THE DOCTRINAL JOURNEY OF RAMON DE LA SAGRA. FROM HIS *LECCIONES DE ECONOMÍA SOCIAL* TO THE 1848 REVOLUTION[1] (1838-1849)

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INTRODUCTION

In the year 2001, the fifth volume of *Economía y economistas españoles*, an extensive written work coordinated by Professor Enrique Fuentes Quintana, was published[2]. In it, Professor José Luis Malo Guillén and I wrote a brief synopsis of the life and work of Galician thinker Ramón de la Sagra, in which we mentioned the opinion of Professor Antonio Elorza, one of the first researchers who dealt with socialist utopic thinking in Spain during the 1970s (Sánchez and Malo, 2001: 649-662).

Elorza considered —and rightly so— that "even before the end of the 1830s, the theoretical positions that favored social reform would receive considerable support when Ramón de la Sagra entered the scene. Ramón de la Sagra has been one of the few 19th century Spaniards whose work has received enough attention from historians" (Elorza, 1970: 65)[3].

Elorza was quite right in saying so because, as will be seen below, works about Ramón de la Sagra (hereinafter referred to as just "Sagra") proliferated wildly in the 20th century. However, in that instance, we qualified: "the use of the adjective 'enough', which seems to be valid for his biography and some aspects of his career, seems risky in the context of the history of economic thought, considering the richness and variety in Sagra's work, the enormous diversity of influences he received throughout his life, and the paradoxical evolution of his thought, which wasn't free of contradictions" (Sánchez and Malo, 2001: 649)[4].

[2] The work comprised nine volumes, which were published by Galaxia Gutenberg and Funcas in the years 1999 through 2005.

[3] TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: All quotes are translated for your convenience from the original languages by the translator of this text, due to the unavailability of any English translations of the source texts.

[4] This claim should be qualified, because ever since the 1970s, numerous investigations by Ascensión Cambrón have appeared, which, in some cases, analyze economic themes in Sagra's thoughts, and especially the contributions of Jordi Maluquer, who delved deep in the aforementioned author's economic thought (Maluquer, 1977: 201-235 and 2001: 671-675). Likewise, the comments preceding the anthology *El Banco del Pueblo y otros escritos de reforma social*, published by Mercedes Cabrera, Antonio Elorza and Matilde Vázquez—who, together with Maluquer's, constitute the deepest analysis concerning Sagra's economic ideas (Cabrera, M, Elorza, A. and Vázquez, M., 1973)—should be taken into consideration.

Certainly, towards the end of last century, the Aragonese politician, jurist and economist Joaquín Costa had referred to Sagra, mentioning the lessons he taught in 1839 and 1840 in the Ateneo de Madrid and echoing the controversy that they sparked with Spanish economist Álvaro Flórez Estrada about the latter's thoughts on land ownership, contained in his brochure, *La cuestión social* (Costa, 1983 [1898]: 100, n. 7).

However, without a doubt, the most complete study about Sagra published to date was the doctoral thesis *D. Ramón de la Sagra, reformador social* by Spanish socialist Manuel Núñez de Arenas, which he presented in 1915 and was published nine years after in the *Revue Hispanique* during his exile to France. We consider that his work still holds up in numerous aspects (Núñez, 1924: 329-529). We will refer to it in numerous instances during this introductory study.

In the 1940s, Professors Luís Legaz Lacambra and Carmelo Viñas Mey both published their works about Sagra. The former did so from an exclusively sociological standpoint (Legaz, 1946); therefore, it will not be mentioned in our commentary, which focuses more on the author's economic thought. The latter —the most extensive one ever published about Sagra— was written from a more philosophical standpoint. It appeared over the course of eight years (1946-1953) in the *Revista Internacional de Sociología* (Viñas, 1946-1953).

In the preface to his work, Viñas rightly affirmed that after Legaz's work, which was published that year (1946) in the same journal, "there was still the need to study his socio-economic and socio-political doctrines, which are the most valuable part of his thinking, and the ones that give him a perdurable place in the scientific production of his century" (Viñas, 1946: 438).

However, in our opinion, his judgment towards Núñez de Arenas' work was unfair in that he considered it to be "very useful in the biographical aspect, but not in the doctrinal aspect, because of the author's insistence on assigning him a particular orientation —precisely the most antithetical one to Sagra's actual thoughts— which led him to violate his position, studying certain aspects fragmentarily, sometimes mutilating it and omitting other fundamental aspects" (Ibidem)[5].

[5] Sagra himself further complicated his adherence to a single orientation by claiming: "I have been an opinionated victim of all doctrines" (Núñez, 1924: 329).

We consider this judgment unfair because, even though Núñez de Arenas clearly puts Sagra closer to reformist socialism, Viñas Mey does the exact opposite: he considers that Sagra was a Catholic whose introduction to socialism was a mistake of his youth (even though he never stopped having religious ideas) that he corrected at the end of his life, when he took more religious, clearly politically reactionary, approaches.

Depending on which texts are chosen at different points of his life, both of these viewpoints can be defended, although it is also true that a detailed look at Núñez de Arenas' work clarifies in which moments he was closer to socialism and how Sagra, who on occasion attacked it viciously, understood it.

Later studies, such as the ones by Ascensión Cambrón, have qualified his role as a social reformer, as well as his affiliation with the so-called "rational socialism" during a certain period of his life (the 1840s) in which, as we will see, he approached other thinkers such as the Baron de Colins or P. J. Proudhon. No matter the nuances with which we look at it, the truth is that Elorza included him in his nominal work Socialismo utópico español, as did Maluquer in his *El socialismo en España 1833-1868*, both of which were previously mentioned.

Labeling Sagra as a socialist or a conservative Catholic thinker is not the goal of this work. We must once again insist that just reading through his dozens of publications and pamphlets is enough to defend both arguments. This would lead us to a pointless debate about the term 'Socialism'[6] itself. Sagra's occasionally arrogant, controversial and volatile behavior, as well as the fact that he maintained clearly contradicting positions throughout his life, only complicates the question of his ascription to a single ideology even further.

Recently, in 2010, María del Carmen Rodríguez defended her doctoral thesis, titled *Ramón de la Sagra. El diario de viaje como forma de conocimiento sociológico* in the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Rodríguez, 2010). This thesis is a very complete study, and it incorporates a biblio-

[6] According to Pierre Leroux, a former Saint-Simonian converted to Republicanism, it was him who had used the term 'Socialism' (in a negative sense) for the first time in 1833 to criticize the authoritarianism of Prosper Enfantin, leader of the Saint-Simonian sect. He would later defend republican socialism (Leroux, 1863: 255).

graphy of publications by and about Sagra. Together with Ascensión Cambrón's, these comprise the most exhaustive studies that we know of.

However, and even though the aforementioned study is of great interest, given that Sagra was a tireless traveler and that his ideas originated from the knowledge of the scientists he met during these travels, we will disregard the sociological analysis, even though it can provide us a lot of information about the people and ideas with whom he came into contact during these travels. In any case, we will refer to its bibliography as the most recent and complete one that we know of.

RAMÓN DE LA SAGRA 1838-1849. SOME PREVIOUS BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Sagra's life trajectory has been thoroughly studied, and it's so vast that it becomes unmanageable in this text. We will remit to the quoted works and our own biographic synopsis (Sánchez and Malo, 2001: 649-662), and of course, to the previously mentioned study by Núñez de Arenas and the works of Ascensión Cambrón, who is the top specialist on the biographical aspects of Sagra.

We will focus on the years in which he gave lectures at the Ateneo de Madrid, the first of which he gave in 1838, and the lessons about Social Economy (1839-1840), adding the eventful life that accompanies several texts included in our anthology, which covers up to 1849. After that year, his views suffered a drastic change until he sadly passed away in Cortaillod in the year 1871; this period is not the focus of our study[7].

Our choice to focus on this time period doesn't do justice to Sagra's formation years and first publications since his birth in 1798. His youth works[8]

[7] A biography about Sagra claimed that he had died during the 1871 riots in the Paris Commune, but it has since been disproved. Sagra ended his days in the city of Cortaillod (Neuchâtel), in the place of residence of his friend, and fellow disciple of the Baron de Colins, Adolphe Hugentobler (Cambrón, 1989: 142). Núñez de Arenas himself thus corrects his own text at the end.

[8] As Sagra himself in his own writings and almost all of his biographers frequently note, young Sagra was the first to spread the philosophy of Immanuel Kant in Spain (Sagra, 1819), albeit, since Sagra didn't speak German and there weren't any Spanish translations of the German philosopher's texts yet, it seems as though he cited him from indirect sources and without the necessary degree of maturity and depth (Núñez, 1924: 333-334).

and, especially, the projects he worked on from 1823 to 1835 in the island of Cuba —which made him well known among the European intellectuals and opened the door to relations with the most prestigious European scientists of the era— are equally important.

Sagra spent twelve years in the island on a scientific mission that would be the basis of his 1927 *Anales de ciencia, agricultura, comercio y artes* and the 1831 publication of his *Historia económico-política y estadística de la Isla de Cuba, o sea de sus progresos en la población, la agricultura, el comercio y las rentas*, which opened the gates of multiple academies and institutes of science for him and made him well known in Europe[9]. He was also the director of the Havana Botanical Garden and kept close relations with the *Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* in the same city.

As a result of his stay and his work in Cuba, he later started to work on something that would keep him busy for most of the rest of his life: the *Historia física, política y natural de la Isla de Cuba*, for which the public funding was a constant problem, and he was accused of living his whole life at the expense of the taxpayers' money.

Whatever the truth was, and given that Sagra's stay in the island —as Ascensión Cambrón accurately portrays— gave way to strong controversy with the creoles, "the saccharocrats", which in turn have given way to diverse —and, in some cases, tendentious— interpretations, we don't hesitate to invoke this work again (Cambrón, 1989; especially the second part). We will also mention the highly acclaimed —and, in our opinion, well-balanced— work of the Cuban historian Moreno Fraginals, one of the most knowledgeable Cuban historiographers on the figure of Sagra (Moreno, 1963)[10].

The trip that Sagra made to the United States after abandoning the island and before returning to Europe won't be covered here either, although it will be briefly referred to. Sagra, who returned directly to Fran-

[9] It is imperative to look up the records of the meeting held in Paris in January of 1992, published that same year and the following by Galician publishing house Ediciós do Castro, written by Ascensión Cambrón, Paul Estrade and Marie-Claude Lecuyer, about Sagra's stay in Cuba as well as his extensive scientific work on the island (the first volume compiles ten essays about Sagra in relation to his stay in the island, and the second volume gathers texts written by Sagra himself) (VV.AA., 1992-1993).

[10] It's especially interesting how he portrays the controversy that Sagra maintained with José Antonio Saco, which was used many times in Cuban historiography to discredit Sagra (Ibidem).

ce to start working on *Historia física, política y natural de la Isla de Cuba*, previously spent five months in the United States, from April 20 to September 23, 1835. This period inspired an extensive work he published in Paris the following year, entitled *Cinco meses en los Estados-Unidos de la América del Norte. Diario de viaje*, in which in just over 400 pages he describes his impressions of the American society after visiting the big cities and the knowledge of renowned scientists like Duponceau, Dr. Julius or Michel Chevalier.

Sagra himself believed that, during those five months, he had experienced a spiritual transformation or change: "A new order starts to grow in my mind because of the novelty of the scenes that these Americans and their customs offered me" (Sagra, 1836: 33). During his travel, he visited factories, workshops, prisons, hospices and social welfare and education establishments, and he came into contact with the modern means of transportation. He was equally taken aback by the moral and religious teachings that the youth of the country received, as well as the "democratic spirit of the working class."

Núñez de Arenas believes that it was in Philadelphia where Sagra achieved an authentic spiritual revolution: "After he came into contact with Philadelphia, a prodigious revolution starts within him. His destiny is going to change: Who cared about scientific research when compared with the restless search for social solutions, to the remedy for pain and wrong, to the betterment of peoples and men?" (Núñez, 1924: 359).

Even though Sagra didn't intend to draw political conclusions from his trip (in one occasion he told M. Chevalier that during his stay in the United States he was interested in studying everything except for politics), he couldn't stop comparing the idyllic society he had just encountered with that of Spain, the country he had left twelve years prior. Therefore, in an introductory text to the synopsis of his journeys, he asked himself:

> "Then, what does a society need when it's constructed the way that Spain's is? Education and reform. I will not talk about political or administrative reforms, which are the subject of today's revolution, and scrutinized by the parties that break the heart of the country in a different way and under diverse aspects. My goal, in the indications that this book offers, is just to recommend the primary education and the moral reform of the Spanish

people, of which the importance is yet unknown. But constantly encountering the obstacle of demoralization in every step in the road to betterment might have had the implication that starting from the beginning was necessary in order to build solidly and lastingly" (Sagra, 1836: XXI)[11].

To conclude this reference to Sagra's "starting journey" to the United States, it is important to remember that, in that era of his life, he still subscribed to the principles of the free market economy. He wasn't yet aware of the evils that capitalist development would bring —which he would condemn later on: "The big secret of this government to ensure the fast developments of agriculture and factories is to just let complete freedom to the private interest and calculate the tax policies wisely so that they don't get in the way or disturb the fast growth of the industry. *Laissez-faire*, that is the motto, the principle of eternal truth that governments should never forget and that experience punishes daily in this country" (Sagra, 1836: 379).

Sagra returned to Europe in autumn of 1835, going directly to Paris and experiencing a strong contrast with both the Cuban and North American realities and the Europe he had left behind twelve years prior. He had arrived while the bourgeois government of Louis-Philippe d´Orléans was on the rise, an era in which the industrial boom was starting. Speculation dominated the political and economical scene, and together with the speculation fever, the sad situation of the working class was starting to show, especially in manufacturing towns such as Lyon, which saw the violent complaints of the textile workers at the beginning of the 1830s[12].

