they are generally prompted by the least knowledge of the remote consequences of their actions, and by the narrowest and most selfish views.

... By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good

**Adam Smith 1776**



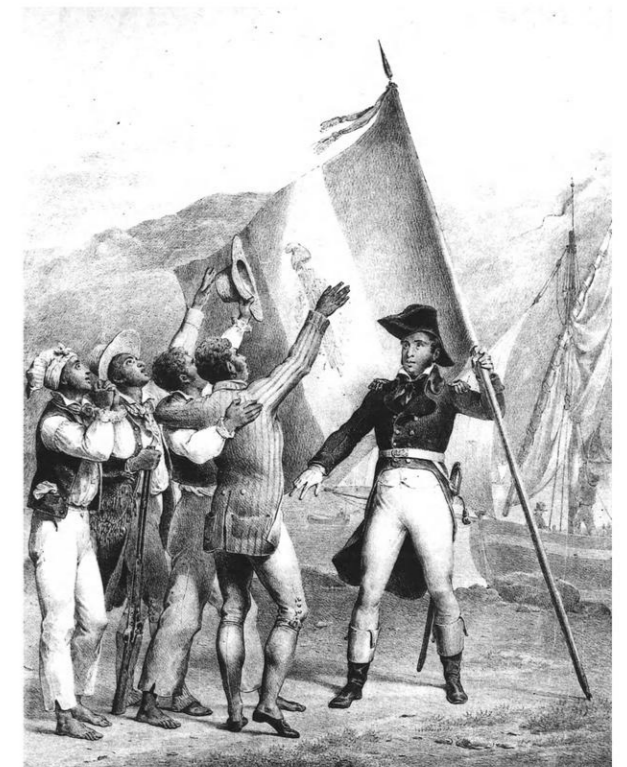
**WORKING CLASS ARISTOCRACY**

...the humane observer cannot avoid beholding with pleasure those foundations that are called the **Houses of Providence**. Most of the French, who first come into the colony, are destitute of resources and talents, and before they have acquired industry to procure subsistence, become subject to disorders that are often fatal. At the cape these helpless distressed men are taken into two habitations, where the men and the women are severally provided with every thing they want till they can get employed.

... It is a disgrace that such an excellent institution has not been imitated in other places a neglect equally repugnant to humanity and good policy. It would be for the interest of trade to erect in all colonies such hospitable houses as those of St. Domingo

France has taken a method seemingly more generous, but not so prudent, that of granting lands to all who applied for them. No regard was paid to their abilities or circumstances; the interest of their patrons determined the extent of the land they obtained. Indeed, it was stipulated, that they should begin their settlements within a year after the grant, and not discontinue the clearing of the ground, upon pain of forfeiture. But, besides the hardship of requiring those men to be at the expense of clearing the land, who could not afford to purchase, the penalty fell upon them only, who not having the advantage of family and fortune, could not make interest with the great ...

*A Philosophical and Political History ...* **Abbe Raynal** 1770



**Figure 1.2** Vincent Oge calls on the free men of color to demand their rights. This nineteenth-century illustration shows Oge, carrying the French flag and wearing the uniform of the French revolutionary National Guard, being welcomed by a group of free men of color on his return to Saint-Domingue in October 1790. Oge and his supporters, many of them slaveowners themselves, did not call for the emancipation of the slaves, but they were the first group to resort to force to challenge racial hierarchy in the colony. Source: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes.

**The monopolist**, as a torrent that is left in the abyss itself has made, works his own ruin by his rapaciousness, by draining the country where he exercises his tyranny. This mismanagement of the oppressor, the dejection of the oppressed, both concur to check industry and trade in states subjected to exclusive privileges. The company of St. Louis affords an instance, among many others, of the ill effects of such private combinations.

... In 1722, agents came from the India company, which had obtained an exclusive grant of the negro trade, on condition that they should furnish two thousand negroes yearly. This was evidently a double misfortune for the colony, which could not expect to get above one-fifth of the slaves they wanted, and foresaw that those would be sold at an extravagant price.

*A Philosophical and Political History ...* **Abbe Raynal**  
1770



**Corps Avec Ses Organes**

Books and auditing of  
accounts, instead of exposing  
frauds, only conceal them; ...

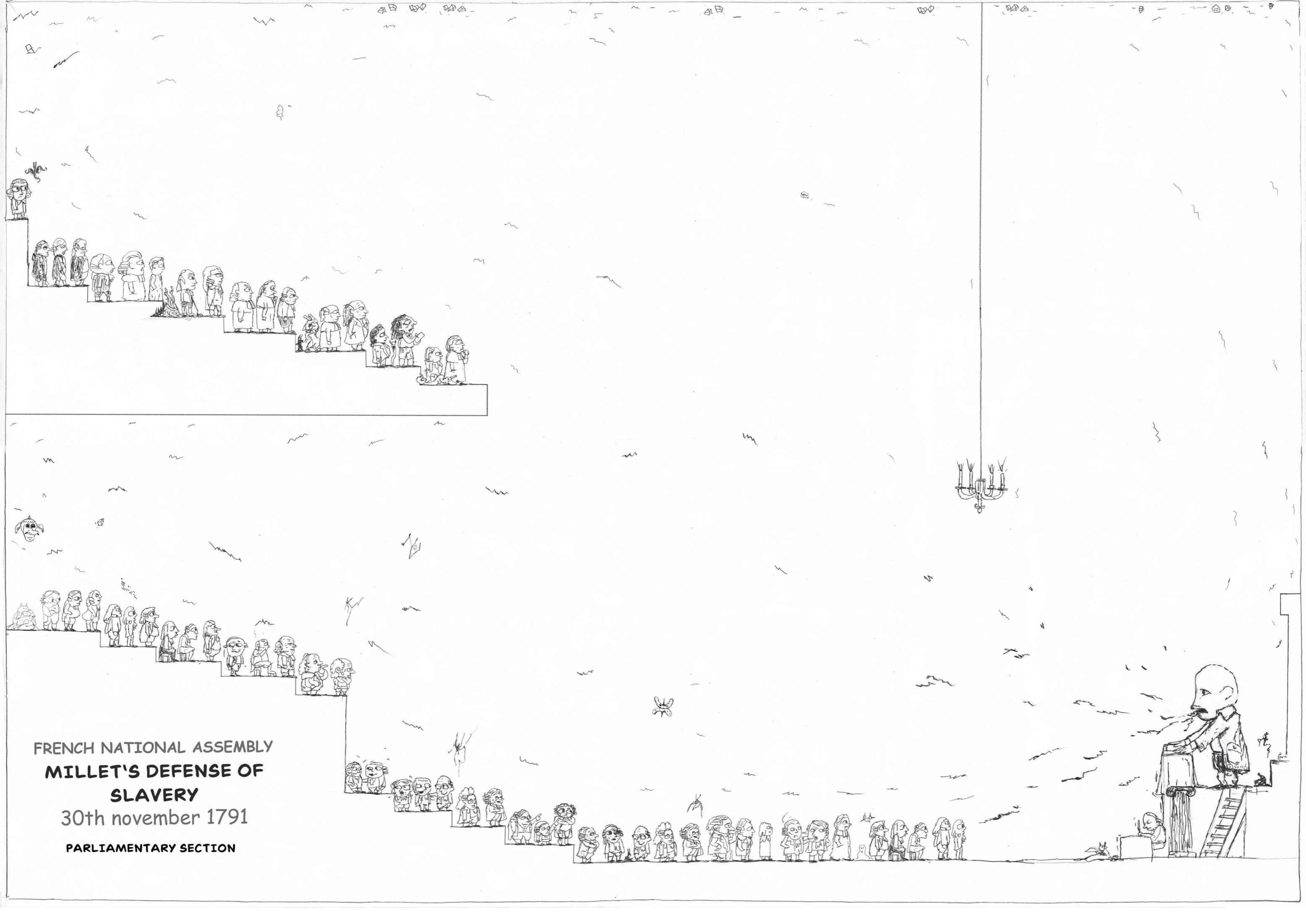
*Discourse On Political Economy*  
**J. J. Rousseau** 1755



# MOB'S INTELLECTUAL AGGREGATION



# AGREGACIÓN



FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
MILLET'S DEFENSE OF  
SLAVERY  
30th november 1791  
PARLIAMENTARY SECTION

# SANS CULOTTES



# DISGREGACIÓN



ITEMIZED MOBILIZATION / QUIETUDE

We live in peace, gentlemen, in the midst of our slaves... Let an intelligent and educated man compare the deplorable state of these men in Africa with the pleasant and easy life which they enjoy in the colonies... Sheltered by all the necessities of life, surrounded with an ease unknown in the greater part of the countries of Europe, secure in the enjoyment of their property, for they had property and it was sacred, cared for in their illnesses with an expense and an attention that you would seek in vain in the hospitals so boasted of in England, protected, respected in the infirmities of age; in peace with their children, and with their family... freed when they had rendered important services: such was the picture, true and not embellished, of the government of our Negroes, and this domestic government perfected itself particularly during the last ten years with a care of which you will find no model in Europe. The most sincere attachment bound the master to the slave; we slept in safety in the middle of these men who had become our children and many among us had neither locks nor bolts on our doors.

Millet's Discourse for the National Assembly, 1790



C. 39925

Ami et le défenseur du Peuple, Membre de la Conv. Nationale des Français libres. Sous la Présidence de la Source, il fut décrété à occasion par les Hommes de la fiction d'Etat, et traduit par devant le Tribunal révolutionnaire le 24. Avril 1793, deuxième de la République. Les Juges déclarèrent unanimement Marat innocent, et le renvoyèrent absous, il fut reconduit à la Convention par le Peuple qui le remit entre les mains de ses frères Colloques de la Montagne, ayant couronné de plusieurs Couronnes Civiques. C'est ainsi que fut réintégré au sein de la Convention celui qui n'a point démenti ses principes depuis la révolution.

A Paris chez le Vachez, Palais de l'Égalité N° 258. 1793



**JAC. P. BRISSOT,**  
 Député du Département de Paris, à l'Assemblée Législative, en 1791,  
 et à la Convention Nationale, en 1792.

*Cet auteur si fameux, qui de la comédie  
 Atteignit le vrai but, fit de si beaux portraits,  
 Un siècle avant le mien, devina mon génie;  
 Il composa Tartuffe et rendit tous mes traits.*



**Means of Publicity**

The following are the means of publicity which may be employed, either in whole or in part, according to the nature of the assembly, and the importance of its affairs.