Several voices were raised against the machinism fever, such as those of economists close to socialism and detractors of industrialization such as Sismondi —whose first edition of his Nouveaux *Principes d'économie politique* appeared as early as 1819, had an enormous influence on contemporary authors and was re-edited in 1834 (Halévy, 1938: 19). The criticisms of Saint-Simonians and Fourierists, as well as some Christian reformers of diverse kinds like Lamennais, Montalembert, Lamartine or Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont (Blanqui, 1839 [1837]: 317-319) were also heard. This last

[11] He was equally surprised and seduced at first by the principle of association, which confers the group the strength that isolated individuals lack.

[12] The situation with the working class reached such a dramatic point that the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris* commissioned a report on the situation of the more unprotected classes from scientist and humanist Villermé. The conclusions of this report were terrible.

one, Viscount Alban de Villeneuve, was very influenced by Sismondi, and had a great influence on Sagra at a time in which we believe that the contrast between the two worlds led him to support a social reform with many moral and religious aspects.

Returning to Spain in 1837, in the middle of a civil war, he was elected representative of the province of La Coruña; his interest clearly lay in social reform, which was why he participated in diverse reform initiatives, trying to defend his ideas in Parliament without much success. That same year, he was admitted as a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris. He was also inscribed in the recently reopened Ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid, of which he was an active member. He was appointed Professor of Public Education and Morals in 1838 (Ruiz, 1971: 63).

In Parliament, he managed to lower an extraordinary contribution that was going to be imposed onto Cuba, but the political confrontation within it and the vices he observed in Spanish society (such as ignorance and irreligion) convinced him of the necessity of the reform: "Long ago, studying what's standard practice in other countries to improve the people's condition, to educate and moralize it, seemed to me like the most useful medium to prepare materials that were applicable to the Spanish system when the circumstances were favorable, therefore solidifying myself in the system of tasks that I started to complete while in the United States of America" (Núñez, 1924: 378).

According to Ascensión Cambrón, it is in this very moment when Sagra "believes that the time has come to collaborate in improving the industrial system, and intends to kickstart the reform of the penitentiary, education and welfare systems on the side" (Cambrón, 1989: 108). This will lead him to become part of several parliamentary commissions like the one created for the mining draft legislation and the war contribution in the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Throughout the various terms, he would also become a member of the Real Consejo de agricultura, industria y comercio, the Junta informativa de Ultramar en Madrid and the Comisión de pesas, medidas y monedas, among others (Rodríguez, 2010: 98, n. 227).

María del Carmen Rodríguez highlights his role in the commission that was supposed to take care of business related to education and welfare by promoting improvements and creating schools and welfare and assistance

establishments, while also addressing the problem of prostitution and the correctional systems, despite which his activity in the Spanish Parliament wasn't exactly brilliant (Ibidem).

THE ATENEO DE MADRID AND HIS FIRST TRAVELS IN EUROPE

THE PROFESSORSHIP AT THE ATENEO CIENTÍFICO Y LITERARIO DE MADRID

The *Gaceta de Madrid* reported the opening of the professorship of Public Education and Morals dated February 6, 1838. This professorship, as mentioned above, was bestowed upon the newly arrived Sagra, and, according to Ruiz Salvador, it was "representative of the atheneist position about what would later be called the social question" (Ruiz, 1971: 57)[13].

This is how, on February 21 and on March 7 of that year, Sagra delivered both speeches in the Ateneo de Madrid. The synopses of these speeches were published together in Paris after a few months (Sagra, 1838). We include them in this edition because they allow us to compare the problems that occupied the mind of the author at that time with his way to approach certain basic issues of the Spanish society —which he would present a year and a half later in the same forum after his travels in various European countries, especially France and Belgium.

These two first lectures were about public charity, which he considered "a most important social science." The goal was to discover the means through which future science could improve the conditions of the more unfortunate classes. For this to happen, it would be necessary to approach the causes to discover the source of the distress that afflicted huge sectors of the population. He considered that investigating the immediate causes of this distress wasn't the point, but rather "to go back to the study of the social organization of modern societies, which, in the middle of the astounding progress of civilization and industry, are showing horrifying social wounds that the old nations never showed" (Sagra, 1838: 1).

[13] Ruiz Salvador also mentions the positive review of the *Semanario Pintoresco* about Sagra's professorship: he was invited by the *Ateneo* "to contribute with his knowledge to the big opus of public enlightenment" (*Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1838: 510). Ruiz Salvador himself would also provide one of the few commentaries that we know of about the first lessons of Sagra in the *Ateneo*, which we will refer to next (Ibidem).

In his analysis, he used a modified version of the population laws in a specific way. Modern society was based on a natural law and a social law. The first, properly Malthusian one, stated the great problem that the population grew in a geometrical progression (he would later deny this), while the land's production only grew arithmetically, and therefore concluded that communities weren't necessarily happier for being larger.

In regards to the second law, which was characteristic of modern societies, industrial production "robbed a considerable number of hands from the cultivation of the fields," which prevented the increase in the amount of cereal to correspond to the increase in population working in manufacturing. This had the side effect of influencing a reduction in the salaries and an increase in the price of livelihood, which threatened the future of the proletarian classes (Sagra was already using this last term, "proletarian classes").

The increase in the use of machinery in the manufacturing industry reduced the importance of human intelligence and strength, causing many workers to be replaced by women and children —cheaper workforce. This, according to Sagra, interfered with the laws of nature and social morals, and it was statistically proven that it helped increase illegitimate births and prostitution in the big manufacturing sectors.

Together with these causes, he recognized the influence of others, such as "the immorality and depravity of the governments, the recklessness of numerous taxes, the lack of commonality given to primary education, the abandonment with which the moral and religious education of the masses has been looked at, and the reckless liberality with which a higher education has been made available to the masses, which does nothing but contribute to give them endless wishes and baseless hope" (Sagra, 1838: 4).

This last point will be a recurring one in later writings by Sagra. A supporter, on one hand, of primary education —always when paired together with moral education—, he considered that higher education should not be made available but to the higher classes. Otherwise, as he had noticed in France, trying to rescue the working class through education, giving them knowledge and higher degrees, would create serious problems for the children of the workers.

The children of the workers, after having accessed such knowledge, wouldn't be able to access the occupations for which they had been edu-

cated, and they would find a market saturated with higher degrees after finishing their studies. This could have dire consequences: first, they could try to get into politics or journalism, but if they didn't succeed, he thought that, in more devastating terms, it could lead them to desperation, crime or even suicide.

Considering these dire consequences, and refusing to believe that these were destined by Providence, he came to suspect that social organization itself held the root of all evil, and he tried to discover an inexorable law behind this phenomenon, based in what he called social physics: "certain mortality and crime laws, of which its mathematical regularity caused us great surprise" (Sagra, 1838: 6).

Therefore, it was necessary to consider the situation of all unfortunate beings who needed protection, and determine the natural and social causes that produced their misfortune, to later reach its source and search for a solution. For this, he considered three levels of inability: physical, moral and intellectual. These three covered foundlings, orphans, those born into poverty, deaf-mutes, blind people, handicapped people, etc.[14]

In these moments, Sagra considered that the comparative backwardness of Spain in its agriculture, industry and education could delay the execution of the necessary solutions to get the working class out of its misery. At that time, however, he was still optimistic about the potential of the Spanish economy and population. Therefore, he thought that the dire causes that were consequence of the industrialization process in more advanced countries, could have a more immediate solution in Spain, if these causes were cut short in time instead of following the unstoppable path of misunderstood progress: "regenerating our homeland won't require the bunch of means we have indicated, considering the more unfortunate classes in Europe in general; removing certain obstacles and adopting several measures to achieve it will be enough" (Sagra, 1838: 10).

Around 1838 we can observe that Sagra is still partially optimistic about the Spanish situation in relation to an industrialization process that had still barely started. He still believed that establishing a moral and religious primary education system and the correction of the vicious and criminal clas-

[14] See the complete chart with the 12 categories in which Sagra classified these three types of inabilities, which required different remedies (Ibidem).

ses could offer a future solution. Nevertheless, he knew that, before instructing and reforming, it was necessary to start by offering charity to the more unprotected classes, which is why, in front of his audience, he called upon every kind of medium that could to give jobs to the "useful people in need" and provide help to the disabled. As if to counterbalance his own pessimistic arguments, he called upon the future generations who would see a new Spain in which the principles he had proposed would reign in society.

Two weeks after this speech about welfare, Sagra gave a second speech about asylum rooms. Considering that the remedies should be applied in certain crucial moments in life, he thought that the contagion of vice —and, in some cases, bad family influences— should be removed from children. The lecture turned into a defense of youth that, through shelter rooms or kindergartens, could improve the existence and education of working class children. It was about "leading and preparing the soul of these youths for a healthy instruction."

His proposal was in accordance with his idea of cementing education before fomenting instruction, and he considered —not without certain naivety— that the positive effect of this instruction could impact the morality of the family as a whole. His lecture ended, again, with an appeal to voluntary charity and goodwill: "We have applied our talents and fortune to improve the conditions of the poor, to ensure the possible good of the working classes by moderating their ambitions, favoring their progresses and dedicating ourselves to their happiness. By then, the mutual cooperation of all classes for public prosperity and good will not be an impossible problem, or one with a fearful resolution, but the noble supplement of the impetus that we now give to moral and religious education"[15].

NOTAS DE VIAJE. FIRST TRAVELS IN EUROPE

Seeing, however, that his role in the Parliament was more than limited, and trying to search for modernization examples in other countries, he deci-

[15] His optimism, which he hopefully expressed before his audience, would be qualified in a later text in which, after congratulating himself for being heard by "distinguished men of all opinions", he believed that the misfortunes of the civil war were going to leave a grim legacy in the most unfortunate classes in Spain as a result of the abandonment of the education and the upheaval of the institutions: social regeneration had to be the work of the government (Sagra, 1844a: IV and V).

ded to leave Spain again in the spring of that year. He requested permission from the Parliament to continue his *magnum opus* about the island of Cuba in Paris and compare his research with the results of other scientists' research in Belgium, Prussia and Austria. For this last purpose he asked his colleagues in the Royal Institute of France (especially J. Droz) for advice, and they put him in contact with other European scientists and researchers[16].

In this first travel, he observed the European institutions and started to reveal the shortcomings that the industrialization process created in society: "On the one hand, there is a disproportion of alarming and threatening effects between the ordinary means of existence, the cost of work and the reward of the industry, and the amount of social perks that arouse the jealousy of the active, working masses. On the other hand, a parasite population of foundlings and homeless pointlessly wastes the funds, and it depletes the public and private welfare funds" (Sagra, 1844a: XI)[17].

Considering this scenario that was starting to have a negative influence on Sagra's opinions, he started to worry about his country, and hoped to anticipate the necessary solutions to avoid the situation that he was witnessing in the rest of Europe. This is why he insisted that the moral and religious education of the youth (not just simple instruction) was the foundation for the regeneration of future society, as well as the necessity of establishing a moral reform plan for all the social classes that needed them:

> "What's the point of providing thoughtful assistance to the youths and saving them from their sworn enemies, if we later leave them exposed to vice, without any aegis against seduction or means to provide for the necessities of the old age? What's the point of producing an excellent criminal code to punish wrongdoers, if later vices are promoted, loosening is stimulated and corrupting luxury is rewarded? Thus, an isolated and enthralled youth only knows the institutions' strength to punish them, but not to direct them, and society, like a cruel stepmother, remains silent and indifferent when it sees them get near a cliff, and only uses its booming voice

[16] According to his statement, the French minister of foreign affairs provided him with a recommendation for the ministers and ambassadors in The Hague, Berlin, Vienna and Geneva, which were very useful to him (Sagra, 1844a: X).

[17] He specified: "…it seems, however, as though the marvelous degree of civilization that Europe has achieved is under the spell of an evil genie that fans the flames of disorder and blows its exterminating flame on the largest classes…" (Ibidem).

to confuse and frighten him once they have fallen into the abyss" (Sagra, 1844a: XIV).

What Spain needed, in his opinion, was to "get educated and reformed." He wasn't interested in a political or administrative reform, which the diverse parties were vying for. His main goal in 1838 was to recommend the primary education and moral reform of the Spanish people, believing that, at this point, the blindness of the politicians was pitiful in all of Europe, and that its institutions were vitiated and adopted contradictory principles of welfare and demoralization.

When Sagra compiles these words we referred to above in his *Notas de viaje*, about his first journey through several European countries in 1838, he presents them unmodified, although he clarifies that the course of his studies has led him to no longer wait for the reform of the remedies that seemed useful to him back then. His new proposals would be recorded in the magazine that he would publish in 1844, entitled *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, which we will allude to later, and from which we have taken several texts inserted in this anthology[18].

He visited Belgium in May 1838, where he met prestigious statistician Quêtelet —who would leave an indelible imprint on all of his writings— and Mr. Moreau-Christophe, among other celebrated scientists and philanthropists. Both there and in Holland he visited primary schools, deaf-mute establishments, hospices, institutes for the blind, public prisons and beggars facilities, besides some scientific institutes such as the Astronomical Observatory accompanied by the aforementioned Quêtelet[19].

He also visited the Ghent prisons with Moreau-Christophe. He went to Bruges, having previously spoken with King Leopold of Belgium. When in the city of Ghent, he was very impressed by the figure of abbot Carton, a philanthropist who ran an institute for the deaf-mute and the blind, and with whom he visited several charity institutes, asylums, primary schools

[18] Basically, the change in his point of view would consist in abandoning all hope in partial solutions (such as the ones he had proposed in 1838) to right the wrongs of modern industrial society.

[19] With Quêtelet, he argued not only about scientific matters, but also about issues as dear to Sagra as child labor in the factories and its influence over physical development, as well as how inconvenient the sentiments of philanthropy can be to moral reform when taken to their extreme (Sagra, 1844a: 11).

and homeless shelters. He also visited Antwerp, where he saw the house for repentant women and the agricultural colonies, of which he had a rather unfavorable opinion as he saw them in steep decline.

His conclusions on his trip to Belgium and Holland were that the means used to prevent misery and vice were still, unfortunately, not enough to save the thousands of victims of the industrial developments of society. Public education was still behind, popular instruction was inadequate and the salaries were shabby, along with other causes that led society towards misery and perversion. There is one idea that shines in the tale of his trip to Belgium: the education of the people, which should be based on the unchangeable principles of religion and moral, but it shouldn't be left to the parties nor to the religious institutions.

In the aforementioned *Notas de viaje*, Sagra admits that his knowledge of the different institutions and the reality in Belgium made him change his mind: "All of these travels, both because of the physical fatigue that they caused me and the diverse institutions I have witnessed, shook my moral and physical existence so much that my physique had started to suffer […] the spirit gets tired with a constant exercise of sensibility, a continuous movement from tender sensations to sad impressions, from tender and beneficial scenes to portraits of misery and crime" (Sagra, 1844a: 170).

At the start of the summer of the same year, Sagra briefly visited Holland, which stroke him as vastly different from Belgium. He was impressed by the modern teaching methods used in children's schools there, before going back to Paris.

A disappointed Sagra —who, as previously mentioned, had traveled to Paris, Belgium and Holland in the spring of 1838 after giving his first lectures in the Ateneo de Madrid— stayed in the French capital for the summer and fall of that year, since the editorial business of his *Historia de Cuba* kept him there. He thought about returning to Spain at the start of 1839, after his reelection as representative, but the dissolution of the Parliament forced him to remain for longer in Paris. This allowed him to attend the Ninth French Industrial Exposition in Paris that year and witness the workers' uprising led by Blanqui (Núñez, 1924: 393).

As Núñez de Arenas has pointed out, Sagra's stay in Paris during 1838 and the first half of 1839 would be crucial in his life: those are years of

strong developments, in which the economists of the "French school" —as it is known— enter the Academy, and Christian social thought (Ravignan, Lacordaire) has unprecedented publicity. Constantin Pecqueur, who would later greatly influence Sagra, receives a prize, and the Galician economist would then absorb all those reformist ideals, which he would later present again at the Ateneo de Madrid.

RETURN TO SPAIN AND FIRST TASKS

In the new parliamentary elections of July 1839, Sagra didn't obtain a seat. However, he fled to his native land, and he decided to participate in numerous philanthropic initiatives, such as the city's Charitable Association of Women led by Juana de Vega and the creation of a society for the improvement of the prison, correctional and penal system in Spain (together with the Marquis de Pontejos, Luís María Pastor and Salustiano Olózaga). He gave the inaugural speech for this last one; in this speech, we can see a reformist Sagra again: he criticizes the current penal systems, which are based upon the ideas of atonement and intimidation through which society punishes the wrongdoer, instead of taking inspiration in prevention and moral reform (Núñez, 1924: 394).

Around the same dates, he intervenes in the Society for the People's Education, he organizes Sunday lectures for women, he starts to collaborate in the *El Corresponsal* newspaper and even writes "edifying" stories about childhood such as *Antonio y Rita*[20]. Lastly, in December of that year, he would start to give lectures again at the Ateneo —on economy this time— which would last until April of the following year and will be the subject of the following analysis. During this time, he would be reelected as a representative in January 1840, and would play an important role on the *Ley de Ayuntamientos* (Rule of Municipalities) —which will also be subject to comment.

[20] It's a short moralizing tale in which two poor, honest beggar kids are tricked by a juvenile delinquent. Framed by him for a robbery they didn't commit, they temporarily enter prison and are rescued once the truth comes out. This book, albeit it was severely lacking in literary quality, had an exclusively moralizing end. An original copy can be found in the National Library of Spain together with countless resources on Sagra (Sagra, 1840a).

LESSONS IN SOCIAL ECONOMY[21]

On January 8, 1840, the *Gaceta de Madrid* published that the Ateneo had just opened seventeen professorships for the 1839-1840 course (it had actually opened eighteen) and counted 1,628 students (Ruiz, 1971: 64). One of them was named Social Economy and was given to Ramón de la Sagra[22]. In fact, in December of the previous year, Sagra had already started to give several lectures that were published in 1840 under the title of *Lecciones de Economía social*.

In them, over the course of eleven long chapters, he shared with his compatriots the social reform ideas he subscribed to at the time. These ideas were greatly influenced by the discoveries he had made three years prior in his trip to the United States, and especially by the ideas he had encountered in Paris and Brussels throughout his journeys in 1838 and 1839.

The author that had inspired them especially was Viscount Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont, a Christian economist and reformer who had great influence in the 1830s in France. This is why certain authors like Blanqui consider that Sagra's lessons were nothing but a ripoff of the ideas that the Viscount expressed in his *Économie Politique Chrétienne, ou Recherches sur la nature et les causes du paupérisme en France et en Europe, et sur les*

[21] The content analysis of the Lessons on Social Economy taught by Sagra between 1839 and 1849 at the Ateneo de Madrid were the main focus of a lecture I delivered at the Tenth Annual European Conference on the History of Economic Thought of Economics (ECHE) in Vienna, in 2005. This lecture was dedicated to the utopic thinking, and was entitled "Saint-Simonism and Proudhonian influences on the economic thinking of Ramón de la Sagra." A synopsis of this work was later reproduced in Alfonso Sánchez Hormigo's "Saint-Simonism and economic thought in Spain, 1834-1848", History of Economic Ideas (HEI), XVI/2009/2: 121-154. A Spanish version was published in the 21st volume of the *Revista de Economía Aragonesa* (2011), dedicated to certain key points of utopic thinking in Southern Europe (coordinated by Alfonso Sánchez Hormigo and Eloy Fernández Clemente). We built upon that version in this section, and we have extracted some paragraphs of it for our introductory study.

[22] Antonio Ruiz Salvador, a researcher on the Ateneo de Madrid from whom we have taken the previous quote, includes another one about the recently created professorship in which he briefly mentions the lessons that Sagra gave. He specifically mentioned the ideas he presented about the doctrines on the collectivization of the land by Asturian economist Álvaro Flórez Estrada, and how Joaquín Costa mentioned them (Ibidem).

moyens de soulager et de le prévenir, published in three volumes in Paris, in 1834 (Blanqui, 1837) (Villeneuve, 1834).

Albeit it's true that Villeneuve-Bargemont is the most present and decisive author influencing Sagra's lessons —in a later text on Sagra, Villeneuve himself considered him to be his Spanish disciple (Villeneuve, 1844)—, in this work we will try to prove that this wasn't the only influence, and that the ideas of the French economist were later expanded with numerous other sources[23].

In his introduction, in which he included some preliminary considerations and a commentary on the subject and the planning of the lessons, he also included an epitome (different from the index he includes at the end of the work) that summarizes the themes he wanted to talk about and an overall synopsis of this reformist ideals. For this reason, and at the risk of adding a long list of themes that Sagra wanted to deal with, we believe that it is on our best interest to include it on a long quote before going into the analysis of the lessons:

> "Epitome. The nature of this century is a tendency towards social progress.- Way in which it manifests in the masses and individuals.- Effect of public opinion.- Political revolutions, producers of the free Constitutions.- Essential condition of all governments, to procure the happiness of the people.- Political revolution hasn't achieved it yet.- Why.- Necessity of social revolution.- Traits it should have.- Respective cooperation of government and people to achieve it.- Necessity of promoting material, intellectual and moral interests of the people.- Subject and goal of social economy.- It has not yet been introduced as a scientific unit.- Place it should occupy in human knowledge.- Governments still haven't figured out its goal.- Ministries called Interior and Public Works either didn't know or couldn't set the means for its beneficial action

[23] The work that Sagra mentions constantly in his lessons is the *Économie Politique Chrétienne, ou Recherches sur la nature et les causes du paupérisme en France et en Europe, et sur les moyens de soulager et de le prévenir*, published in three volumes in Paris, in 1834. This work was published later in Brussels in 1837. There's a Spanish version in four volumes, translated by José Soto y Barona in 1853; the length of it was due to its numerous footnotes. At the time of his lessons, Sagra could only know the French and Belgian editions. In fact, he always quotes the first 1834 edition, especially the first volume.

.- Order that should be followed to promote social progress.- 1st, determining the causes of unrest and misery. 2nd, investigating the solutions that should be applied.- Causes of unrest and misery: monstrous inequality of conditions; population increase, relative to that of the production; the current state of the agricultural and manufacturing industries; the ignorance, vice and immorality of the working classes: the spread of higher knowledge among them; the unevenness between capacities and professions; customs, laws and institutions; the lack of credit institutions; the scarcity of communications, and so on.- Remedies: 1st, fomenting material interest by reforming the agricultural system; a better direction in the manufacturing industry; credit institutions; communications. 2nd, public instruction adequate to classes and professions; moral and religious education. 3rd, charity provided by the institutions to avoid disgrace and poverty, and to suppress and punish vices. 4th, punishment and repression of crimes and felonies. 5th, moral reformation of the wrongdoers" (Sagra, 1840c: 4).

THE GOAL OF THE LESSONS. FIRST REFLECTIONS

The starting point of his first lesson was a consideration about the tendency towards progress and perfectibility, influenced by Condorcet and Saint-Simon. The fact itself was contradictory, because, if the tendency towards improvement was a quality of modern civilizations, he considered that it could take several routes, some of which could result in adverse and contradictory effects. This tendency had excited a "general agitation" that had turned into a true "mania" that could end up shaking the very foundations of social order. The traits that revealed this mania in the individuals were "ambition for wealth, love for material pleasures, delirium towards enterprises and feverish activity of mental faculties" (Sagra, 1840c: 5).

Its results would be unlimited progress of industry and prodigious development of civilization; its downside, a disastrous degradation of moral and religious sentiments. If this revolution was unstoppable, a rational and fair government should guarantee the happiness of the people: "the way of giving the whole body a degree of well-being that's in accordance with the one that the various classes call for in inconceivable, for it is absurd to seek that the whole prospers at the expense of the sacrifices and hardships of the parts" (Ibidem). He blamed this conception on the economists who,

having witnessed the English model of development, considered this country as an example. In his opinion, exclusively economic growth was a huge mistake, and some countries, due to their defective institutions, "have trespassed the limits that cautiousness had set in their way towards progress" (Sagra, 1840c: 8).

Together with the industrialism fever, the other great evils were the lack of foresight of the ruled, their mistrust towards those in power, their ambition and their vices. His conception —as we have seen, closer at the time to Saint-Simonianism and to Villeneuve-Bargemont's social Christianity— led him to believe on the possibility of the diverse social groups cooperating, therefore keeping the ghost of the class struggle away. The people should look at an enlightened government as a "parent" and cooperate with it, follow the principles of public education, contribute to industrial progress and cooperate towards the greater good of society by behaving following the teachings of moral and religion.

Behind this utopian attempt at collaboration always stood the respect for authority that Sagra, again like Saint-Simon and Villeneuve, considered sacred and imperative for society to work well. The government and the people, in his paternalist conception, should walk hand in hand towards the happiness of the people by keeping away the ghost of political revolution. Sagra would actually defend throughout his lessons the idea of revolution, though in more conservative terms: he defended a social revolution, not a political one, based upon the reforms that he considered to be enough back then[24].

The ghost of the class struggle relied on the risk of a proletarian revolution, though in order to avoid it, it was paramount to respect important sectors of the population who lacked the basic means of subsistence, but nevertheless deserved the absolute respect of the rest of society:

> "At the same time, we should consider that this poor, ignorant democracy is not a negligible class, but an imposing mass, terrible because of its numbers, physical strength, moral energy and the destiny to which it is called.

[24] Sagra analyzed that the consequences of political revolution led to nothing but the worsening of social differences: "… in Spain, wealth and talent have acquired all the rights that they could vie for. The rich, enlightened democracy has won, this, the battle against the old aristocracy, and at the same rate, poor democracy has achieved nothing more than seeing a new path of progress and improvement before it, one that it cannot follow, for it lacks strength and instruction" (Sagra, 1840c: 12).

It is formed by the immense proletarian classes that live on an uncertain salary, and despite this are the ones who produce livelihoods and artifacts" (Sagra, 1840c: 13).

From these arguments he concluded that the political revolution, as an "organizing revolution", was still on its beginnings and fortunately in its twilight as a "destroying revolution." The inadequacy of the already formed institutions called for a new revolution, "but just a social, quiet, sensible one" that would destroy the old vices and reestablish the public virtues: ultimately, a revolution promoted by the government, "from the top," with the help and cooperation of the people who, in this way, would access the material and moral interests that it lacked more easily[25].

The background of this paternalistic attitude was trying to legitimize and reinforce the idea of authority, which at the same time led him to doubt the effectiveness of the democratic systems, which he considered doomed to anarchy. He trusted —in a Saint-Simonian way— that the authority principle, together with the moralizing function of work, should rule the behavior of all social classes. This would be the only way to avoid the anarchic situation.

He finished his first intervention, just like his extensive *Proemio*, by foreshadowing the philosophical principles that would characterize his other ten lectures with a first warning in which he set himself apart from the political parties of any sign: "From my point of view, neither the supporters of fast progressive opinion nor those of slow progressive opinion will achieve the ends that they have proposed if they don't make the social revolution walk hand in hand with the political revolution" (Sagra, 1840c: 19).

For all of this, throughout his lessons, he will set himself apart from the principles of classical English economy to introduce the principles of a new science that would summarize his proposals: first, analyze the evils, and then apply the solutions. And, following the French economists, whom he had read in the previous months, and especially Villeneuve-Bargemont and Constantin Pecqueur, he would call it Social Economy. Albeit he would in

[25] Sagra stressed, as if it were a leitmotif: "Let's disabuse ourselves, gentlemen: the working classes and the proletariat won't improve their state and social status just because political interests have been promoted in their favor, since, in order to enjoy these benefits, they first need to take possession of the moral and material interests" (Sagra, 1840c: 16).

fact read Pecqueur throughout the lessons, and thus he would stand by some of his capital ideas only in the last ones[26]. For Sagra, political economy —which should really be called public economy— should not be but an aide for the new science: social economy.