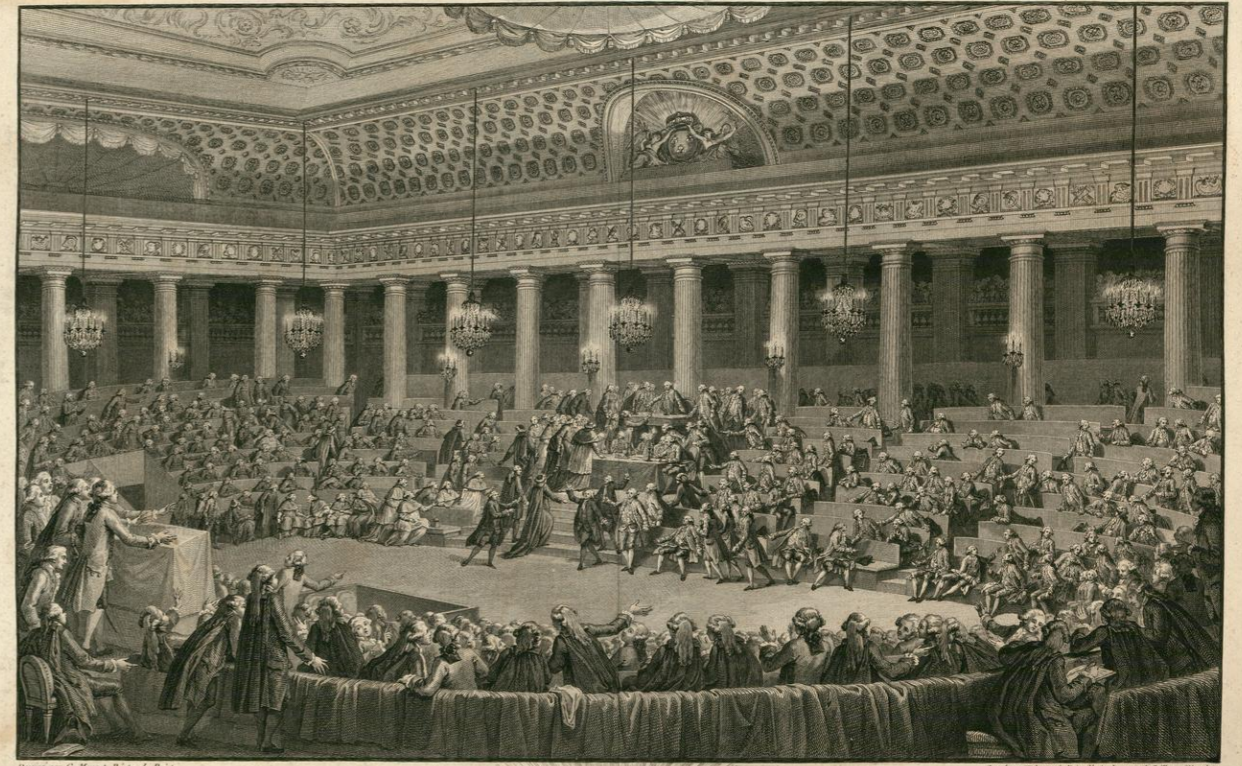
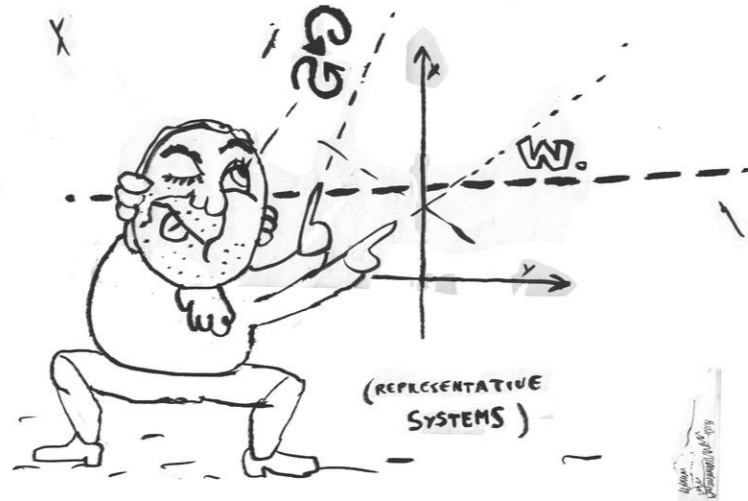
1. Authentic publication of the transactions of the assembly upon a complete plan, including the six points laid down in the preceding article:—
2. The employment of short-hand writers for the speeches; and in cases of examination, for the questions and answers.
3. Toleration of other non-authentic publications upon the same subject.
4. Admission of strangers to the sittings.

Jeremy Bentham (drafted in 1789)

**ESTIMATING THE**

**GENERAL**

**WILL**



ASSEMBLÉE  
ABANDON DE TOUS  
à Versailles, Séance de la  
NATIONALE  
LES PRIVILÈGES,  
Nuit du 4 au 5 Aout 1789.  
*Présentée et Dédicée*  
Le 19 Octobre 1790.  
*Par Helman, Gouverneur de Madame?*  
*à l'Assemblée Nationale?*

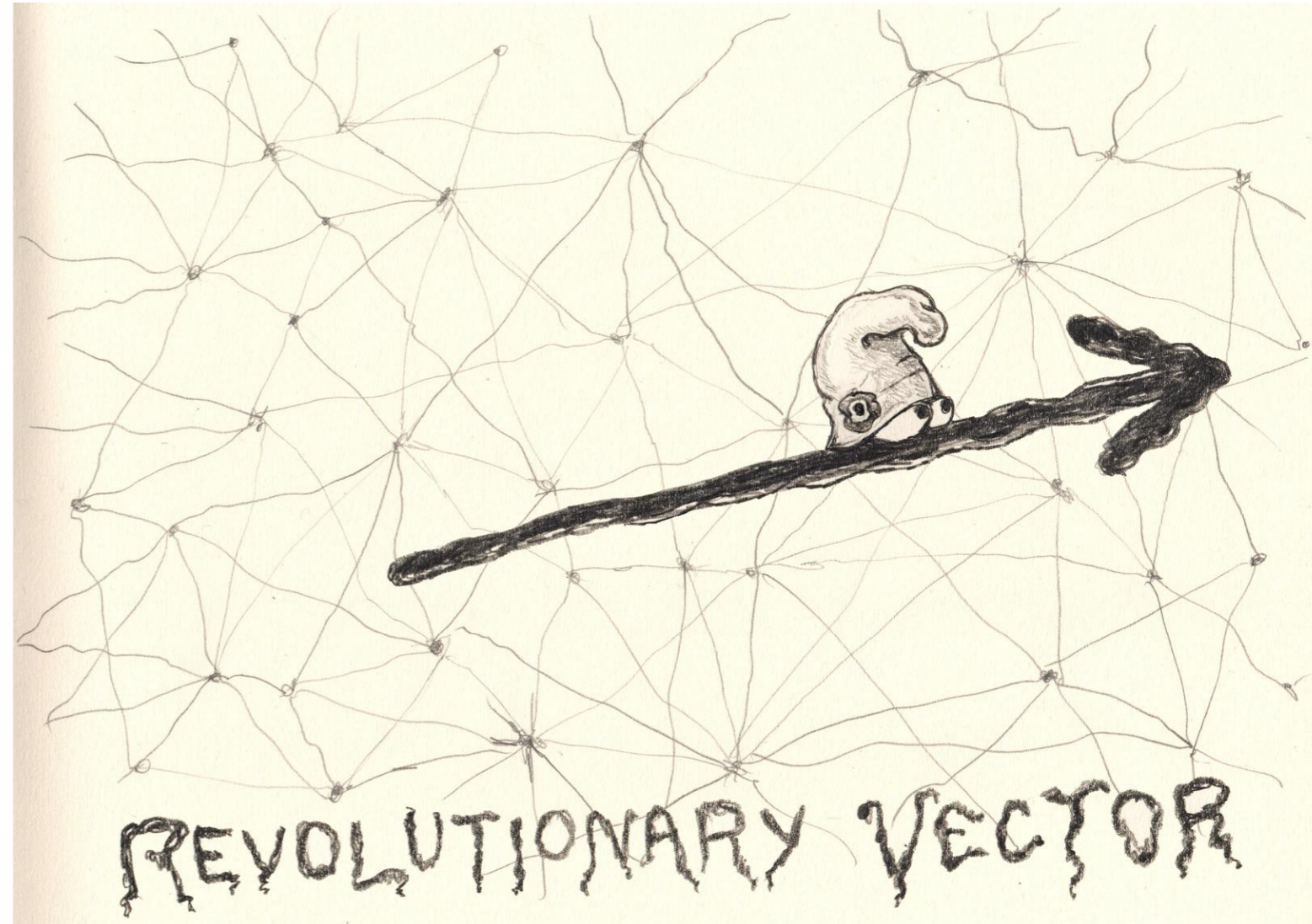
**[GENERAL WILL]**

In order then that the social compact may not be an empty formula, it tacitly includes the undertaking, which alone can give force to the rest, that **whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be compelled to do so by the whole body.** This means nothing less than that he will be forced to be free; for this is the condition which, by giving each citizen to his country, secures him against all personal dependence. In this lies the key to the working of the political machine

The social Contract J. J. Rousseau 1762



Président d'un Comité Révolutionnaire, après la levée d'un sceau.



**[INSTITUTION]**

Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.

...At once, in place of the individual personality of each contracting party, this act of association creates a moral and collective body, composed of as many members as the assembly contains votes, and receiving from this act its unity, its common identity, its life and its will.

*The social Contract J. J. Rousseau 1762*

There are no truths more important than those that one philosopher has proclaimed in these terms: 'Declaim as much as you wish on the subject of the best form of government, you will still have done nothing at all so long as you have not destroyed the seeds of cupidity and ambition.'

**Grachus Babeauf 1997**



*Avant-Garde des Femmes Allant à Versailles*



ABYSSOR IN HIS BEDROOM

**FUTURE**

(THE PRIVATE)

(CRISSOT)

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEUR

**MOB  
MACHINE**



de Vire



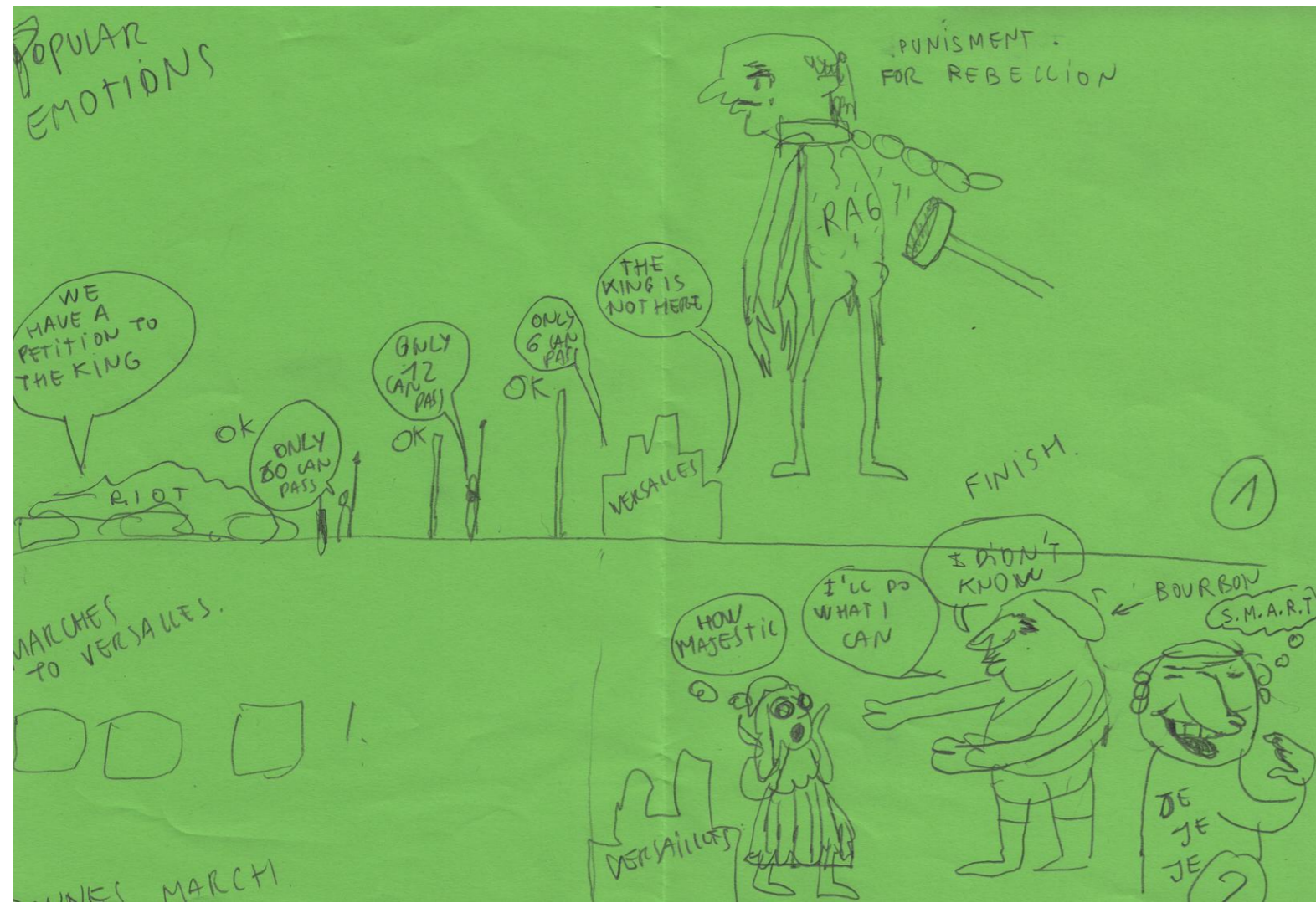
La Journée memorable de Versailles le lundi 5 Octobre 1789. Dans cette émeute générale plusieurs Gardes du Corps ont été Massacrés deux d'entre eux furent Décollés et leurs têtes portées en Triomphe par ce même peuple ami de la liberté Nationale.