PROPERTY AS AN UNALIENABLE RIGHT. THE SOURCE OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

To analyze the source, fairness and necessity of property, Sagra assumed the existence of two social classes, which he called the rulers and the ruled. The former enjoyed steady revenue, whereas the latter lived on a salary. The consequence of this was that, in dire situations, the former could cover their needs, whereas the latter would be immersed in misery. Was this situation fair? Should these differences continue?

The obviousness of this situation led him to analyze the principle of property, and he started by denying the diverse categories about property that were established by the English economists and J. B. Say. These authors, in his opinion, thought that wealth was based exclusively on work and relegated the discussion on the origin of the right of property, establishing diverse classes (territorial, manufacturing, commercial) but forgetting the quality of the physical, intellectual and moral strengths of the individual. Instead, in order to criticize the theories of the classical economists, he took the opinions of other French economists, former Academy partners of his such as J. Droz, and especially the aforementioned Villeneuve-Bargemont, as a basis.

After these reflections, Sagra concluded that, without the principle of property, "one could not conceive the permanence of society, the permanence of family, the incentive for work or any kind of social progress" (Sagra, 1840c: 39). However, he denounced that land ownership was not only pushed into the background in favor of the previous categories, but there was also an attempt to deny it of its title.

[26] On a side note included in the first chapter of his lessons he would claim: "I just saw a future publication announcement for a *Tratado de Economía Social y Política* by a Mr. C. Pecqueur, whose plan I ignore" (Sagra, 1840c, 24, n.). Sagra makes a mistake here, since Pecqueur's *Économie sociale des intérets du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'agriculture…* was published in 1837. Maybe he was referring to the text Pecqueur published in 1839, entitled *Des améliorations matérielles dans leur rapports avec la liberté*, in which the author also used the term "social economy."

At this point, he contested the ideas of Spanish economist Álvaro Flórez Estrada, who had just published a pamphlet entitled *La cuestión social, o sea orígen, latitud y efectos del derecho de propiedad*. Sagra quotes the following words from Flórez's pamphlet:

> "All the items of wealth are an exclusive product of work; and since the right of property cannot befall but on wealth, this must necessarily stem from work, and without the occurrence of the intervention of man in the production of nature's gifts, these cannot be the legitimate property of any individual. Therefore, all property that is not the product of the work of who possesses it owes its existence to a civil law, and it would be absurd to claim that such a property stems from a natural law." Afterwards, he cursorily and generally exposes the alternative plan of usufruct of the land that Flórez proposed in his work (Flórez, 1839: 7 and 20)
> (Sagra, 1840c: 41-42)[27].

Sagra makes a huge mistake by mixing Flórez's ideas with those of the Saint-Simonians, which years prior had been well known in France and had caused great outrage that ended up with the sect's leader, Prosper Enfantin, and some of his collaborators, like a young Michel Chevalier, in prison:

> "Recently, in 1825, in France, a newspaper [meaning *Le Globe*, at first a liberal newspaper and then Saint-Simonian after 1830] announced the social system created by San Simon [*sic*], which consisted in a society led by a non-elective hierarchy that would repay each individual according to their capacity and works, a system that in fact abolished all right to property. More recently, the dogma of the inheritance of property has been put into question…" (Ibidem).

The mistake that Sagra made in this comment was twofold: Flórez's ideas on property had nothing to do with the Saint-Simonians, and the Saint-Simonians didn't advocate for the pure abolition of property, although they came up with several redistribution proposals based on inheritance. At heart, Sagra's obsession was to destroy all doctrines that either attacked or were suspicious of attacking the legitimacy of property, and to do so he

[27] Years after, as we will mention later, Sagra, who at that time was closer to Colins' and Pecqueur's collectivism, would withdraw this criticism, claiming that his mind wasn't educated enough at the time.

used an argument that would later be the basis of his argument with Flórez Estrada:

> "In this lesson, I will only aim to destroy the foundation of such opinions by proving that land ownership is the result of the individual's work, just like all properties, and thus its titles are equally legitimate and sacred" (Sagra, 1840c: 43). To which he later added that, should such ideas thrive, this would mean a disastrous future for agriculture.

Quoting Smith and Say, he equally questioned the idea of value-work of the classical economists, whose merits he recognized and didn't doubt. However, in his opinion, such conception was obsolete the moment it left aside the treatment of property, and therefore should be rerouted. According to him, land ownership was also the result of the individuals' work, and thus should be equally legitimized. With not very economic arguments, he again relied upon Villeneuve-Bargemont to reroute the classical idea of value-work applied to property through sources based on religion:

> "We should nevertheless refer [the classical economists'] alleged discoveries to the fruitful sources of religion and true philosophy, which are older than the English political economy, and, most importantly, truer and purer. The true producing work has come from the necessities of man, and it comes back to those terrible words of a Creator offended by the creature: By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread" (Sagra, 1840c: 44).

In the end, his idea was that territorial property was the result of applying the physical and intellectual forces of man to the soil's production. As soil was permanent, it would only serve the use of one owner. The land wasn't the property, but the place in which the real property (the human forces) was exercised, and if the property system that establishes the grower's property were transformed into another that would only grant him the use of the obtained products, all incentives for work and the improvements of the soil itself would be destroyed.

His defense of land ownership was blunt. On occasion his attitude would come close to intransigence with the alternate proposals to its distribution: when he was asked why the division of the agricultural industry in the diverse social strata wasn't possible, his response was categorical: "because it isn't." Behind this defense of exclusive property lies an agrarian concep-

tion that defended the existence of small agricultural owners, who would be favored by the asset of credit and instruction, and thus would improve their work aptitudes. This conception chimed with the agrarian substrate of neophysiocrats Germain Garnier and Jean Herrenschwand, authors that Villeneuve-Bargemont frequently uses in his writings and to whom he dedicates several pages of his *Économie Politique Chrétienne* (Villeneuve, 1834).

As the property was out of dispute, the question of the treatment of inequality in its distribution, permanent source of serious problems and main cause of pauperism, was still up. His first reflection was that the ideas that aimed towards the end of pauperism should first aim towards the industry as the first cause of it.

But, just like he did with what pertained to the legitimization of the right to property, he didn't question the existence of inequality, he only worried about the strong contrasts in the distribution of wealth. Seeking to support his ideas on Villeneuve's and on the Gospel itself, he considered that inequality wasn't just evident, but also necessary: "If there's the rich and the poor, it's because there must be, it's because it's good that there are, and it's good because one cannot imagine that there's no more rich and poor in the social state" (Sagra, 1840c: 60).

This opinion was reinforced by his mistrust of the current industrial economic development as a source of wealth inequality reduction. The year that he started to teach his lessons, Baron de Gérando, one of the authors that most influenced Sagra in that era, had just published a text that had great impact, entitled *De la bienfaisance publique* (de Gérando, 1839). In it, the French economist made a statistical analysis that compared the laws of public wealth growth and the laws about its distribution. These laws demonstrated the inevitable relation between wealth growth and inequality in accordance with diverse hypotheses that contemplated various possible combinations of economic growth and distribution. These laws didn't always have negative results, but in many cases the results were overwhelming.

Sagra commented on the analysis that de Gérando had done and reproduced the same tables in his work, concluding that "of these considerations we can deduce that the bigger the inequality of conditions, the more indigence grows. Let's see now how it can favor the lower classes. This investigation is important, for the law that links the wealth growth with the —some-

times monstrous— inequality of the individual conditions as two mutually dependent phenomenons must seem harsh, but by proving that this very law can favor the condition of the lower classes, friends of humanity will not hesitate to pass it" (Sagra, 1840c: 66-67).

Given the implicit determinism of this law, which foresaw the growth of pauperism in accordance with economic growth —especially industrial activities—, there was only room for paternalist attitudes that appealed to the philanthropy of the higher classes. If they were aware of the role that they should play to decrease the evils that stemmed from inequality, their action would promote a situation of social concord and would avoid the class struggle.

This would allow the lower classes, recognizing their superiority and magnanimity, to accept the inequality and trust that their gradual way out of pauperism would exist thanks to the altruistic spirit of the higher classes, who would be aware of the social problem: "the poor will bless the rich, who by applying their higher understanding and means, would obtain beneficial and amazing results whose creation the poor man's limited intelligence will never be able to understand" (Sagra, 1840c: 68).

This was, broadly speaking, the elitist and paternalist conception of the peculiar brand of reformism that Sagra was defending at that time. Extreme in its defense of authority and the greater capacity of the higher classes, very close to his master and mentor Alban de Villeneuve, and therefore basing its order and reform in religious principles. Religion, for both, was the only solution that could ease the evils that stemmed from social inequality and inspire the principles of the same reform that the country needed based on the principles of social economy[28].

THE INFLUENCE OF THE POPULATION AND THE DEFENSE OF AGRARIAN PRODUCTION

In his third lesson at the Ateneo, Sagra talked about the controversial subject of population growth, subscribing to theses that could qualify as

[28] Núñez de Arenas, who considers Villeneuve as a second-rate disciple of Sismondi, confirms the opinion that Blanqui stated in his *Du Histoire de l'Économie Politique* that the "therapeutic part"

neo-Malthusian —although it is true that this time he didn't explain them as faithfully as to quote the English economist's calculations almost verbatim, something he had done in his aforementioned first lessons at the Ateneo a year and a half prior. As with the previous lessons, in his analysis he started again by considering work as the universal agent of production. By recognizing work as a moralizing agent, its foment and correct organization constituted one of the foundations of social organization, and this clashed with the first hard-to-solve problem: the size of the population.

In analyzing the population problem he recurred again to Villeneuve's ideas, but this time, inspired in the writings of other authors, he added a number of hypotheses constructed upon recent population, production, price and wage studies specifically conducted in France, studies he had came into contact with in the two years prior to the start of the lessons. This proves his degree of knowledge and his worry about empirical and statistic studies, as well as the amount of research he had accumulated about the economic reality of the neighboring country at the end of the 1830s.

In opposition to the theses that claimed that the increase of population would always come with parallel economic growth —which he attributed to authors such as Montesquieu, Mirabeau, Smith, Everett and Morel de Vindé—, he brought up the theses of other authors, some of which turned into direct inspirations for his economic ideas. To support his thesis he recurred to precursors of population studies such as Ortés or Young, as well as other controversial authors such as Say, Ricardo, Destutt de Tracy, Godwin, Droz, Blanqui, Sismondi, and especially Malthus.

He had read some of these authors, such as Destutt de Tracy, in his youth, before his stay in the island of Cuba (from 1823 to 1835). Others were reflected on or quoted in the aforementioned work of Villeneuve, and most of them were known and quoted in French editions. He very probably read all of these works during the time between his return from the United States in 1835 and his stay in Paris, and his return to Spain, and the time immediately before the start of his lessons in social economy. We must not forget that it was during this time when he made his first trip to Belgium,

of searching the solutions to the social situation as proposed by Villeneuve is clearly not enough, and that this author is more of a follower than an economist (Blanqui, 1839: 431-432). The same opinions can be made about Sagra about the doctrines he presented about property and inequality in his lessons up until that point (Núñez, 1924: 412).

when he established important relations with statistician Quêtelet or Baron de Gérando —whose works, together with Malthus', formed the basis of his thoughts on population.

Sagra started from the assumption that population growth didn't automatically translate into an increase in wealth. Furthermore, in his opinion, the true power of the population didn't stem from its numbers, but from its physical, intellectual and moral strengths.

Supporting his argument on Quêtelet's *Physique sociale*, he would maintain that it is wrong to build upon the hypothesis of the geometrical progression of population growth, since, considering the obstacles or deterrents to the growth of population, there is a law —taken from Quêtelet— according to which the resistance to the sum of obstacles to the development of population is represented by the square of the speed to which it tends to grow, so in the most favored nations the law of geometrical progression never actually happens.

Furthermore, it was paramount for him to know which sector of the population was the one experiencing the highest increase, given that there are producing and non-producing sectors, and several categories within them, according to the role they play in production in the first case and according to their social and economic status in the second. To support his hypotheses against the supposed benefits of population growth, he recurred to the studies conducted by Porter in Great Britain, by Bouvier de Molart in France, and especially Villermé's report in his 1830 text *Annales d'hygiène publique*. From the analysis of these studies he concluded that procreation is higher in the cities, that it's also higher among the classes dedicated to industrial activities, and especially among the more disadvantaged classes. On the other hand, it also seemed to be a proven fact that the industrial classes, even though they had a higher rate of procreation, were also struck with a higher rate of mortality.

This first analysis allowed him to draw the following conclusions: 1) Population tends naturally towards growth, against all deterrents. 2) Even though the causes of mortality operate more strongly and powerfully against the children, the working classes and the poor, the vivifying law of production surpasses the disasters of death and rises triumphant above it. And 3) Civilization and the assistance of science and philanthropy also coo-

perate to the preservation of the weak existences and the rise of population (Sagra, 1840c: 104).

He insists, however, in the necessity of differentiating the increase in agrarian population from the increase in industrial population, because, since the members of the first group are the ones securing the food, the laws about agrarian population growth should take priority —among other reasons, because given the existence of decreasing efficiencies in agriculture, he considered that the applicable means of maintaining fertility were not enough.

He was mainly worried about the different relative growth between the agrarian and industrial classes. To analyze this phenomenon, he compared the statistics on the French population compiled by Necker in his time and the later statistics of du Molart, also pertaining to France, about production, prices and salaries. From the latter he would draw the conclusion that the lack of livelihoods in the lower classes had had a notable impact, and that the agricultural wage increases had not compensated the increase in the prices of agrarian products. This had led to a decrease in the spending power of the most disadvantaged classes. This evidence led him again towards discrediting the economists who defended the increase of the population, who —according to him— had disregarded what Sagra called "the constant coefficient of the families' well-being" when analyzing the population problem.

These considerations led him to a peculiar reformulation of the Malthusian theses: "The increase in population isn't beneficial to the people's well-being, except when the means of livelihood grow with it; only the real and possible wealth of the nations depends on this double progression. The agricultural production tends to this happy outcome, whereas the manufacturing production does not. The former, in giving means of livelihood, maintains the population whose growth it contributes to; the latter only enhances the needs of the classes that it gathers, promotes in them immoderate desires to consume its products, doesn't satisfy real needs but fictional ones, and it increases the disgrace of the families at the core of the marvelous and amazing picture of wealth that it creates" (Sagra, 1840c: 118)[29].

[29] We agree with J. Maluquer in that the use of the neo-physiocrat theses of Garnier and Herrenschwand and his peculiar Malthusianism don't justify painting Sagra as a "delayed epigone of physiocracy," an epithet that J. Arango had applied to Sagra in a text about Flórez Estrada's criticisms towards the process of disentailment (Arango, 1970: 127) (Maluquer, 1977: 214).

LESSONS ON THE MANUFACTURING AND PROCESS INDUSTRY

After stating in his first four lessons the main ideas that summarized the social situation and the necessity of a reform, Sagra wanted to highlight —albeit more briefly— the situation of the manufacturing and agricultural industries, as well as the flaws and vices that afflicted the Spanish society. Thus, he first dedicated two brief lessons to the situation of the industry in Spain.

At first, his ideas concerning the process industry were few, and in some cases contradictory. On one hand, he thought that its growth was unstoppable, especially after the implementation of steam and modern means of communication that he had come into contact with in his idealized United States —which were starting to spread through the main European countries. On the other hand, he didn't want to look like a follower of industrialism, since he was also aware of the social evils that stemmed from the industrialization process.

Maybe it's because of this that it's especially interesting to analyze the ideas that he presented about industry, since it allows us to observe how he eluded the complex phenomenon of its development at the same time that he made the connection between the problems that stemmed from both industries (manufacturing and agricultural) and the evils that he observed on the society of the time, which were the subject of his worries[30]. His ambiguity was reflected in these words:

> "I will concede to the advocates of unlimited production that the implementation of machinery has cheapened the products, that it has allowed the working class access to objects they previously knew nothing about, that it has created new occupations and opened them up to thousands of hands, that it has offered great resources to the population that weren't found in farming, and that it has ultimately increased the wealth of nations in an immense scale that could not be expected from the extension of the land nor from the number of inhabitants. I will concede to all of that, gentlemen,

[30] In another instance, we shared the opinion of Professor J. Maluquer when he claims that Sagra didn't fully comprehend the phenomenon that Marshall called "industrial atmosphere", and maybe that's why he found himself at an impasse when he had to defend and attack the industrial development at the same time (Maluquer, 2004: 56) (Sánchez, 2011: 62).

if that would allow me to portray at the same time the social consequences of such advantages" (Sagra, 1840c: 121).

After which, the rest of his intervention was focused on denouncing the evils that stemmed from the accelerated process of industrialization that Europe was experiencing[31].

To reinforce his arguments he recurred to a vast arsenal of statistics in which he always highlighted the negative tones. The main sources he used were the report that the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques had commissioned from scientist Villermé in 1837 about the situation of the working class (Villermé, 1837) and Charles Dupin's work on the employment of children in factories (Dupin, 1840), as well as the report that the latter exposed before the Chamber of Peers, in which child labor and its consequences were clearly stated. He also supported his claims on the studies conducted by Dr. Atkins about the situation of the working class in Manchester, which had been promoted by the aforementioned Academy to analyze the situation of the laborers, especially underage, in Mulhouse factory. As was frequent on Sagra, he also supported his claims on the aforementioned works of Villeneuve-Bargemont, Quêtelet and de Gérando.

In all of these, the lethal influence of factories in the physical, moral and intellectual conditions of the working classes was evident: "Thus degraded works this new generation, destined to preserve the prodigies of the European industry, vegetating in ignorance and immorality to then give birth to another generation, even more degraded and miserable than itself" (Sagra, 1840c: 133).

Of course, Sagra noted a few exceptions, and he gives the example of the philanthropic entrepreneurial endeavor conducted by Robert Owen in his factory in New Lanark, Scotland. He also cited other experiments that had been conducted in some other countries with positive effects, such as the creation of savings banks and welfare funds, the creation of schools and the enforcement of rules that regulated the work conditions of underage children in factories. However, he considered that all of these were notoriously not enough.

[31] He also gave his first warning: "It cannot be denied that the same increase of the manufacturing industry causes great disturbances in the work of the laborers and their wages" (Ibidem).

As for the situation of the agrarian classes, to which he gave little thought, he went back to the controversial argument he had given to his audience in previous lectures to analyze the evils that stemmed from the agrarian ownership structure. Agrarian workers would never be able to achieve the goal of being land owners, having to conform to living on a wage. This, together with population pressure and the lack of work, would drive them in many cases to the desire of emigrating to the big cities, in which their existence would be equally precarious depending on the situation of production and, in most cases, perceiving a paltry wage.

He again recurred to statistics that proved that, in the industrialized England, ownership was more concentrated in a few hands and the farm areas were notably superior to those in France, where property was much more divided, but in smaller operations that offered lower returns. Comparing the division of property in both countries, he concluded that big estates and concentrations of land ownership favored the development of agrarian production.

This generated a new contradiction, since the existence of big properties prevented lots of farmers from accessing them. At the same time, he considered that the excessive division of property, which he noticed happening a lot in France, offered lower returns, and besides, the unlimited division of lands forced them to use pastures as farming lands, so the area of land destined for agricultural production took away those destined for livestock production[32].

Faced with such a contradiction, he formulated a consistent system of dividing properties without dividing the land itself, in a rather extemporaneous way. However, a system that could in theory satisfy the desires of the farmers without losing the advantages of large exploitation, was in reality disturbed by the facts. The figure of the land lease, together with small-scale agriculture, would make the subsistence of smallholders —whose status would not be enough to even cover their own necessities— impossible.

Thus, by combining the arguments for the large property exposed by Swiss economist Jean Herrenschwand with those of his mentor Alban de

[32] Sagra was determinant on this point: "The extension of lands destined for pastures reveals, let's say, the agricultural wealth of a country. Here are the compared results that England and France offer: the former is a country of vast properties, whereas the latter is a country of properties that are infinitely subdivided" (Sagra, 1840c: 153).

Villeneuve (who condemned the detriments that stemmed from the abuse of unlimited leasing of the land), he noted the idyllic formula proposed by the latter as a solution: turning the settler into a smallholder.

> "But, let's make him an owner, and an educated owner at that, with credit, under convenient political institutions, and we'll suddenly see a change in the look of the estate: its land improved, its hills covered in trees, its swamps drained, its rooms embellished; and we'll see agrarian industry factories rise with the products of the benefited soil" (Villeneuve, 1834: 29).

Once the arguments for the large property and the distributive wrongs that this caused were exposed from a purely economic point of view, Sagra could not solve this contradiction, leaving his proposal undetermined: "Let us leave such sorrowful scenes as well and find comfort in the idea that they are only an exception, albeit a terrible and hurtful one, to the general rule of the farming classes of the other countries, whether the large property prevails in them increasing the countries' wealth, or the rational subdivision of it ensures the well-being and the good fortune of the families, albeit with fewer advantages to the national wealth" (Sagra, 1840c: 163).

THE INFLUENCE OF VICE, IMMORALITY, IRRELIGION AND IGNORANCE IN THE WORKING CLASSES

To the causes that stemmed from industrial development and the deficient and unfair distribution of property, Sagra added an additional factor that aggravated the situation of the working class and that he summarized in the existence of almost incurable vices, together with irreligion. The only solution for this would be the intellectual, moral and religious education of the workers. Because of this, having reached the middle point of his lessons, he wanted to focus two lectures on explaining the origin and reality of the evils that aggravated the social situation of the more unprotected classes and proposing solutions in the direction of the reform, as his lessons intended.

Vices were generalized among workers. Some were permanent, like gambling —he especially criticized the lottery—, drunkenness and licentiousness, reducing the salaries of workers, destroying the already weak hou-

sehold economies in the first two cases, and degrading the human being in the third. Others, such as luxury, vanity and prostitution —which targeted especially young women— depended on other temporary circumstances and the perversion of customs.

He wanted to prove again with statistical data the reality of such phenomenons that consumed the working class, for which he used the recent statistical studies conducted by his friend Ducpétiaux about the penitentiary reform in relation to the effects of drunkenness, which was one of the causes of the crime rate rising and cases of insanity. He was also interested in the ones conducted by Parent du-Châtelet (1836) and Beraud (1839) on prostitution, and he equally used data collected from the studies by M. Chevalier about the United States, data collected by himself in his travels to Belgium and Holland and the aforementioned by Villermé and de Gérando.

He only found the solution to these problems in primary instruction and, in addition, industrial instruction, since ignorance was the direct consequence of substituting human workforce with newly acquired machines. With this new situation, he considered —just like Villeneuve-Bargemont— that the only solution was public instruction: "What's a worker without instruction, without honesty, without good habits, asks Mr. Alban de Villeneuve after examining the influence of ignorance and immorality in the inferior classes, but a brute machine subjected to necessities he has to constantly satisfy and that persist even when it remains idle?" (Sagra, 1840c: 180).

Sagra, however, was more pessimistic than Villeneuve, and he concluded that public instruction had been misdirected. Its erroneous implementation had only created a new "talent aristocracy", and at the same time it had generated an uncontrolled intellectual fever (he had called it "mania" on other occasion) that had ignored public education. The "ingratiating perspective of knowledge" and the improvidence about true social interests had favored higher education, especially in some privileged occupations, while also neglecting industrial and agricultural education.

The funds destined to higher education not only took away funding from basic instruction, which was the most important education, but also fomented the attainment of higher degrees for young people who did not deserve them because they belonged in an inferior social class, who were destined to not get any work in society afterwards and who generated the

dangerous phenomenon of the disappearance of the social classes. This was Sagra's pragmatic —yet undoubtedly elitist— approach. This way, science, an undeniable factor of progress, had turned into a "dangerous weapon"[33].

This proved that instruction not always goes hand in hand with virtue, whereas vice and crime, together with irreligion, were always associated to misery and disgrace. At this point, he used this argument —lifted from Villeneuve and de Gérando— to attack the English political economy, which encouraged work and the attainment of material goods —this was exclusively the point of merely industrial education. Christian political economy, meanwhile, only found the solution on religious education[34].

Once the effects of ignorance and irreligion were examined, and the inexorable evolution via progress that was characteristic of industrial development was evidenced, the only solution lay in the hands of the beneficial behavior of the wealthy classes and the creation of political and civil institutions. These institutions would lead the way of reform and pull the inferior classes from their regrettable situation, given the incapacity that these classes had demonstrated to pull themselves out on their own.

Sagra focused his two next lessons to analyzing the solutions. It's in these two lessons where we can see what the theoretical reformist influence that had formed his reformist thinking over the two past years was; an influence that he thought could be applicable to his country. Aside from the aforementioned Villeneuve, de Gérando and Chevalier, now there were influences from C. Pecqueur —whose work he had read during the course of his lessons— and Krause's follower H. Ahrens —whom he had met in Belgium in 1838. All of them had influenced his ideas on how the state should act in order to take the initiative in the reform of society.

This block of interventions would connect with his aforementioned belief in the philanthropic labor entrusted to the higher classes for the

[33] He quoted a prison warden when he came to the extreme of linking instruction and criminality in some cases: "Science is a great thing, there is no doubt about it, but in the hands of those who can only think of using it for evil purposes, wouldn't it be just another weapon? According to my statistics, criminality rises in direct proportion with instruction" (Sagra, 1840c: 243). These same consequences were commented by Quêtelet in his *Treatise on Man*, which Sagra quoted in his lessons many times.

[34] De Gérando claimed here that religion was the torch that enlightened intelligence.

achievement of social harmony, for, without their help, there could hardly be any reform efforts from the governments. In the case that this collaboration did not happen, the wealth and well-being of the higher classes could have a perverse effect, since the lower classes could imitate their vices, thus provoking the latter's envy and creating a spirit of revenge towards those whom they considered responsible for their exploitation.

From his elitist perspective, Sagra considered that the people always followed the example, good or bad, of the higher classes. He also thought, like Villeneuve and de Gérando, that the Providence established that fortune and power weren't just a divine award, but a mission that forced them to collaborate in improving the conditions of the social classes (Villeneuve) and established a correlative duty of benevolence (de Gérando).

The same negative effect produced by, in its case, the bad example set by the higher classes, would also be the one to produce the perverse, negligent or degraded behavior of the rulers, and insubordination would be the direct consequence of it. The exemplary work of the administrative institutions would be even more relevant than that of the government system itself.

This consequence stemmed from his organic conception of society, which he had taken directly from Ahrens —whom, as previously mentioned, he had met in person, and whose *Course de droit naturel* he read and invoked in his lessons. Sagra argued that the fulfillment of political principles and the execution of the laws weren't enough to achieve social harmony[35]. To find the right path, it was paramount to understand the diverse action areas that made up the whole social system. The government should avoid two obstacles: it should not leave the general, impulsive and directive action to the population, and at the same time, it should not intervene in the details of action by wanting to do it all[36]:

[35] Some laws were even considered negative for social progress. Sagra took the opportunity, given to him by this new allusion to the role of legislation, to criticize the evils that stemmed from property division and the prevailing system of primogeniture in the inheritance laws, which prevented a great part of the population from accessing not only the property, but also the land usufruct. On the subject of property distribution, he again returned to his indeterminate proposition that the owner category should be expanded as is most convenient; the limit should be set at the point in which the subdivision of the land starts to be harmful to the correct exploitation according to economic laws. He also criticized the tax laws that hindered commerce and industry and distorted the price system, and labeled fiscal constraints and excessive economic interventionism as deleterious.