2983

P21425



JOURNÉE MEMORABLE DE VERSAILLES le lundi 5 Octobre 1789. Nos Modernes Amazones glorieuses de leur Victoire reviennent à Cheval sur les Canons, avec plusieurs Messieurs de la Garde Nationale, tenant des branches de Peupliers au bruit des cris reiterés de Vive la Nation, Vive le Roi.



# TABLE OF CAREERISM

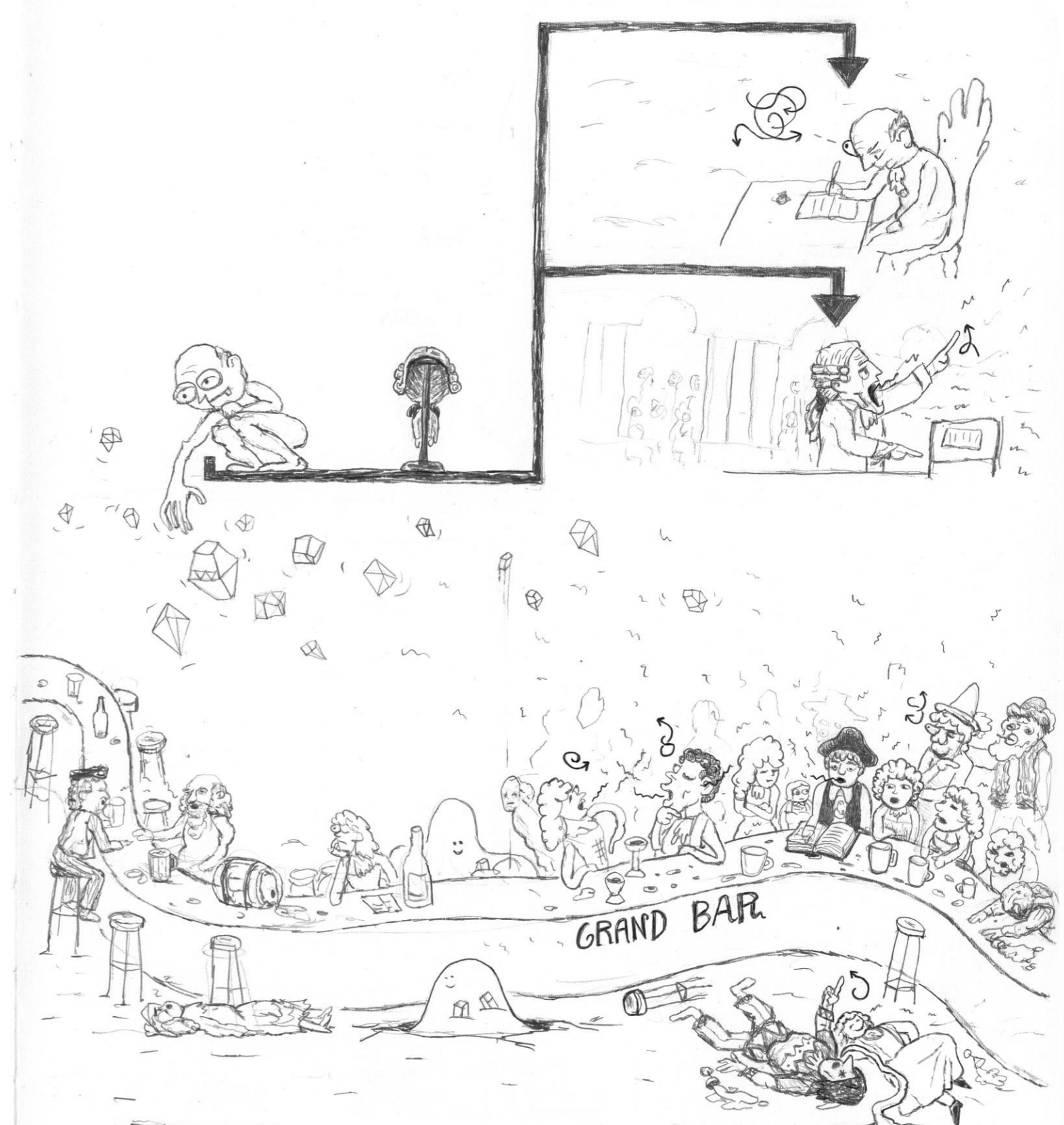
MAKE OTHERS WORK FOR YOU



THE DE A'EVER.

In the field of politics, what serves one man as a guide to useful action, serves another as a cloak to cover motives which reason and virtue would be ashamed to avow.

Essay on the Promulgation of Laws,  
**Jeremy Bentham**, 1782



THEORY OF  
 EXPLANATIVE  
 A-C-A-W-E-M  
 (SELF-ATTRIBUTION)  
 (ADAPTATION)

WHY DO YOU,  
 GOOD GENEROUS  
 PEOPLE, GIVE  
 UP TO OPRESSION  
 SO EASILY?

SMALL  
 ACTOR'S  
 VEHICLE

(Marat addresses the fictional Pere Duchesne in an imaginary dialog by Jacques Hébert)

The conspirators — whose numbers we stupidly allowed to increase — are on one side, and the patriots on the other. The combat has begun, but it is a combat unto death. No more quarter for the defeated party, because, dammit, if the statesmen had the upper hand for one moment there wouldn't exist a single patriot in six months. The scoundrels have just proven what they are capable. In Marseilles all the Jacobins were massacred; in Lyons more than a hundred republicans were guillotined by the royalists, the blood of the friends of freedom now flood the streets of Avignon.

... Courage, old man; don't back off when you suffer the same trials as me, don't be afraid: is there a more beautiful death than mine? But since you're useful to your fellow citizens, try to avoid the daggers of statesmen. Live a while longer in order to denounce them and to complete, if you can, the task I'd undertaken.

Jacques Hébert 1793 The Great Joy of Père Duchesne.

... Several women, calling themselves Jacobines, from an allegedly revolutionary society, were going about in the morning, in the market and under the ossuaries of Les Innocents, in pantaloons and red bonnets. They intended to force other citoyennes to wear the same costume; several [of the latter] testified that they had been insulted by them. A mob of nearly six thousand women gathered...

The committee thought it should carry its investigation further. It raised the following questions:

(1) Is it permissible for citizens or for an individual society to force other citizens to do what the law does not prescribe?

(2) Should meetings of women gathered together in popular societies in Paris be allowed?

Don't the disorders already occasioned by these societies argue against tolerating their existence any longer?

Naturally, these questions are complicated, and their resolution must be preceded by two more general questions, which are:

(1) Can women exercise political rights and take an active part in affairs of government?

(2) Can they deliberate together in political associations or popular societies?

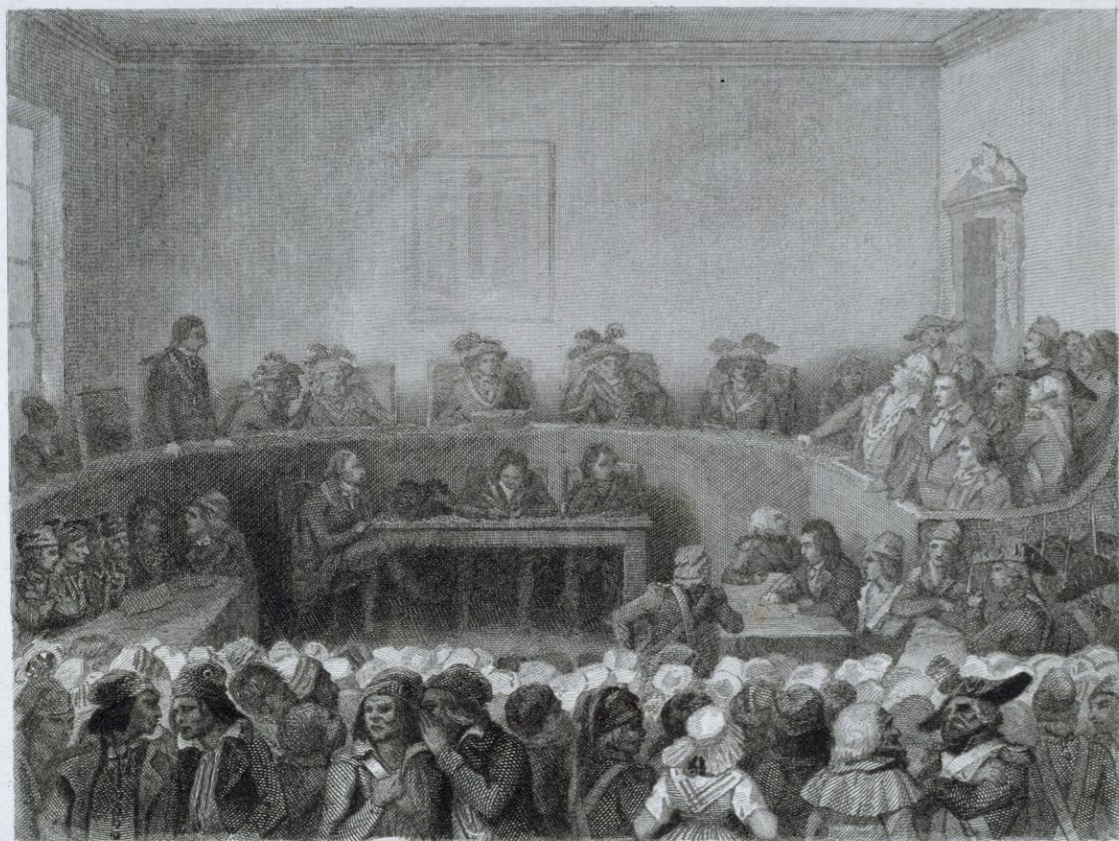
With respect to these two questions, the committee decided in the negative. ...

The decree proposed by Amar is adopted in these terms: ...