[36] While he was teaching his lessons, Sagra was again elected as a representative in Parliament, and on the occasion of the Rule of Municipalities in January 1840—which months later would cause

> "The nation, as an aggregation of individuals, is formed by towns and provinces. The first reunion of natural families in a political family or town results in common interests, which certainly did not exist when the individuals were separated, and whose government and administration belongs to the people, who are represented by a delegate corporation. This government and this administration form the economic and internal municipal legislation, exclusive to the town. […] After this first association, which is at the same time political and natural, an entirely artificial provincial association should be considered.
>
> This is the result of the union of several towns whose attributions depend on the interests resulting from this aggregation. These interests are not as local anymore, they don't concern the individuals as much as the towns, but their government and administration belong to the very same provincial circle where it has its origin. Finally, the gathering of provinces results in a nation, a whole or an aggregate that comprises its resulting interests, which are no longer local or provincial, but of a more general, higher type. The government and the administration of these general interests constitutes the power of the state, which in no way touches the communal or provincial interests, which have to be independent in their action as well" (Sagra, 1840c: 274).

This was the exclusively tutelary intervention that corresponded to the central government, which should not be confused with the executive and administrative attributions of the political power, as the latter had to focus exclusively on ensuring a higher social sphere by establishing living conditions and further progress. Sagra explicitly based this argument on Krause-'s doctrine, and from it stemmed that:

> "It intervenes in accordance to these principles, be it by regulating the work of young people in manufactures, by protecting workers and industrial associations, by providing means for the function of the industry, by orga-

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the end of the regency—he delivered a speech in Parliament, in which he defended Ahren's model of social organization (which was inspired by Krause's ideas). Afterwards, when he published his *Lecciones de Economía social*, Sagra would add part of his intervention to them, even though he didn't talk about these doctrines with as much detail during them.

This is why some historians have considered Sagra as the first disseminator of Krausism in Spain, since he made then known in 1840 in Parliament and in the text of his lessons. However, it doesn't seem to be a correct statement, since his allusion to Krausist ideas was marginal: he didn't delve into the doctrines presented in Ahrens' Course de droit naturel, whereas shortly thereafter Sanz del Río, Navarro Zamorano and Álvaro de Zafra, followers of Eusebio María del Valle whose reception of Krausism was different and deeper than that of Sagra, did (Malo, 2001: 394). About the influence of Krausism in the Spanish economists (Malo, 2005).

nizing national credit institutions, by slowly transforming the extreme agricultural, industrial, commercial and domestic division; by combining new economic means of preparation and consumption; by establishing a good hygiene system in the towns, etc." (Sagra, 1840c: 298).

This way, he intended to pinpoint the duties of administration and government, while admitting that centralization was indispensable, since the levers of social development were found in the upgrade of communications, the essential role of credit (Chevalier, Pecqueur) and the creation of institutions focused on instruction, welfare and the protection of religion (Villeneuve). Sagra wanted to flesh out these ideas in his lessons, which he intended to resume in 1840, but in the end remained interrupted for various reasons[37].

The words with which he finished his tenth and last lecture (the eleventh was an Epitome that summarized the lessons) are very meaningful, since with them he tried to defend himself both from those who considered his ideas to have a veiled revolutionary message, and those who pegged him as nothing but a conservative who followed the Christian reformist doctrines *à la mode* in France. Hence, without referring explicitly to any political party —from which he had distanced himself at the start of his lectures—, he indirectly showed his support to constitutional monarchy, whose main defenders at the time were Andrés Borrego and a group of intellectuals such as Saint-Simonian cleric Manuel Santaella[38]:

"If we reflect carefully on [the ideas he presented in his lessons], we will realize that, if they are mainly progressive, then they are also mainly social; if they seem too free, they are undoubtedly Christian; if they are close to a healthy democracy, they drift away from the destroyer absolutism, and that their association with the principles of a constitutional monarchy are far from impossible or unfeasible, but will rather be recognized as easy and necessary" (Sagra, 1840c: 306)[39].

[37] At the end of his *Lecciones de Economía social*, a note reads: "Printing of the 2nd volume of *Lecciones* will start after Mr. Sagra returns from his trip to Paris" (Sagra, 1840c: 334, n.). Indeed, the author traveled to Paris after his first series of lessons, but he never gave a second series of lectures, and as such, the mentioned second volume was never published.

[38] We found surprising to a degree that the aforementioned characters, who found themselves together with Sagra in the Ateneo itself and in several publications, didn't participate jointly in their diverse activities, since all of them supported the project of a new social economy, and the Saint-Simonian mark, sifted by the ideas of Christian reformist thought, was evident.

[39] The fact that he took the idea of credit and the intervention of the state in "work and socialization" in his last lessons from Constantin Pecqueur (a former Saint-Simonian and later a Fourierist)

NEW TRAVELS.
THE COTTON INDUSTRY IN CATALONIA

After finishing his lessons in the summer of 1840, Sagra returned to Paris, where he saw numerous changes that he recounted in the notes he sent to the newspaper *El Corresponsal*. In 1840, the social question was on the rise in France, and publications on the topic abounded. In that year, among others, P. Buchez's magazine *L'Atelier* and works like Louis Blanc's *de l'Organisation du Travail*, P. Leroux's *De l'humanité*, E. Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* and P. J. Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que la proprieté?* —which Sagra claims he held in his hands— were published.

Fourierist publications of varying character, such as *La Phalange* and *Le Nouveau Monde*, also had great importance. It's the beginning of the era that D. Pinkney considered decisive in the crisis of Orléanism and the preparation of the Revolutions of 1848 (Pinkney, 1986). These were also the years in which the permanent presence of Sagra in Paris and his various journeys through several European countries would change his mind about social reform, as will be seen in the following pages.

At the beginning of September, he returns to Spain via Lyon, where the misery of the textile workers leave a deep mark on him. He would later visit Barcelona, where he was also shocked and saddened by the sight of women and children working in textile factories. He criticized this situation in his writings, causing conflicts with the Instituto Industrial that he would later carry over onto the pages of *El Corresponsal*, which prompted a bitter controversy between him and the magazine collaborators that would be the

allowed Núñez de Arenas to claim that Sagra had shed socialist ideas in them. Such a claim should be qualified. As Núñez de Arenas himself claimed, Sagra only knew one work of Pecqueur at the time, *Des améliorations matérielles dans leur rapports avec la liberté*, and maybe his 1836 report on Social Economy (which received an award from the Academy). Núñez de Arenas is right in highlighting the influence that the French author had on Sagra, but this influence was much more important in later years, when Sagra was influence by the collectivist doctrines, of which Pecqueur was one of the highest exponents. At the moment, he mostly took from Pecqueur the idea of credit, and saying that there were properly socialist ideas in his lectures would be an exaggeration (Núñez, 1924: 427-428).

inception of the article he published in the *Journal des économistes* —and that we translate in our brief anthology due to its interest[40].

He also worked on organizing an education facility for the children of the female workers in the tobacco factories in Madrid, he opened the Spanish Institute's Escuela dominical de artesanos and wrote two pamphlets about the cotton industry, the Catalonian workers and the Spanish industry (Núñez, 1924: 447)[41].

The controversy about the convenience of the development of the textile industry in Catalonia, which derived into the very heated debate about the organization of work that was going on in France in those days, started with the articles that Sagra published in *El Corresponsal* in January and February of 1841, with the subsequent responses of the representatives of the *Instituto de Industria*[42]. Sagra wanted to internationalize the controversy, and so in 1842 he published the aforementioned article in the *Journal des économistes* with the title "De l'industrie cotonnière et des ouvriers en Catalogne". (*Journal des économistes*, Tome II, from April 1842 to July 1842, nº 5).

A partially retouched and extended Spanish version was published the same year, mentioning that the original article had appeared in the aforementioned French magazine a few months prior (Sagra, 1842b: 5)[43]. In it, he started with a severe criticism, as he considered inexplicable "the phenomenon that Spain offers, endeavors in being producing cotton, when France regrets doing so, when Belgium diminishes the producing forces with which

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[40] *El Corresponsal* was founded in 1839 by Catalan economist and politician Buenaventura Carlos Aribau and was funded by a wealthy financier, Gaspar Remisa. A moderately conservative publication, it supported the monarchic-constitutional ideals and advocated for the introduction and the development of the textile sector in Catalonia. Collaborators include, among others, well known economists such as Luis María Pastor, Pascual Madoz and Esteban Sayró, the latter of whom kept the flame of controversy alive many years later.

[41] Núñez de Arenas believes that there are socialist ideas in the craftsmen speech that are presented more clearly than in other texts. We observe that there are, indeed, references to socialist ideas, but the text encases a bigger ambiguity that leads us to consider that, at this point, we can't really talk about actual socialist ideas in Sagra (Núñez, 1924: 447 and n. 2).

[42] The controversy had actually started months before, with an article Sagra published in the aforementioned newspaper, entitled "El estado fabril de Barcelona". Nearly a dozen articles were published in the aforementioned newspaper over the course of it, and they can be found in the *Hemeroteca Digital of the National Library of Spain*. Some of them, especially the ones about labor organization, have been equally gathered in the aforementioned publication (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 151-157).

[43] The Spanish version which is the one we quote was entitled "*La industria algodonera y los obreros en Cataluña*".

it had tried to, when England itself, having achieved the goal it had set, is suffering the disastrous effects of the manufacturing fever that caused in it the created need of providing for all the markets in the world" (Ibidem).

It's not a coincidence that the controversy took place around the same time in which the Tariff Commission was meeting to elaborate a new law that would be presented before Parliament, resulting in the 1841 Tariff. In Sagra's opinion, the restrictive methods that protected the textile products were counterproductive. The free commerce system contributed much more to perfection of work, but Spain could not compare to England, which had flooded the world with its products thanks to a series of comparative advantages (modern machinery, worker dexterity, abundance of capital, extension of the markets). All of these factors did not happen in our country. The Spanish delay, he thought, was linked to the substandard state of its industrial organization, which reflected the anomalies between the principles and the practice that should rule the industry.

He considered the influence of the cotton industry to be disastrous because it called for sacrifices from the rest of the agrarian sectors, it harmed consumers and collaborated to create ills in the social body, especially if Catalonian industrialists of the textile factor insisted that the cotton-related articles be exempt of customs duty, being subject of a special law. To reinforce his arguments, he compared the cotton industry of the Principality of Catalonia —whose statistics he believed were manipulated by the Catalonian institutions— with that in Belgium, and concluded that: "given these results, it will be inconceivable how Catalonian manufacturers keep demanding that this prohibitive system, which has disastrous consequences both in Spain and in France, be preserved" (Sagra, 1842b: 13).

An additional problem was that the inherent vices to industrial organization, to which the Catalonian cotton industry was no exception, created great tensions and conflicts between manufacturers and operators, and between the both of them and the force of the government. The methods employed by this industry and the ones employed in the foreign competition had been felt in the working classes who had started to associate in friendly societies. At first, these societies only tried to protect the workers in crisis periods in solidarity, but they were slowly turning into outright lobbies that directly clashed with the managers. These lobbies were concerning, especially because of the confrontational nature that they had taken on in the few previous months.

All of this, in Sagra's opinion, was combined with the fact that some political ideas close to socialism and communism were seeping into Catalonia. Let us remember the more conservative Saint-Simonian influence that Catalonia had from the mid-1830s during the era of the so-called "*bullangas*", which degenerated into the burning of factories and fierce social conflicts. Later on, also in Catalonia, Icarian Cabetism brought by Republicans such as Abdó Terradas, among others, also had a strong influence.

The government initially considered the workers' grievances to be fair, but that didn't translate into an improvement of the wages, and after the confrontations, it enacted the dissolution of the friendly society. Sagra did not trust this type of societies —he believed they were influenced by selfish political ideas— and even though he thought that the government would end up admitting them under certain circumstances, he claimed that "whatever they may be, they will not be enough to avoid the evils that threaten the cotton industry, either because of the seeds of destruction it already contains, because of the feeling of animosity and hate that prevails in the workers, or because of the exclusive preference that the owners gave to material interests of production over the moral of the classes employed in them" (Sagra, 1842b: 21).

In light of the abandonment in which especially women and children found themselves, he again denounced the lack of philanthropic societies that could improve the unfortunate conditions of the working families and appealed —just like he had done in his lessons in social economy— to the fraternal spirit, "however, sound reason, helped by the torch of experience and guided by the humanitarian feelings that should govern any association, indicates a way to turn the Catalonian industry around […]. However, for this, they need to adopt a new system of work in good faith, and then imprint the motto of goodwill and fraternity both in the heart and on the facade of the factories" (Sagra, 1842b: 22).

Despite this last appeal for work organization, which would later derive into an obsession that would lead him to try (unsuccessfully) to argue about it in the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, he didn't elaborate too much on his criticism in the published article. His ideas about it were made more explicit in the articles that he had sent to *El Corresponsal* the year prior, which sparked the aforementioned controversy.

As we have said before, some of the articles can be found in the interesting anthology compiled in 1973 by Mercedes Cabrera, Antonio Elorza and Matilde Vázquez about the writings of this author, with critical comments. It is interesting to follow the controversy that unraveled in the pages of El Corresponsal, because some people interpreted a handful of phrases that Sagra included in the first article he sent to that publication to mean that, in situations of crisis, the managers were directly responsible for the situation of the workers.

Sagra fought back explaining that his proposal was a fairer system, in the sense that the capital wouldn't usurp the product of the workers' labor; however, the reform wasn't the direct responsibility of the managers, but of society as a whole. This is why the State had to elaborate organic labor laws that considered the improvement of the working class and faced a more rational and equitable system of labor organization. "The evils afflicting the Principality, and other great evils that threaten it, are not entirely an inevitable consequence of the industry in general, but of its flawed organization; and from this huge concession I make to the supporters of the English school, it naturally follows the corollary that a better organization of it is very necessary" (Sagra, 1841).

Since an integral reform of the work organization was not possible under the circumstances that the country was going through, he advised to tread lightly and apply partial measures that improved the mutually beneficial relations between managers and workers. For this, he appealed to the beneficence and philanthropic will of the managers and the wealthy classes to collaborate in creating schools for infants, savings banks and pension funds. To prove that it was possible, he cited diverse French and English institutions as an example, among which he did not forget to include the two that always served as an example for him: the R. Owen factory in New Lanark, Scotland, and the Lowell factories in the United States, in which the education and luck of the working families were ensured.