**Article 1:** Clubs and popular societies of women, whatever name they are known under, are prohibited.

**Article 2:** All sessions of popular societies must be public.

**National Convention; Moise Bayle, Presiding;  
Session of 9 Brumaire (October 30,  
1793)**

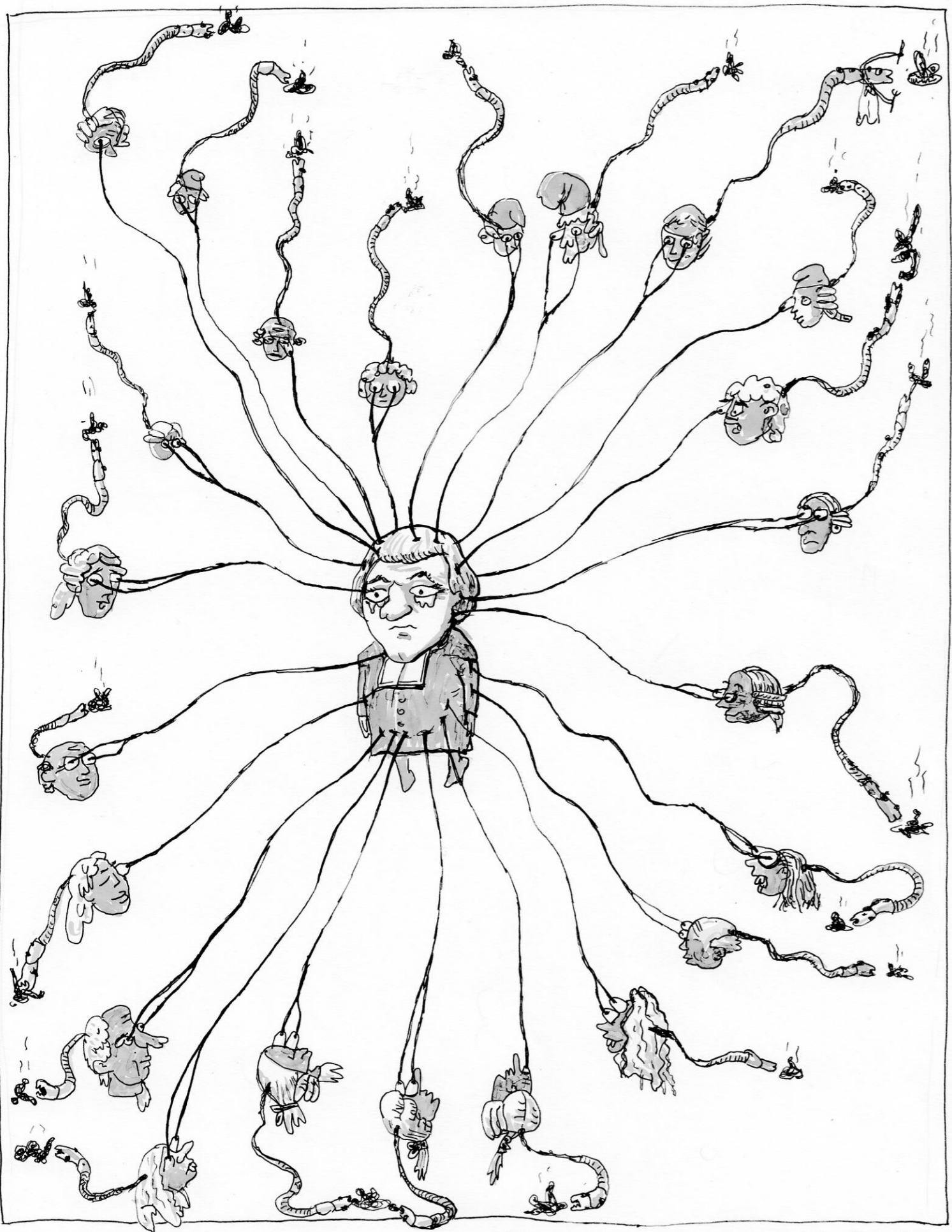


PROCÈS DE DANTON, CAMILLE, CHABOT &c.  
le 22 Février 1794

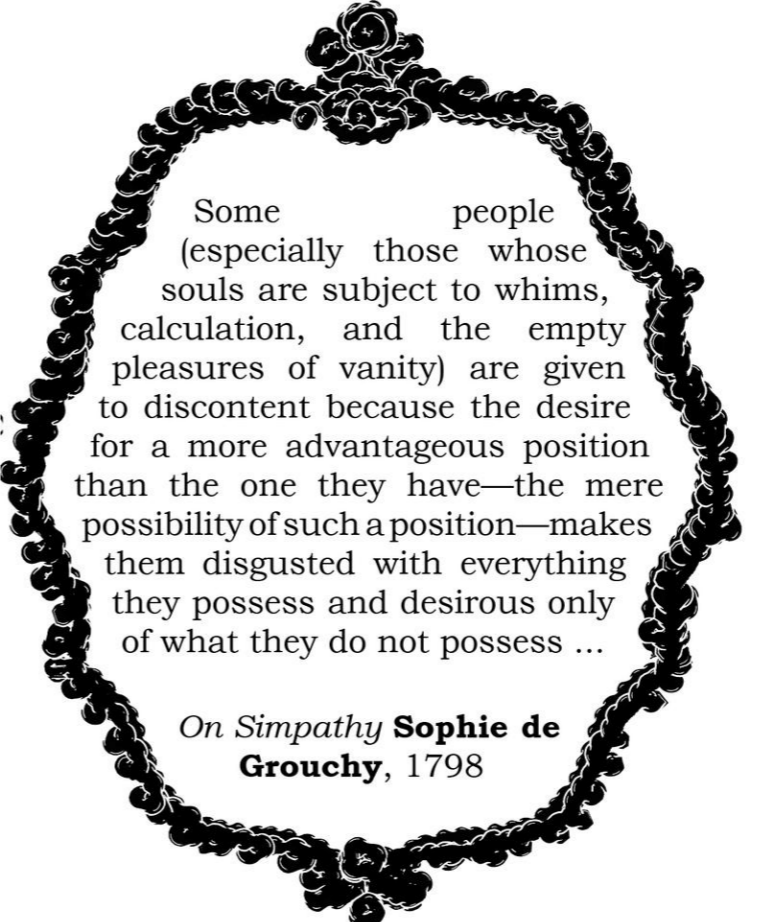
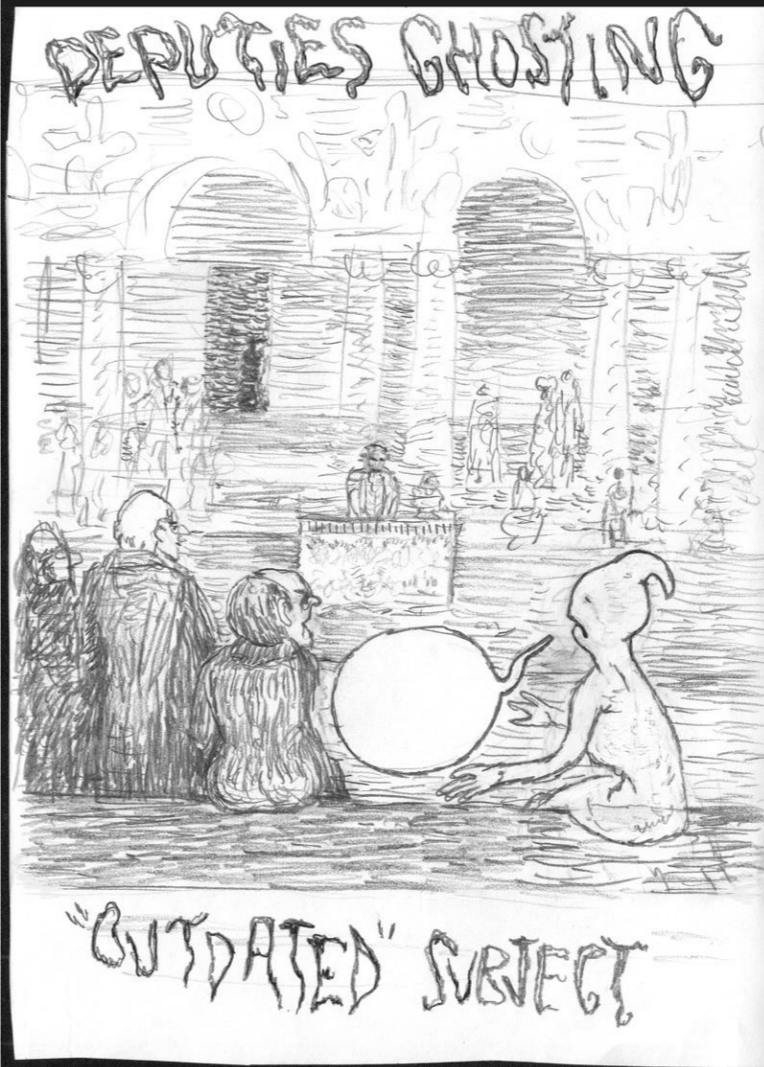


(1793)

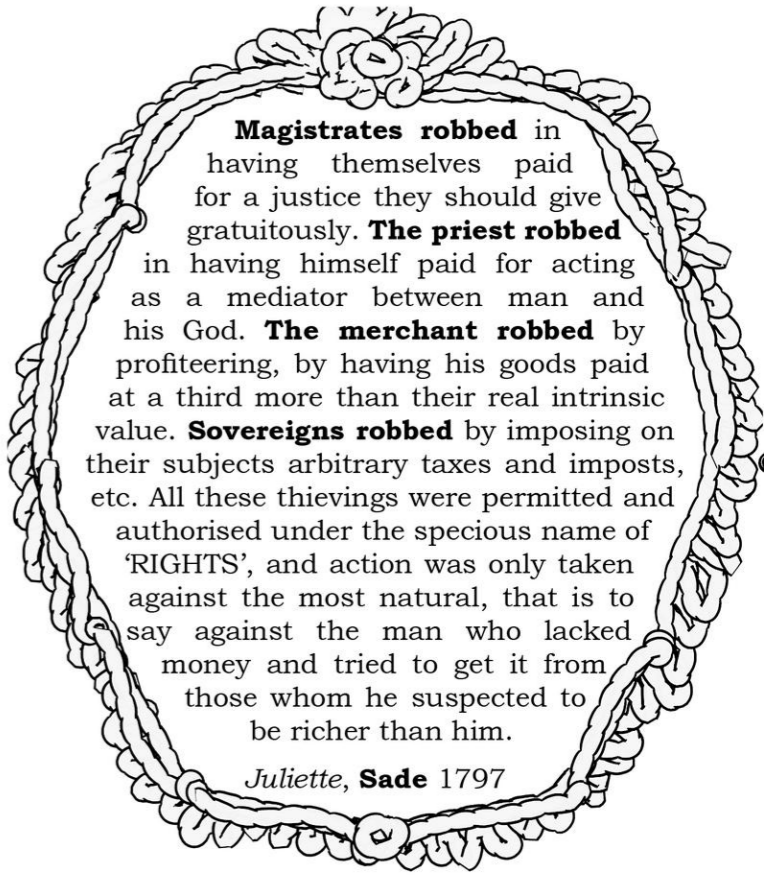
THE PUBLIC DEFAMATION OF JACQUES ROUX, ADVOCATE OF THE PEOPLE



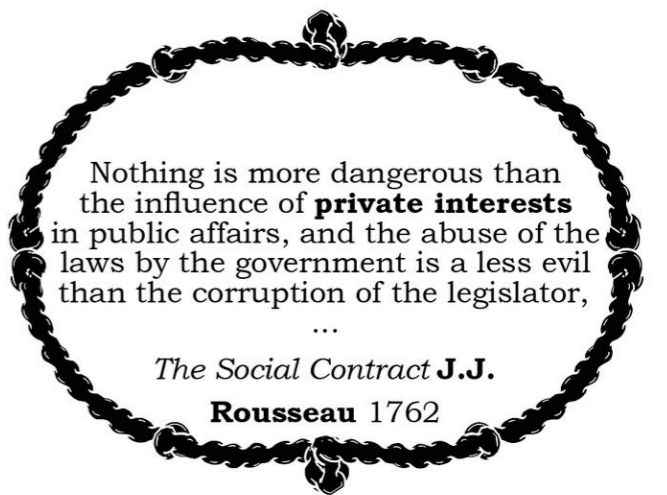
IDEATION OF JACQUES ROUX AT CORDIERS CLUB AFTER HIS FALL FROM GRACE 30/6/1793



On Simplicity Sophie de Grouchy, 1798



Juliette, Sade 1797



The Social Contract J.J. Rousseau 1762



# SANS CULOTES GHOSTING JACQUES ROUX



## [A STRANGE MOTIVATION]

Several of my readers, have murmured at the interruption of my paper for some days. I owe them an explanation which will show them that I have not had an instant to prepare it, overburdened as I am with the weight of occupation. In the first place, I may tell them that, of the twenty-four hours of the day, I only devote two to sleep, and one only to the table, toilette, and domestic concerns. Outside those that I consecrate to my duties as deputy of the people, I regularly employ six to receive the complaints of a crowd of unfortunate and oppressed, of whom I am the defender, to test and make note on their complaints, to read and reply to a multitude of letters, to overlook the publication of a work I have in the press, to take notes of all the interesting events of the Revolution, to jot down my impressions on paper, to receive denunciations, to assure myself of the bona-fides of the denunciators, and finally to bring out my paper. These are my daily occupations. I can hardly, I think, be accused, of laziness. For nearly three years I have not had a quarter of an hour of recreation. In addition I have had to find time to work at some speeches for the tribune of the Convention. This I could only do by suspending less urgent occupations, and as such is the reason of the interruption of my journal, it will doubtless find grace in your eyes."