THE REPORT ON THE BELGIAN INDUSTRY (1842)

In August 1841, Sagra was commissioned by the Spanish government to visit the Belgian industry exposition, and so he traveled once again to Brussels. The result of this was a comprehensive report that was published the following year (Sagra, 1842a) and addressed to the Minister of the Interior, which King Leopold I of Belgium rewarded. He had dedicated his first trip to Belgium to visiting and studying welfare institutions, schools, prisons and so on; on this trip, he studied the industry development and the consequences that it had brought in the last few years.

He changed his mind about his reformist views —which expected the social reform to come from the philanthropy of the higher classes— when he witnessed the dire situation that the working class was going through. He attributed this to the speed of the industrial development and the lack of a rational work organization.

In the first part of the report (out of three), Sagra exceeded expectations with his work: in the span of four chapters, he summarized extensively and with minute detail the state of the Belgian manufacturing industry: I) Of the industries exercised over mineral substances, II) Wood works, furniture, carriages, III) Yarns and fabrics, and IV) Various arts and products[44] (Sagra, 1842a).

In the introduction, he recognized that the industry was necessary for the modern peoples, and without it the wealth of a state and the prosperity of a nation cannot be conceived. He called for the internationalization of the exchanges with a cosmopolitan, pro-free trade drive. However, also in the introduction, he warned about the necessity of a change in the institutions

[44] The report was comprised of three parts. First: General exposition on the state of the manufacturing industry in Belgium. Second: Of the partnered institutions of the manufacturing industry in Belgium that influence its progress and the improvement of the situation of the working classes. Third: Of the products that the manufacturing industry of Belgium can offer in the exchange of the Spanish commerce (Sagra, 1842a).

that would have the goal of eliminating the barriers that were in the way of industrial development and the ones that prevented social reorganization: "that would at least bring a portion of happiness to the individuals and wouldn't be sacrificed to industrial progress, like it happens now" (Sagra, 1842a: 6).

Similarly, his intention —which wasn't the goal of the work that the Spanish government had commissioned from him— was to criticize the modern work organization, which, as he had partially mentioned in his lessons at the Ateneo, was being distorted. The grave mistake being committed was spreading the intellectual culture among the masses, stimulating and inciting their desires and ambitions, and forcing the proletarian classes towards a horizon of unattainable satisfactions that could only fuel social conflicts[45].

However, with the trademark ambiguity that he showed in some of his writings, and with the double goal of defending the industry as the driver of economic growth and, at the same time, criticizing the work organization, he concluded the introduction to his report like so: "These considerations tend to prove that the cause of such dire results is not the industry itself, but the way in which it's formed and the vices that have infiltrated while organizing work at the big scale in which it's being done in the modern peoples" (Sagra, 1842a: 8).

In the second part of his report, the one dedicated to the *Instituciones compañeras de la industria manufacturera en la Bélgica y que influyen en su adelanto y en mejorar la situación de las clases obreras*, he describes his opinion about the institutions that influence the development of the industry considered from a social point of view. Some have a direct influence on wealth increase and circulation, and others on the improvement of the fortune and prosperity of those who collaborate in its creation. The former are special facilities of industrial education, industrial associations, credit institutions, means of communication and the Customs laws reform.

[45] In the introduction to the report, Sagra once again repeats the paradoxical argument of social development and the evils attached to it, in a sense defined by A. Hirschman in his *The Rhetoric of Reaction* as a thesis of perversity, citing as examples some arguments of J. de Maistre and E. Burke. According to this thesis, when a social advancement is intended through a series of "progressive" measures, the exact opposite effect is achieved. In this vein, Sagra uses tough words: "It seems as though Heaven itself condemns and punishes with these social plagues the progressive tendency of modern nations, as if man were defying a divine precept" (Sagra, 1842a: 8).

The latter, although he only touches upon them later throughout the report, are the ones he's actually interested in. It's about those that "have the goal of educating the working classes, improving their situation and existence, insuring them against the risks of the industry, guaranteeing the right to individual freedom so that it's beneficial for everybody, and establishing such a mutual dependency among the various agents of production that its increase or decadence would be equally positive or harmful for everyone" (Sagra, 1842a: 138). Among them, he lists savings banks and pension institutions, mutual associations, the industrial reorganization of the big factories and the support in favor of the industrial classes in need.

Thus, he would focus a long chapter on the institutions that are needed to improve the situation of the working classes, since "it is not enough to present the picture of the wealth that the country generally provides, but also the well-being that it ensures for the classes that work within it" (Sagra, 1842a: 186). In it, he again repeats some of the arguments he used in his lessons at the Ateneo, although with more pessimistic nuances this time. He wrote around thirty pages about an especially critical subject: *Vicios radicales de la actual organización del trabajo*, which we consider to be very interesting, but we won't include it in this anthology of texts for length reasons[46].

For this reason, he would allude to his lessons at the Ateneo and his 1840-41 articles on *El Corresponsal*, which is where he had started to demonstrate, by analyzing the development of the Catalonian cotton industry, that the main problem wasn't industrial development itself, but work organization.

The absolute freedom of industry, without any other type of control, and the unlimited concurrence of both factories and wages, were actually the root of all evil. This argument started to confer a more critical nuance to his writings, which start being less optimistic than the aforementioned ones, so much so that we could talk about an important turning point in his conception of social development in 1842-43. The definitive turning point would come in 1844, when he subscribed to the doctrines of Baron de Colins. That same year, he would publish the *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, in which he would describe his new creed.

[46] See (Sagra, 1842a: 215-244). This section is followed by another, no less interesting one: *Bases para la reorganización de la industria y el trabajo* (Sagra, 1842a: 244-265).

For now, and after his second trip to Belgium, his main worry would be, as we had pointed out earlier, the vices of work organization. The first vice, the unlimited freedom of the industry, allowed capitalists to open their factories combining capital and strength (machinery and work) freely. Freedom only existed for the owner of the capital, and he considered work freedom "an illusion", since it was bound to certain discretionally fixed salaries, so the worker was at the expense of law, necessity and hunger.

The second of these vices was the double concurrence of capitals and wages, "which determine the price of the wages without taking into account the merit of the work, the extension of necessities or the price of livelihood" (Sagra, 1842a: 217). The former, the concurrence of capitals, forces enterprises to apply scale economies if they want to offer competitive products, increasing production and achieving the maximum reduction of costs. The only elastic cost, which was susceptible to being modified at the discretion of the entrepreneur, was the salary. Because of this, they hired single workers first, and then women and children, all of whom were paid lower wages.

About the latter, the "concurrence of arms", it was caused by the allure that the big industrial areas posed for the workers, in turn causing the migration of farm workers to the big cities. They were enticed by the siren calls of salaries that were initially higher than those of agriculture, without knowing that they were subject to the ups and downs of industrial production and the effects of the crises. According to Sagra, the joint action of both competencies was the one generating the decrease in wages.

Sagra didn't have a theory of the economic cycle, but we believe that he was able to notice a phenomenon that we could call "pre-Schumpeterian": capitalists are attracted by new enterprises (in which innovation played an important role), they invest high amounts of money in them and absorb workforce, offering —at least initially— high salaries. If the new enterprises were created in a country with little to no factories, the rural population and the workers of mechanical professions would abandon their current occupations, drawn by the increased wages, and these would stay this way for some time.

But if the activity turns a profit, soon there will be competitors searching for fortune. Sagra explains what will happen at that point: "Rivalry

starts, capitals associate, the concurrence of arms grows, but as consumption has a limit, once this limit is exceeded, the proceeds of the joint factories diminish, the salaries of workers are lowered and the balance between production and consumption calls for the elimination of some of them, which equates to causing a major drop in the salaries of every factory and the misery of the workers that depended on the eliminated factory" (Sagra, 1842a: 222-223).

In this situation, the capitalist could withstand the effects of the crisis by saving part of the capital, while the worker would remain completely unprotected and immersed in misery. The source of the enterprises' crash could derive from a miscalculation on the part of the entrepreneur, a disproportionate growth of the concurrence, or a lack of means to fight the crisis. In any case, in a system of unlimited industry freedom, the entrepreneur wouldn't be legally responsible for the situation of the fired workers. However, according to Sagra, the entrepreneur cannot be exempt of a moral obligation in these cases. The government cannot be exempt of responsibility either, nor could it allow a situation of generalized destitution, which he labels as a "social crime." The conclusion being that the introduction of machinery directly influences the reduction of the salaries and the lack of appreciation of the working classes.

For this reason, the governments had the obligation of creating institutions that would alleviate misery, especially during crisis periods, although Sagra thought this was not enough. He gave the following example: even though the penitentiary regime had been improved (especially in Belgium), paradoxically, the education of the children was still being neglected: "While the education of the innocent youths is rendered impossible, the education of criminal adults is protected. While the salary of an honest worker is left to remain uncertain, and even more so the use of his strengths, the employment and a proportional share of the wage of the outlaw is secured. […] Considering the modern organization of the industry and the penitentiary regime, it seems as though it were established to serve as an accessory of it…" (Sagra, 1842a: 235).

Other factors that he had defended in the past were now subject to his criticisms, such as credit, communications and the division of labor. He wasn't criticizing the existence of these institutions, but rather the effects they could have on the situation of the working class. Credit could lead to ruin

if it were misused by some entrepreneurs, like in the situations we have alluded to previously. The speed of communications could increase the rural workers' temptation to move to big industrial areas, and the division of labor in the big industry involved specialization in particular tasks that could prevent the worker from being able to perform other tasks when they were fired in situations of crisis.

Sagra ended his list of vices and his attempt to solve them with a great deal of pessimism: "I believe I have proven that every existing protective measure that aims to favor the progress of modern industry and improve the condition of the working classes has either been useless or has produced harmful effects for the latter, in absurd cycles that have originated the viced organization of the former." (Sagra, 1842a: 238-239)

Despite considering every partial solution to be inefficient or not enough, after listing the aforementioned vices of industrial organization, he included around twenty pages that completed his exposition alluding to the bases that should lead the reorganization of work. His opinion could be summarized with the realization —as per usual with him— of the need for the instruction and direction of the working classes, which he considered to be a social obligation, and the proposal of restricting, through government intervention, the "unlimited" freedom of the industry about the manufacturers' use of the working classes[47].

Citing his favorite authors again (Villeneuve, de Gérando, Villermé, Droz, Quêtelet and Ducpétiaux, as well as several writers from other advanced countries), he called for this intervention in the name of solidarity, and he argued that applying these principles would prevent repressive penal laws as well as the formation of dangerous worker coalitions that could put the production system —and society as a whole— at risk. He finished this last part of the second —and most extensive— part of his report with some conclusions, some of which referred to his country:

[47] He specified the government intervention as follows: "After thinking about these principles, it's easy to deduce that it is of urgent need that the power of the law intervene in the general organization of industry and its practice in workshops and factories, and also in regulating the contracts between workers and manufacturers by imposing new obligations on the latter —not arbitrary or violent ones, but obligations that stem from moral and religious principles that should have never been left unattended, and providing the workers with the protection, shelter and attention that they rightfully demand and that society owes them" (Sagra, 1842a: 248).

> "As Spain is proposing to associate the agricultural professions (which are essential to the nature of its territory) with the industrial professions (which could contribute to increase public prosperity and wealth), it should carefully avoid the mistakes of other nations, organizing work based on fraternity—the only one able to lead to those happy results without disturbing society's order and the families' peace" (Sagra, 1842a: 264-265)[48].

He returned to Brussels in the summer of 1842. From there, he then went to an industrial exposition in Mainz, and he proposed a new report about German products to the Spanish government. This report was approved and published the following year. Núñez de Arenas stresses that he was mainly interested in two things from this exposition: the industrial instruction and the Customs Union Treaty, which had greatly impulsed the German production (Núñez, 1924: 448).

Núñez de Arenas also recounts how, the following year, after the uprising against Espartero and during González Bravo's tenure in the government, Sagra traveled to Belgium a fourth time (he had already visited the country in 1838, 1841 and 1842). He took this opportunity to visit other places, such as Antwerp, Cologne, Bruges and Ghent, among others. He returned to Paris in September, and from there he sent some travel notes to the *Guía del Comercio*, a publication he had helped open the previous year with Casimiro Rufino. These notes, aside from forming a travel journal, added a lot of information, with plenty of statistic data about the situation of the Belgian industry and commerce and about the penitentiary and welfare establishments, as well as about the commercial relations between Belgium and Germany —which were connected via railway that year—, in which he sung the praises of free trade and the internationalization of Europe.

As per usual with him, when he sent the notes he wrote in his travels, he also took the opportunity to send some other articles of a doctrinal nature among the letters he sent to the *Guía del comercio*, such as the one that we include in this anthology due to its interest[49]. It's a collection of

[48] As we have mentioned earlier, the third part of his report —which is not subject to our commentary— contains some superficial reflections about tariff issues, and is focused on studying the products that the Belgian manufacturing industry could offer in the exchange of the Spanish commerce.

[49] Due to its extension, we did not include another especially interesting letter in our anthology, though we mention it for the reader. It's the letter he sent from Paris to the *Guía del Comercio*, entitled "Necesidad de la reforma social", which brings up an interesting debate with his friend and colleague Ducpétiaux about associations. In this letter, a meeting he had with H. Ahrens is also mentioned.

reflections about political and social economy, in which he portrays the recent controversy that sparked in the French press between the *Journal des économistes* and the *Revue indépendante* led by Pierre Leroux —one of the informal bodies of French socialism in which Sagra collaborated on occasion. The following year (1844) he gathered the letters sent to the *Guía del Comercio* in a book entitled *Notas de viaje, escritas durante una corta excursión a Francia, Bélgica y Alemania en el otoño de 1843* (Sagra, 1844a)[50].