Marat 1793

## REQUEST BY THE SANS-CULOTTE SECTION TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

(September 2, 1793)

People's proxies, How long will you suffer royalism, ambition, egoism, intrigue, and avarice, in alliance with fanaticism, to deliver our frontiers to tyranny and to carry death and destruction everywhere? Monopolists to spread famine throughout the Republic in the guilty hope of making patriots cut one another's throats and reestablishing the throne over their bloody corpses with the help of foreign despots? Make haste, time is growing short. . . .

Aristocrats, royalists, moderates, and intriguers tell you that this is an attack on property, that property should be sacred and inviolable. . . . Indeed; but do they not know, these villains, do they not know that property is limited only by the extent of physical needs? Do they not know that no one has the right to do what may harm another? What is more harmful than the arbitrary power to put a price on goods that seven-eighths of the citizenry cannot afford?

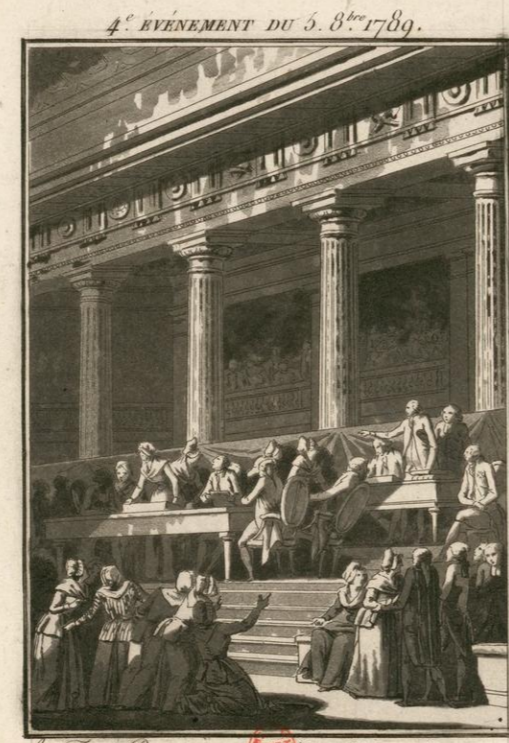
Consequently, the general assembly of the Section Sans-culotte, considering that it is the duty of all citizens to propose measures which appear to be most suitable for restoring abundance and public tranquility, request that the Convention decree:

1.  
That former nobles may neither exercise any military function nor hold any public employment, of whatever nature it might be; that former parliamentarians, financiers, and priests be dismissed from all administrative or judicial functions;
2.  
That the prices of all essential goods be permanently fixed according to their prices in the years called former years, from 1789 through 1790, and in proportion to their different quality;
3.  
That raw materials be fixed at such a price that the profits of industry, salaries from work, and profits from commerce, which were moderated by the law, will allow the industrious man, the worker, and the tradesman to acquire not only the things necessary and indispensable for existence, but as well that which may add to their enjoyment of it;
4.  
That all farmers who did not harvest because of some complication be indemnified from the public treasury;
5.  
That a sufficient sum be allocated to each department to make the prices of essential goods the same for every member of the French Republic;
6.  
That the sums allocated to departments be used to eliminate the inequality created by the price of foodstuffs and essential goods, and the price of transport throughout the French Republic which ought to bring the same advantages to each of its children;
7.  
That leases be canceled and restored to the same price at which they were during the common years you choose to fix the maximum prices of foodstuffs and essential goods;
8.  
That a maximum on fortunes be set;
9.  
That a single individual may possess only one maximum;
10.  
That no one may hold more lands than is necessary for a predetermined number of plows;
11.  
That a single citizen may hold no more than one workshop, one boutique;
12.  
That all those who have merchandise or lands in their names be recognized as proprietors. The Section Sans-culotte believes these measures will restore abundance and tranquility, gradually eliminate inequalities of fortune that are too great, and increase the number of proprietors.





Président d'un Comité Révolutionnaire s'amusant de son Art, en attendant la levée d'un Scellée.



Les Femmes Parisiennes surgent à l'Assemblée Nationale - parmi les Députés.

Freedom is nothing but a vain phantom when one class of men can starve another with impunity. Equality is nothing but a vain phantom when the rich, through monopoly, exercise the right of life or death over their like. The republic is nothing but a vain phantom when the counter-revolution can operate every day through the price of commodities, which three quarters of all citizens cannot afford without shedding tears...

Address to the National Convention, Jaques Roux 1793

Servants, peasants, workers, the labourers by the day in the fields' all over France were filled with a virulent hatred against the 'aristocracy of the skin'. There were many so moved by the sufferings of the slaves that they had long ceased to drink coffee, thinking of it as drenched with the blood and sweat of men turned into brutes.

F. Carteau, Les Soirées Bermudiennes, 1802.



SANS-CULOTTES SANS SUCRE (BORDEAUX 1790's)

BOICOT / SYSTEMIC CONSCIOUSNESS



(from a circular distributed by the Belleville popular society in the year 2) ... To achieve these [our] goals, every citizen of the land must join together in patriotic societies; these societies must correspond frequently with each other, and with a central society or parent society, which will dispatch and receive constantly these shafts of light and of life which will enlighten, animate and energize patriotic fervor." Paris, 1793 via Soboul 1993



VIVRE LIBRE (N<sup>o</sup>. 3.) OU MOURIR.

LE VIEUX CORDELIER;

JOURNAL Rédigé par CAMILLE DESMOULINS, Député à la Convention, et Doyen des Jacobins.

Quintidi Frimaire, 3<sup>e</sup>. Décade, l'an II de la République, une et indivisible.

Dès que ceux qui gouvernent seront hais, leurs concurrents ne tarderont pas à être admirés. (MACHIAVEL)

UNE différence entre la monarchie et la république, qui suffiroit seule pour faire repousser avec horreur, par les gens de bien, le gouvernement monarchique, et lui faire préférer la république, quoiqu'il en coûte pour l'établir, c'est que si, dans la démocratie, le peuple peut être trompé, du moins c'est la vertu qu'il aime, c'est le mérite qu'il croit élever aux places, au lieu que les coquins sont l'essence de la mo-



It is therefore necessary that the social institutions be such that they eradicate within every last individual the hope that he might ever become richer, more powerful, or more distinguished because of his talents, than any of his equals.

**Grachus Babeauf 1797**



III. 3.2. DOCTER PHLOGISTON, The PRIESTLEY politician or the Political Priest (Annabel Scratch, July 1, 1791)

**Expropriate** everything that a citizen does not need, because to have more than one needs is a flagrant and gratuitous violation of the rights of the people. Every man who has more than he needs, more than he can use himself, is only abusing the rest; thus, after leaving him with his basic needs, the remainder belongs to the Republic and to its less fortunate members.

**Temporary commission of the Commune-Affranchie (Lyon) 1793**



**[ON THE  
BOURGEOISIE]**

"[We oppose] those fat farmers, those egotists, and those fat, rich merchants: they're at war against us, and not against our tyrants."

*An address to the Convention, 1792*

"It is necessary to start August 10 all over again, and to assassinate and slit the throats of all the rich people." *Alleged shouting of a certain Mistress Saunier, 1793*

"his relatives have always moved in moneyed, that is to say, aristocratic circles... he has grown fat off the sweat of wage earners." *Accusation, 1793*

"The unfortunate are the powerful on earth; they have the right to speak as masters to governments who neglect them." *Saint-Just, 1793*

"He spends his time among business people, snobs like himself, not consorting with any patriot ... always flaunting his rank among the wholesalers, censuring and even molesting citizens, like most wholesalers."

*Allegations for the arrest of Jean-Louis Lagrave 1793*

"Neither the merchants nor the rich are worth sparing,"

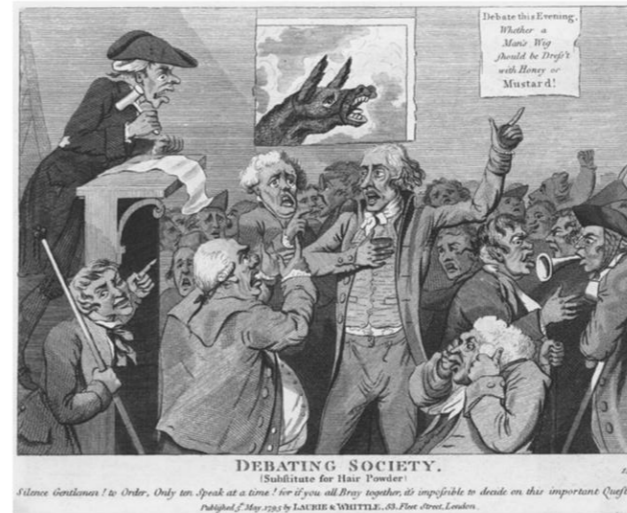
*Davelin, a feather dealer, disarmed in 1795*

"no merchant, not even a match merchant, should be allowed on revolutionary committees." *Quereau, a journeyman carpenter, 1793*

*via Soboul 1993*

Note: When I attack monopolists and speculators I am far from including in this infamous class a great number of grocers and merchants who have rendered themselves praiseworthy by their civisme and their humanity.

*Jaques Roux, 1793*



*Madame sans Culotte*

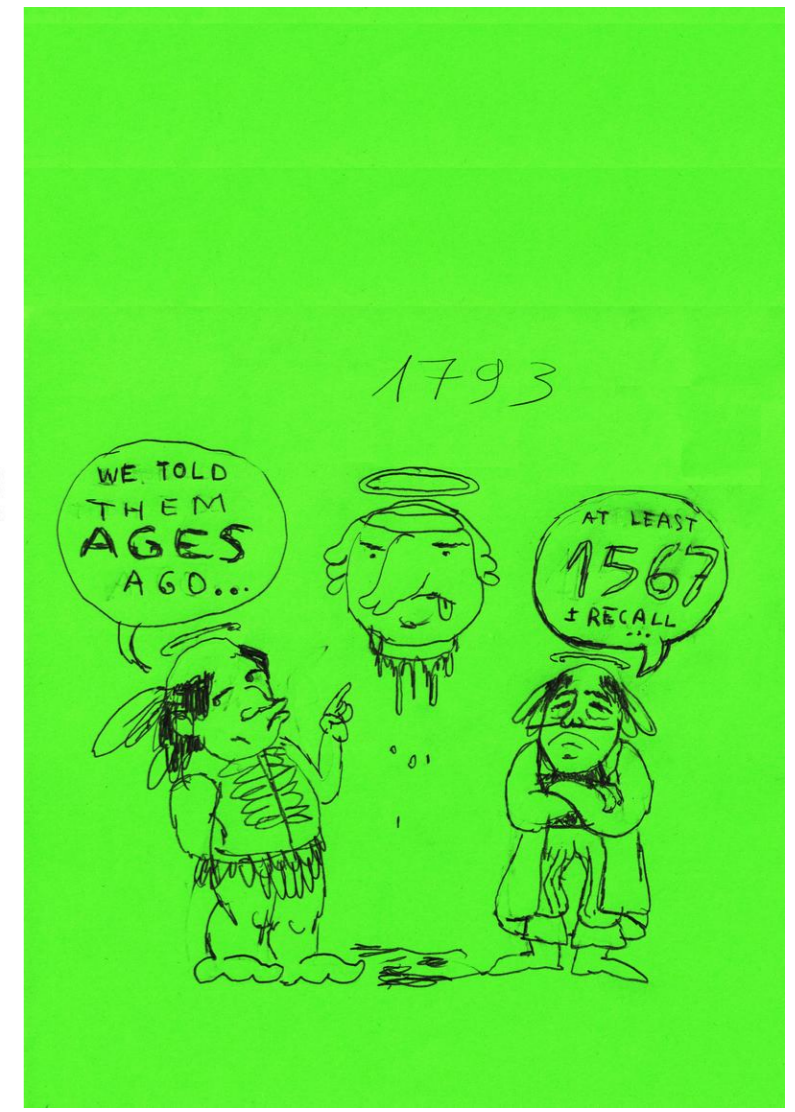
6112

Deputy Guillotin  
In medicine  
Quite expert and quite  
clever,  
Made a machine  
To purge the French body  
Of all those with projects.  
It's the guillotine, ohe!  
It's the guillotine!  
To punish treason,  
High rapine  
These lovers of coats of  
arms  
These people, you can guess  
who:  
these are who we made it for  
That whose effect we know  
It's the guillotine, ohe!  
It's the guillotine  
For having plotted  
The mutinous horde  
Has gotten without thinking  
of it  
A bad headache.  
In order to cure these  
messieurs  
One day we'll lead  
them  
To the guillotine, ohe!  
To the guillotine.  
From France we've  
chased  
The noble vermin,  
They've swept away  
all, crushed all,  
And ruined all,

But the noble, they've  
been sure  
To die with the neck cut  
By the guillotine, ohe!  
By the guillotine.  
Messieurs the noble  
mutineers  
Every one of whom strives,  
Fomenting in vain efforts  
Interneine war;  
If we take you truly You'll  
die very nobly  
To the guillotine, ohe!  
To the guillotine.  
The tenth\* procured us  
A hearty task  
The traitors abounded,  
It's worse than a plague,  
Since we don't want to miss  
any  
We punish without  
uprooting  
The machine remains,  
ohe!  
The machine remains

\* The 10 brumaire  
year II, date of the  
execution of the  
Girondins.

*Revolutionary Song,  
Paris, 1792*



# MANIFESTO OF THE EQUALS

(SYLVAIN MARÉCHAL, 1796)

## PEOPLE OF FRANCE!

For fifteen centuries you lived as slaves and, consequently, unhappy. For the last six years you barely breathe, waiting for independence, freedom and equality.

**EQUALITY!** The first wish of nature, the first need of man, the first bond of all legitimate association! People of France! You were not more blessed than the other nations that vegetate on this unfortunate globe! Everywhere and at all times the poor human race, delivered over to more or less deft cannibals, served as an plaything for all ambitions, as prey for all tyrannies. Everywhere and at all times men were lulled with beautiful words; at no time and in no place was the thing itself ever obtained along with the word. From time immemorial they hypocritically repeat to us: all men are equal; and from time immemorial the most degrading and monstrous inequality insolently weighs upon the human race. As long as there have been human societies the most beautiful of humanity's privileges has been recognized without contradiction, but was only once put in practice: equality was nothing but a beautiful and sterile legal fiction. And now that it is called for with an even stronger voice the answer us: be quiet, you wretches! Real equality is nothing but a chimera; be satisfied with conditional equality; you're all equal before the law. What more do you want, filthy rabble? Legislators, rulers, rich landowners, it is now your turn to listen.

Are we not all equal? This principle remains uncontested, because unless touched by insanity, one can't seriously say it is night when it is day.

Well then! We aspire to live and die equal, the way we were born: we want real equality or death; this is what we need.

And we'll have this real equality, at whatever the cost. Woe on those who stand between it and us! Woe on those who resist a wish so firmly expressed.

The French Revolution is nothing but the precursor of another revolution, one that will be greater, more solemn, and which will be the last.

The people marched over the bodies of kings and priests who were in league against it: it will do the same to the new tyrants, the new political Tartuffes seated in the place of the old.

What do we need besides equality of rights?

We need not only that equality of rights written into the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen; we want it in our midst, under the roofs of our houses. We consent to everything for it, to make a clean slate so that we hold it to alone. Let all the arts perish, if need be, as long as real equality remains!

Legislators and politicians, you have no more genius than you do good faith; gutless and rich landowners, in vain do you attempt to neutralize our holy enterprise by saying: They do nothing but reproduce that agrarian law asked for more than once in the past.

Slanderers, be silent: and in the silence of your confusion listen to our demands, dictated by nature and based on justice.

The Agrarian law, or the partitioning of land, was the spontaneous demand of some unprincipled soldiers, of some towns moved more by their instinct than by reason. We lean towards something more sublime and more just: the common good or the community of property! No more individual property in land: the land belongs to no one. We demand, we want, the common enjoyment of the fruits of the land: the fruits belong to all.

We declare that we can no longer put up with the fact that the great majority work and sweat for the smallest of minorities.

Long enough, and for too long, less than a million individuals have disposed of that which belongs to 20 million of their kind, their equals.

Let it at last end, this great scandal that our descendants will never believe existed! Disappear at last, revolting distinctions between rich and poor, great and small, masters and servants, rulers and ruled.

Let there no longer be any difference between people than that of age and sex. Since all have the same faculties and the same needs, let there then be for them but one education, but one nourishment. They are satisfied with one sun and one air for all: why then would the same portion and the same quality of food not suffice for each of them?

Already the enemies of the most natural order of things we can imagine raise a clamour against us.

They say to us: You are disorganizers and seditious; you want nothing but massacres and loot.

## PEOPLE OF FRANCE:

We won't waste our time responding to them. We tell you: the holy enterprise that we are organising has no other goal than that of putting an end to civil dissension and public poverty.

Never before has more vast a plan been conceived of or carried out. Here and there a few men of genius, a few wise men, have spoken in a low and trembling voice. None have had the courage to tell the whole truth.

The moment for great measures has arrived. Evil has reached its height: it covers the face of the earth. Under the name of politics, chaos has reigned for too many centuries. Let everything be set in order and take its proper place once again. Let the supporters of justice and happiness organize in the voice of equality. The moment has come to found the REPUBLIC OF EQUALS, the great home open to all men. The day of general restitution has arrived. Families moaning in suffering, come sit at the common table set by nature for all its children.

## PEOPLE OF FRANCE:

The purest of all glories was thus reserved for you! Yes it is you who should be the first to offer the world this touching spectacle.

Ancient habits, antique fears, would again like to pose an obstacle to the establishment of the Republic of Equals. The organisation of real equality, the only one that responds to all needs, without causing any victims, without costing any sacrifice, will not at first please everyone. The selfish, the ambitious, will tremble with rage. Those who possess unjustly will cry out about injustice. The loss of the enjoyments of the few, of solitary pleasures, of personal ease will cause lively regret to those heedless of the pain of others. The lovers of absolute power, the henchmen of arbitrary authority, will with difficulty bow their superb heads before the level of real equality. Their shortsightedness will penetrate with difficulty the imminent future of common happiness; but what can a few thousand malcontents do against a mass of happy men, surprised to have sought so long a happiness that they had right at hand.

The day after this real revolution, they'll say with astonishment: What? Common happiness was so easy to obtain? All we had to do was want it? Why oh why didn't we desire it sooner? Did they really have to make us speak of it so many times? Yes, without a doubt, one lone man on earth richer, stronger than his like, than his equals, and the balance is thrown off: crime and unhappiness are on earth.

## PEOPLE OF FRANCE:

By what sign will you now recognize the excellence of a constitution? ...That which rests in its entirety on real equality is the only one that can suit you and fulfill all your wishes.

The aristocratic charters of 1791 and 1795 tightened your chains instead of breaking them. That of 1793 was a great step towards true equality, and we had never before approached it so closely. But it did not yet touch the goal, nor reach common happiness, which it nevertheless solemnly consecrated as its great principle.

## PEOPLE OF FRANCE,

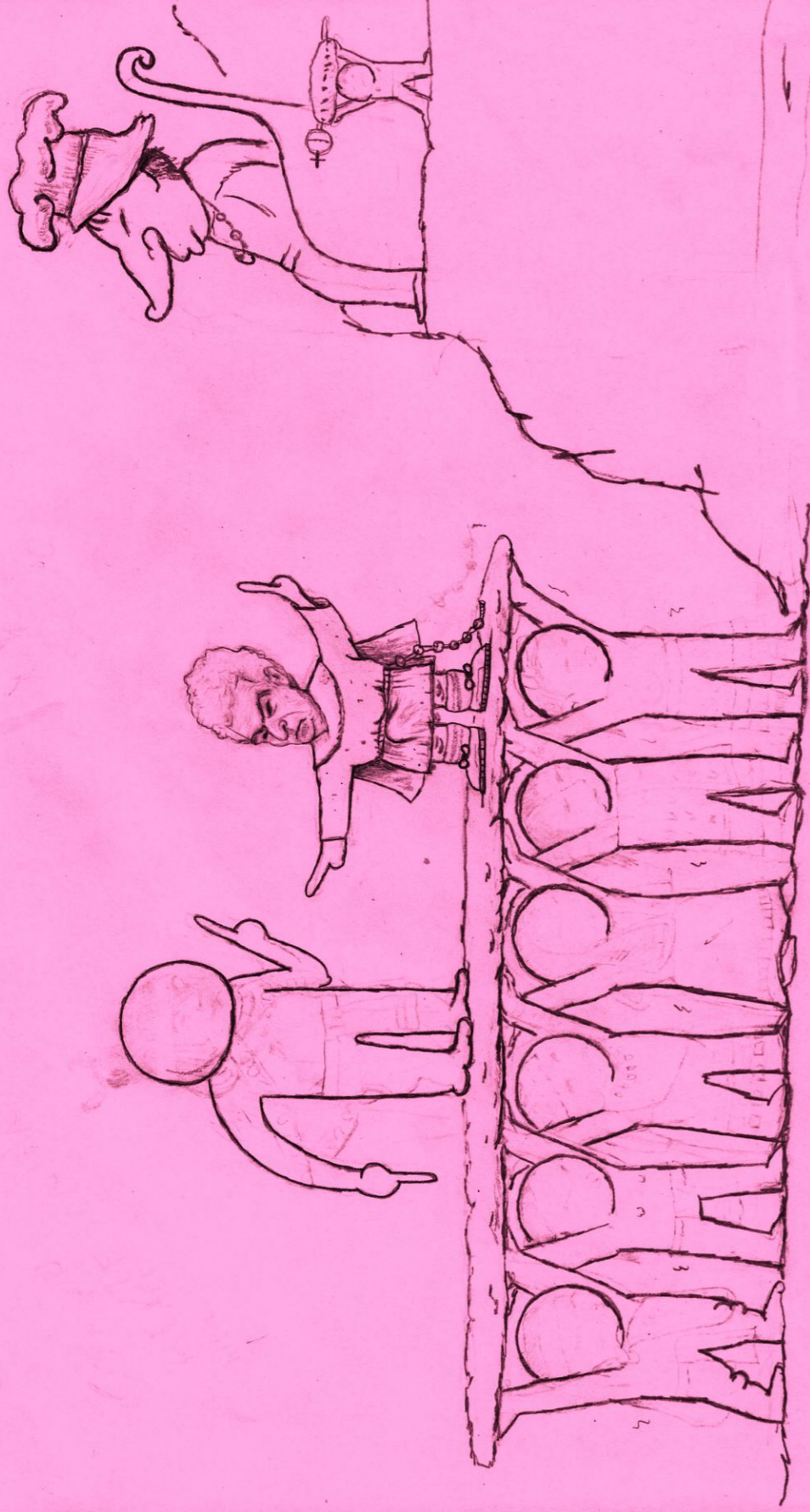
Open your eyes and your hearts to the fullness of happiness: recognize and proclaim with us the REPUBLIC OF EQUALS.



Suppose a nation, rich and poor, high and low, ten millions in number, all assembled together; not more than one or two millions will have lands, houses, or any personal property; if we take into the account the women and children, or even if we leave them out of the question, **a great majority of every nation is wholly destitute of property**, except a small quantity of clothes, and a few trifles of other movables.

Would Mr. Nedham be responsible that, if all were to be decided by a vote of the majority, the eight or nine millions who have no property, would not think of usurping over the rights of the one or two millions who have? Property is surely a right of mankind as really as liberty.

*John Adams, A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, 1787*



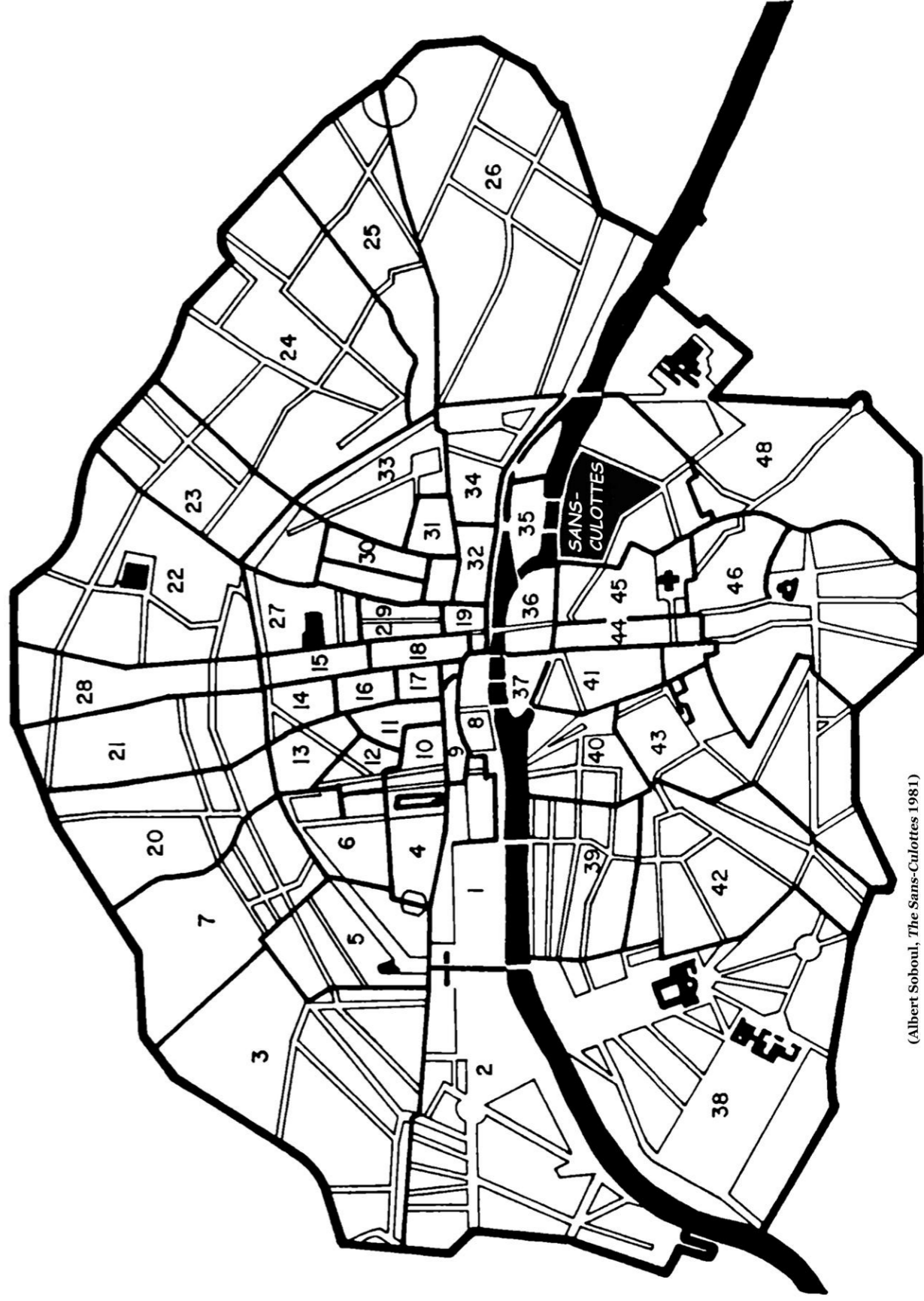
SOY SU REPRESENTANTE



EL SUYO

**THE PARISIAN SECTIONS**

*(from a 1790 map)*

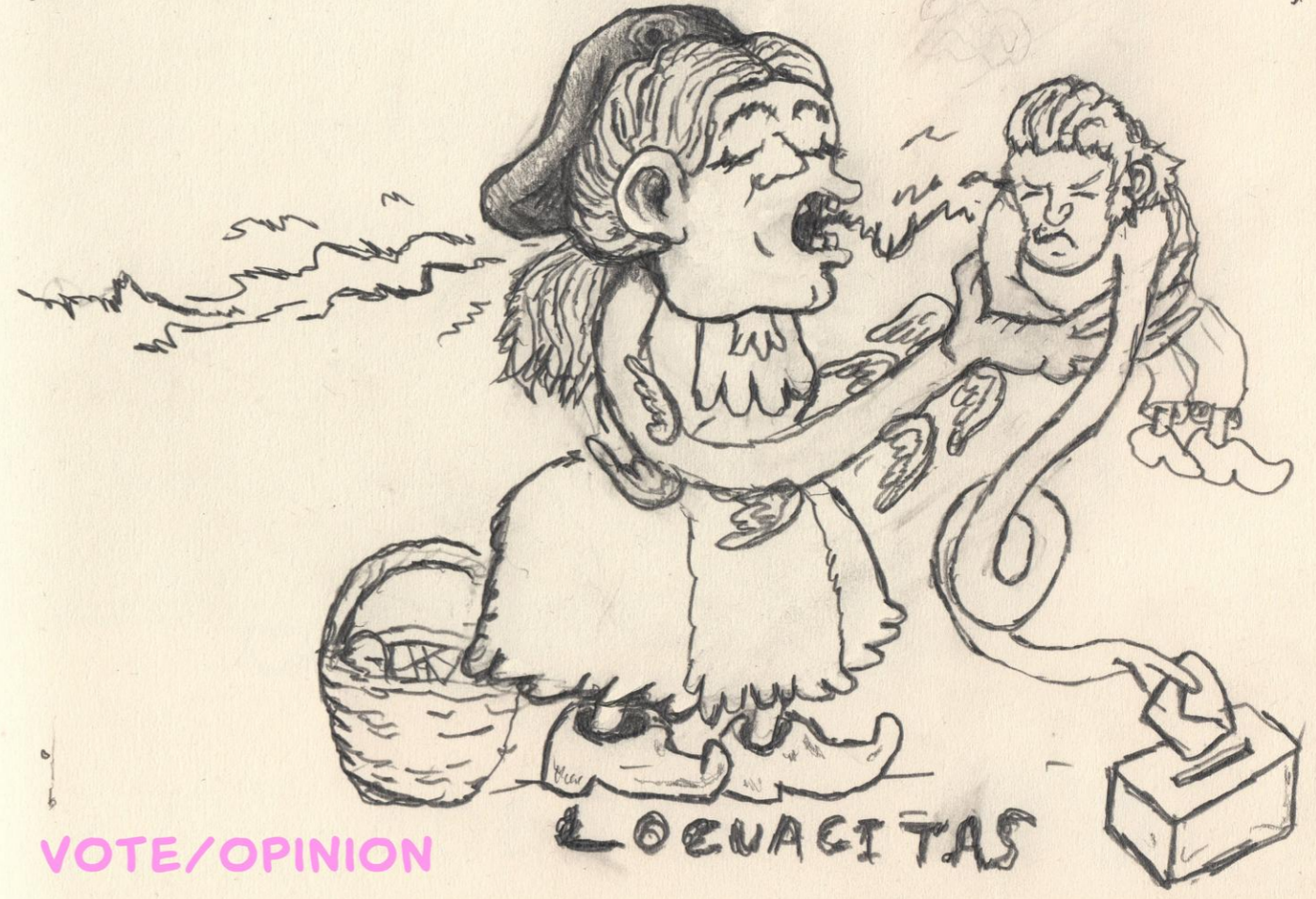


(Albert Soboul, *The Sans-Culottes* 1981)

## Historical Table of the Parisian Sections May 21, 1790–19 Vendémiaire, year IV

1. *Tuileries* section (1790–year IV).
2. *Champs-Élysées* section (1790–year IV).
3. *Roule* section; renamed *République* (October 1792–Prairial, year III); restored to *Roule* (30 Prairial, year III–year IV).
4. *Palais-Royal* section; renamed *Butte-des-Moulins* (August 1792–August 1793); becomes *Montagne section* (August 1793–21 Frimaire, year III); restored to *Butte-des-Moulins* (21 Frimaire, year III–year IV).
5. *Place-Vendôme* section; renamed *Piques* (September 1792–5 Prairial, year III); restored to *Place-Vendôme* (5 Prairial, year III–year IV).
6. *Bibliothèque* section; renamed *Quatre-Vingt-Douze* (September 1792–October 1793); renamed *Lepeletier* (October 1793–year IV).
7. *Grange-Batelière* section; renamed *Mirabeau* (August–December 1792); renamed *Mont Blanc* (December 1792–year IV).
8. *Louvre* section; renamed *Muséum* (May 6, 1793–year IV).
9. *Oratoire* section; renamed *Gardes-Françaises* (September 1792–year IV).
10. *Halle-au-Blé* section.
11. *Postes* section; renamed *Contrat-Social* (August 18, 1792–year IV).
12. *Place Louis XIV* section; renamed *Mail* (August 1792–September 1793); became *Guillaume-Tell* section (September 1793–Messidor, year III); restored to *Mail* (Messidor, year III–year IV).
13. *Fontaine-Montmorency* section; renamed *Molière-et-Lafontaine* (October 1792–September 12, 1793); became *Brutus* section (September 12, 1793–year IV).
14. *Bonne-Nouvelle* section.
15. *Ponceau* section; renamed *Amis-de-la-Patrie* (September 1792–year IV).
16. *Mauconseil* section; renamed *Bon-Conseil* (August 1792–year IV).
17. *Marché-des-Innocents*; renamed *Halles* (September 1792–May 1793); became *Marchés* (May 1793–year IV).
18. *Lombards* section.
19. *Arcis* section.
20. *Faubourg-Montmartre* section.
21. *Poissonnière* section.
22. *Bondy* section.
23. *Temple* section.
24. *Popincourt* section.
25. *Montreuil* section.
26. *Quinze-Vingts* section.
27. *Gravilliers* section.
28. *Faubourg-Saint-Denis*; renamed *Faubourg-du-Nord* (January 1793–year IV).
29. *Beaubourg* section; renamed *Réunion* (September 1792–year IV).
30. *Enfants-Rouges*; renamed *Marais* (September 1792–June 1793); became *l'Homme-Armé* section (June 1793–year IV).
31. *Roi-de-Sicile* section; renamed *Droits-de-l'Homme* (August 1792–year IV).
32. *L'Hôtel-de-Ville* section; renamed *Maison-Commune* (August 21, 1792–Fructidor, year II); became *Fidélité* (Fructidor, year II–year IV).
33. *Place-Royale*; renamed *Fédérés* (August 1792–July 4, 1793); became *Indivisibilité* (July 4, 1793–year IV).
34. *Arsenal* section.
35. *l'Île Saint-Louis* section; renamed *Fraternité* (November 1792–year IV).
36. *Notre Dame* section; renamed *Cité* (August 1792–21 Brumaire, year II); became *Raison* section (21–25 Brumaire, year II); restored to *Cité* (25 Brumaire, year II–year IV).
37. *Henri IV* section; *Pont-Neuf* (August 14, 1792–September 7, 1793); became *Révolutionnaire* section (September 7, 1793–1 Frimaire, year III); restored to *Pont-Neuf* (10 Frimaire, year III–year IV).
38. *Invalides* section.
39. *Fontaine-de-Grenelle* section.
40. *Quatre-Nations* section; renamed *Unité* (April 1793–year IV).
41. *Théâtre-Français* section; renamed *Marseille* (August 1792–August 1793); became *Marseille-et-Marat* (August 1793–Pluviôse, year II); became *Marat* section (Pluviôse, year II–22 Pluviôse, year III); restored to *Théâtre-Français* (22 Pluviôse, year III–year IV).
42. *Croix-Rouge* section; renamed *Bonnet-Rouge* (October 3, 1793–Germinal, year III); renamed *Bonnet-de-la-Liberté* (Germinal–Prairial, year III); became *Ouest* section (Prairial, year III–year IV).
43. *Luxembourg* section; renamed *Mucus-Scaevola* (Brumaire, year II–Prairial, year III); restored to *Luxembourg* (Prairial, year III–year IV).
44. *Thermes-de-Julien*; renamed *Beaurepaire* (September 8, 1792–20 Pluviôse, year II); *Châlier* (20 Pluviôse, year II–Pluviôse, year III); restored to *Thermes-de-Julien* (Pluviôse, year III–year IV).
45. *Sainte-Geneviève*; renamed *Panthéon-Français* (August 1792–year IV).
46. *Observatoire* section.
47. *Jardin-des-Plantes*; renamed *Sans-Culottes* (August 1792–10 Ventôse, year III); restored to *Jardin-des-Plantes* (10 Ventôse, year III–year IV).
48. *Gobelins* section; renamed *Finistère* (August 1792–year IV).

(Albert Soboul, *The Sans-Culottes* 1981)



DESPITE THE LACK OF WOMAN'S  
RIGHTS  
THE VOICE OF THE MARKET  
MAKES IT TO THE ELECTION  
O O O

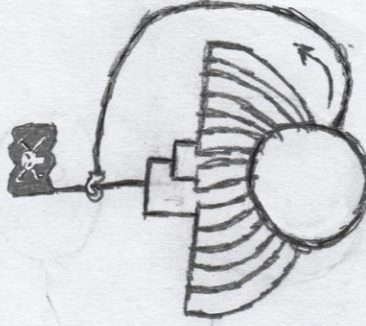
“Last Sunday (August 14) a large meeting of slaves was held at the Lenormand plantation, Morne Rouge. It was made up of two deputies from all the workforces of Port Margot, Limbé, Acul, Petite Anse, Limonade, Plaine du Nord, Quartier Morin, Morne Rouge, etc. The purpose of this **ASSEMBLY** was to fix the date of the insurrection that had been discussed for a long time.”

Record of Deffau/Dechausée declaration to the police of Limbé Town, August 1791

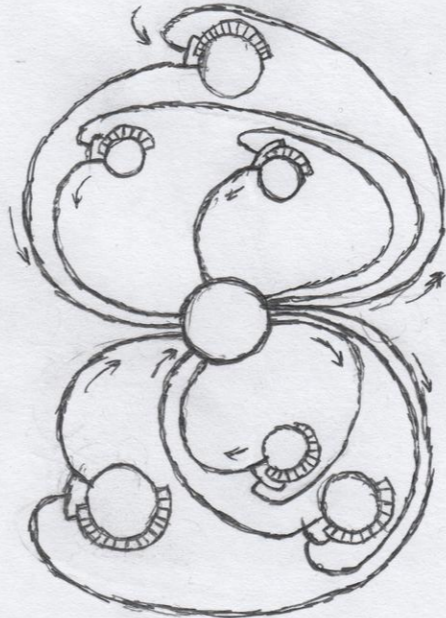
... there is no government so subject to civil wars and intestine agitations as democratic or popular government, ... there is none ... which demands more vigilance and courage for its maintenance as it is. ... Were there a people of gods, their government would be democratic. **So perfect a government is not for men.**

*The Social Contract*  
Rousseau 1762

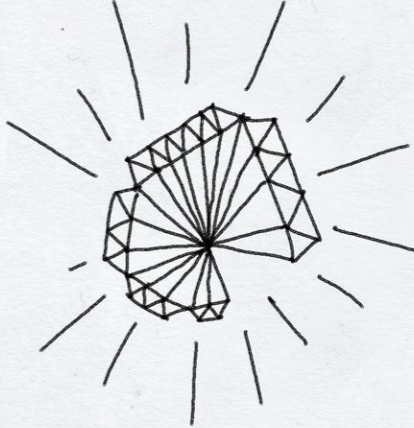
ROGUE PRIVATEER



REVOLUTIONARY VILLAGE WITH 6 SECTIONS



INSURRECT MAROON ASSAMBLAGE.



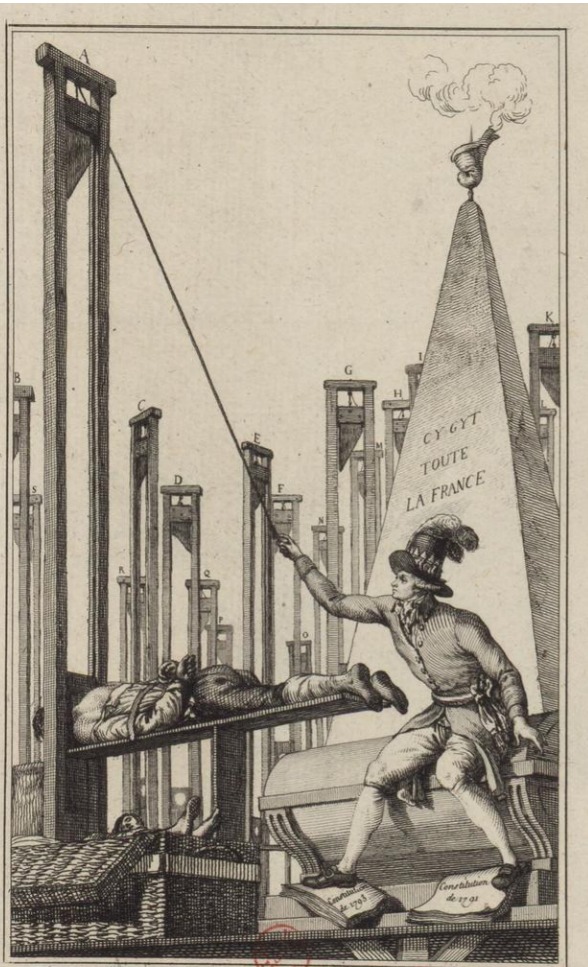
# LOOPING ORGANULES

# Decree upon Slavery

February 4, 1794

The National Convention declares that negro slavery in all the colonies is abolished; in consequence, it decrees that all men, without distinction of color, who are domiciled in the colonies are French citizens and shall enjoy all the rights guaranteed by the constitution.

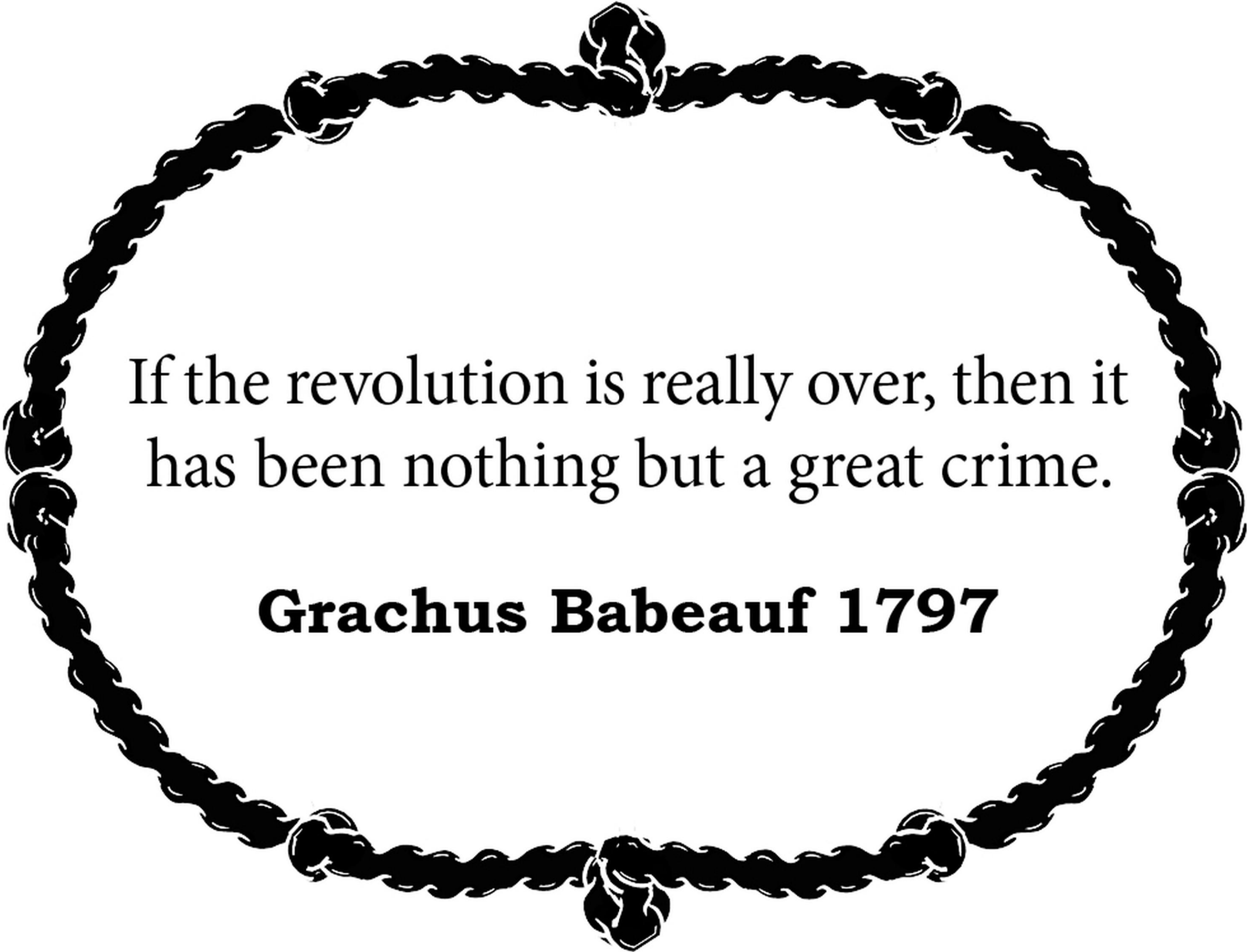
It sends again to the Committee of Public Safety to prepare for it immediately a report upon the measures to be taken in order to assure the execution of the present decree.



ROBESPIERRE, guillotinant le bourreau apres avoir fait guillot' tous les Francois  
A le Bourreau, B le comité de Salut Public, C le comité de Sureté générale, D le Tribunal Révolutionnaire,  
E les Jacobins, F les Cordeliers, G les Brissotins, H Girondins, I Philpôtins, K Chabotins, L Hébertistes,  
M les Nobles et les Prêtres, N les Gens à talents, O les Filles de la Loi, P les Femmes et Enfants, Q les Soldats et  
les Gens de guerre, R les Autorités Constituées, S la Convention Nationale, T les Sociétés Populaires

THE ASSEMBLY OF COMPLEXITIES  
HAS ELECTED A NEW PRESIDENT...

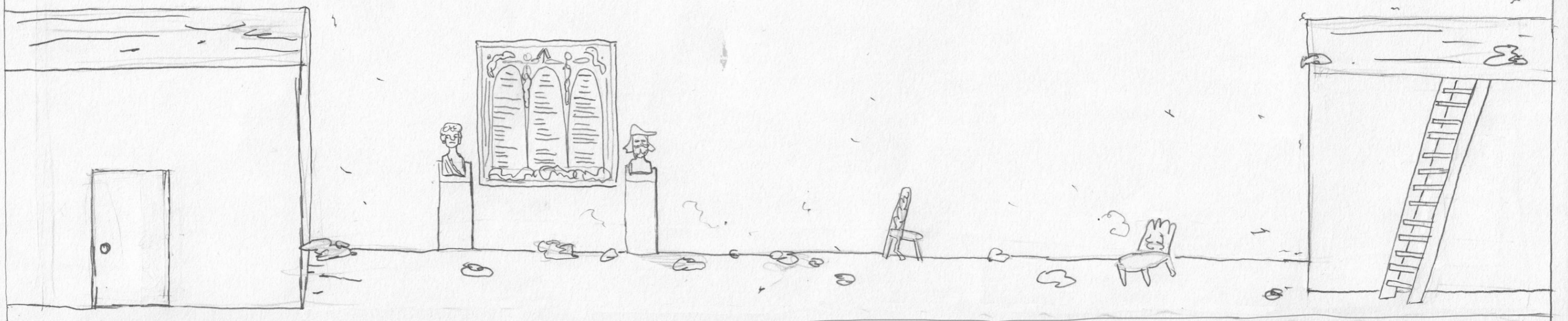




If the revolution is really over, then it  
has been nothing but a great crime.

**Grachus Babeauf 1797**

# CORDELIERS PLACE



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**2022**

**2023**

2024

**2025**