[50] In the preface to this work, he added: "In it, readers will see the indication of principles that will unwind and show in the newspaper that I have announced, entitled *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*. Therefore, they form some sort of a preliminary little publication in which several social doctrines are interspersed with the simple record of events related to education, industry and welfare" (Sagra, 1844a).

THE BARON DE COLINS

Núñez de Arenas considers that Sagra finishes his humanitarian series of writings in 1843, and then begins to "deviate from the path of researching social phenomena to move towards the examination of the causes, tendencies and solutions" from then on (Núñez, 1924: 449). This was because, in his opinion, there's going to be a major transformation in his spirit: "From restless, hesitant and solicited by multiple opinions, he becomes affirmative, absolute, a possessor of the truth. His studies change, and with them, his whole life does as well" (Ibidem).

Sagra himself considered afterwards that, up until that point, "there was a lot of vagueness and contradiction" in his writings, "because my intelligence was then in an anarchic period" (Sagra, 1849g: 7-9). As he himself explained, up until that point, he found "shocking contradictions between facts and tendencies, between facts and law; in one word, between what things are and what they should be" (Ibidem). These contradictions revealed to him the existence of a profound vice in social order, which constituted a profound source of anarchy, but he admitted that he couldn't find the real cause of this phenomenon:

> "My intelligence suffered when it remained in a devastating skepticism stemming from the constant fight of worries against the evidence of facts, when a particular circumstance came to support my burning desire to discover the truth. Such was the knowledge I acquired from the conclusions of a profound thinker about the problems that had worried me, and especially the study I made about the vast, unreleased work that he was kind enough to show me. […] From then on, I got out of the tyrannical domain of opinions to enter the free field of science. […] Having exposed the fortuitous circumstance to which I owe my current opinions, I will add that, to complete and confirm it, I had to rebuild myself, piece by piece, the building that I had torn down from its base. When I got the evidence, I owed it to nothing but my own efforts" (Sagra, 1859: 10) (Núñez, 1924: 450).

This "profound thinker" he mentions was the Baron de Colins, who at first didn't allow his disciples to reveal his name —although later on Sagra himself made him known in the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris*[51]. Sagra had actually met Colins during his stay in the island of Cuba, presumably in the first short trip he made to Cuba in 1821 (Rens, 1968, I: 73). Some writers, such as Ascensión Cambrón, point that both were related, somehow, to masonry. The exact date in which Sagra and Colins met again isn't exactly known, but it all indicates that it was around 1840. In fact, Ivo Rens lists the letters between Colins and Sagra from December 1840, when the latter was in Spain (Rens, 1968, I: 114)[52]. In any case, we cannot consider Sagra to be an orthodox disciple of Colins other than from 1844 to 1848 (Rens, 1968, I: 122).

Who was this mystical character?[53] Born in Brussels in 1783 and educated by a Jesuit, he was a volunteer in the French army; he was an assistant to Napoleon II, to whom he suggested carrying out a coup. He was banished afterwards, and he fled to Cuba in 1818. He returned to France in 1830, after the July Revolution, and continued taking part in Bonapartist conspiracies (Rens, 1968, I: 81) (Núñez, 1924: 451-452). It was then when he began his scientific studies, focusing in elaborating his doctrine, which was immortalized in some publications thanks to his friend, editor Émile de Girardin.

Colins wrote dense books with an index-synopsis followed by an exposition of his doctrine in the form of aphorisms, a method that Sagra adop-

[51] The most complete biography of the Baron de Colins was the one published in two volumes by Ivo Rens in 1968, entitled *Introduction au socialisme rationnel* de Colins. In it, he mentions Sagra in numerous occasions as one of his disciples, and so Rens' work will be considered in ours: "The first of these disciples were Louis de Potter, old revolutionist and member of the provisional government in Belgium; his son Agathon; the Spaniard Ramón de la Sagra, who would however end up separating from his master; and Swiss Adolphe Hugentobler" (Rens, 1968, I: 8-9).

[52] Rens also lists various letters from Colins to Sagra, the first of which was already mentioned, and others between the years 1844 and 1846, in relation to a *National Catechism* published by another disciple of his, such as de Potter, in which he expresses his opinion (Rens, 1968, I: 115-116). On the other hand, Rens corrects Núñez de Arenas when he claims that, initially, Colins had told his disciples that his ideas came from a supposed "worker". What Colins intended was not to make himself known yet: "I will not be known but as the denomination of worker. It's a title of which I am proud. I compare it to that of the Christian under the persecution of Roman pantheism" (Rens, 1968, I: 121) (Núñez, 1924: 453). Obviously, although they weren't authorized to use Colins' name, his disciples knew that the supposed worker was none other than Colins himself.

[53] We took the biographical data about the Baron de Colins, as well as a brief synopsis of his philosophical ideas, from Núñez de Arenas' work (Núñez, 1924: 451-462).

ted as well (Núñez, 1924: 451-452). His doctrine was named "rational socialism", although in many aspects it wasn't exactly socialist. In it, he coined the idea of collectivism —later spread by C. Pecqueur— and the rational socialization of soil.

Rational socialism was based on philosophical ideas: "Every philosophical problem, every social problem, says Colins, boils down to the question of knowing whether or not man is purely material, in other words, whether or not sensibility is the result of organization, whether the ability to feel is a real being or a property of matter—which in other words means: we have to find out whether man has an immaterial soul or not. He believes that he does, and also that only man does […] There are two opposite orders: a physical one, in which everything is fatal, and a moral one, an order of freedom and justice. All men are equal and brothers. Since they have the same sensibility and origin, […] their actions have to deserve a sanction that, to be inevitable, must be fulfilled in a future life. In consequence, there is an indefinite series of existences" (Núñez, 1924: 454-455). The relation between acts and their ultravital consequences is what he calls "the religious bond", an idea that Sagra will so repeat in his writings.

About economic matters, Colins maintained that social economy consisted in the study of the relations between man and matter (in the beginning, there was only labor and soil). Man was the active subject, and matter was the passive subject; the clash between these two subjects was the origin of capital, which was useful for production but not essential like soil. From this, "we can deduce that labor is free when the prime material (soil) belongs to it, and slave in the opposite case. […] However, for all the members of a society to be —and not stop being— owners of national soil, it's necessary that it be collectively appropriated. When is soil a collective property? When it's available to everybody who desires to use it, and when the rent that the tenants of this soil pay to society is spent in everybody's favor" (Núñez, 1924: 455-456)[54].

According to Colins, "when work is free, men can live without being paid employees of others. They only work for others when others offer a salary bigger than they can earn working for themselves. This situation, in econo-

[54] As we will see in the analysis of the *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, Sagra maintained these principles, which differed so much from the ones he subscribed to in his lessons at the Ateneo in 1939-1940, that sparked the controversy with Flórez Estrada.

mic language, means that salary is elevated to the maximum of circumstances, and then, in the distribution of wealth, the biggest part goes to work, and the smallest part goes to capital. When work is slave, workers are forced to offer their arms to the owners of the land and the capitals in order not to starve. […] The salaries have been lowered to the minimum of circumstances, and the capital acquires in the distribution the biggest part of wealth" (Ibidem).

Production is regulated by consumption. In the current regime, production is at a minimum. In the free regime, general well-being would make it rise to the maximum: "In sum, organization of property must always be in harmony with order conditions, always in accordance with what order and social life require to last" (Núñez, 1924: 457).

In future social organization, matter would be subordinated to intelligence. Work should possess land and capital, and thus, salary would rise to its potential maximum. If all men are equal, society must take care of those who can't satisfy their needs. All these measures that Colins proposed had the goal of ensuring the preponderance of work over capital and the free development of activities. This would promote harmony between intelligence and capital. Regarding political organization, the government would be reduced to administration, respecting both general and local interests, thereby causing harmony between the diverse social spheres as well.

In his work about Colins, Rens gathers part of the correspondence between Colins and Sagra, especially the letters that the former sent Sagra between 1843 and 1859, the last known letter between the two. Through them, part of their relationship could be reconstructed, showing that it was from 1844 on when Sagra started to assume the rational socialism doctrine wholeheartedly, at least until 1848. At that point, on a mutual agreement, both started the battle —which will be subject to comment later— to introduce such ideas into the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris*, presenting it under the title of labor organization. The relationship between them started to grow colder in 1849, when Sagra started to temporarily grow closer to Proudhon, although the definitive breakup, Rens indicates, wouldn't happen until 1852[55].

[55] Rens himself adds, however, that the correspondence between them wouldn't happen until 1859. Nevertheless, Sagra's separation from socialism was gradual, until it derived into religious postures when he published his articles in Spanish Catholic press, such as the diary *La Esperanza*, (Sagra, 1857-1959) or his *Artículos sobre las malas doctrinas, comunicadas a la verdad católica* (Sagra, 1859a). Colins thought he saw "the death of rationalism, which is to say, the condemnation of reason" in Sagra's last writings (Rens, 1968, I: 163).

REVISTA DE LOS INTERESES MATERIALES Y MORALES

Immediately after publishing his *Notas de Viaje* in January 1844, Sagra started a new publication entitled *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, in which he intended to influence the Spanish public opinion by spreading Baron de Colins' ideas[56]. For this purpose, he published twelve monthly issues between January and December of that year. Around June, after the sixth issue, he traveled to Paris (which he announced in the magazine), without its publication being interrupted.

It's important to stress this, because, as we mentioned before, in the summer of 1844, Sagra interviewed Colins, and it was maybe because of this —together with factors related to the Spanish political situation— that the magazine could be clearly divided in two parts that we will analyze. We have selected three texts (written by Sagra and included in the magazine) from the anthology that accompanies the lessons he gave at the Ateneo in this work. We have also selected a letter sent by Manuel Colmeiro for its publication, as well as some others that were included in non-doctrinal sections of the magazine as well. These texts have to do with the economists of the time, such as a recently found review of an economy book by Andrés Borrego.

We have also selected the brief introductory pages of the magazine for our anthology, because in them the editor describes its plan and goal. We will only offer a brief commentary of all the texts we included. However, we will also allude to the themes treated in the magazine, as well as some of the ideas exposed in articles that are not included in this work but that we consider to be interesting in order to define Sagra's thought at the time. Anyway, we must note that, in the third doctrinal text we selected there's a set of *Aforismos*[57] that summarize, according to his own words, his ideas at the time.

[56] The *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales* had the following as a subtitle: Periódico de doctrinas progresivas en favor de la humanidad. Colins approved the initiative, but he didn't consider the title to be appropriate, since he believed that science wasn't progressive, and he turned into a permanent critic of the eclectic tendencies that the magazine defended (Rens, 1968, I: 122) Later on, in the summer of 1844, Sagra traveled to Paris, where he had long interviews and discussions with Colins, "which convinced him to focus his life to spreading rational socialism" (Ibidem).

[57] He took the idea of summarizing his thoughts in the form of aphorisms from Colins, and as we will see, he used it in numerous occasions, presenting them at the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris. The *Aforismos* were edited in Belgium later that year, and lastly, in Madrid in 1849. "The three editions are different, even though in the Madrid edition it says it's a translation of the Brussels edition" (Núñez, 1924: 483).

In this introduction, he justified the creation of the magazine: he considered that some of the existing newspapers in Spain had already initiated readers in the tendencies he defended, but, until that moment, none had approached the system as a whole, which, in the doctrinal aspect, wasn't other than Baron de Colins' rational socialism. Political parties had their publicity organs, but, in his opinion, there was still the need for one medium that would formulate the social reorganization that the modern peoples called for (Sagra, 1844b, I: 1-2).

Colins' ideas were explicit from the very beginning: "The versatility of the tendencies is one of the goals that has attracted our attention in the study of the doctrines and the acts of the governments, because the contradictions that they offer are equally dire for the prestige of power and the peoples' luck. Thinking about these phenomena, the writer of the future newspaper came not to have opinions, but political principles; either he knows or he does not know, but he does not believe or doubt" (Sagra, 1844b, I: 3)[58].

According to Sagra, the emancipation of thought and its immediate effect, free examination, had created the social organization of the time, which was summarized in the idea of progress. This is why it was paramount to determine: 1. What does this progress entail? 2. What effects does general well-being produce? 3. What is the correlation between that progress and this well-being?

This was the reason why he had named his magazine *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, Magazine of material and moral interests —although he considered that the order of both interests should be the opposite, due to their respective importance. Under the title of "material interests", he grouped "agriculture, industry, commerce, communication and public works, political administration, taxes and military force." Under "moral interests", he included "all the institutions in general, and especially those regarding education, welfare, crime repression and punishment, and the moral reform of outlaws." (Sagra, 1844b, I: 6).

[58] This is a completely Colinsian way of thinking, and the final phrase was a catchphrase that Colins often used, and Sagra repeated it several times in his writings: "Either he knows or he does not know, but he doesn't believe or doubt."

His objectives defined, the magazine was planned in four big sections of collaborations: 1. Doctrinal articles, this is, the discussion and manifestation of principles; 2. Articles about scientific discoveries, agricultural and industrial progresses and welfare institutions; 3. Critical news about improvements in Spain and foreign countries, and 4. A bulletin of industrial and scientific advertisements, as well as machines, etc. (Ibidem).

He justified the paper's subtitle, "of progressive doctrines in favor of humanity", because he thought of himself as progressive, although, as he himself claimed, in a different sense than the parties thought of him. This didn't stop him from claiming, as he had already done in his *Notas de viaje*, "that the social body is very sick, and it calls for a fast and energetic solution" (Sagra, 1844b, I: 9). His lack of trust in the current situation was ameliorated by his hope that society would achieve the goal that the Providence had set for it[59].

In reality, most of the magazine's pages were dedicated to doctrinal expositions, in which Sagra repeated time and time again the same ideas, some of which he had already exposed, but now with Colinsian touches and obviously more pessimistic than in his first reformist writings. Every issue of the magazine opened with an initial section: "Estudios sociales". Just reading the titles is enough to know the subject about which every article was written. We list them all below, because, as we have pointed out, in the anthology of texts we only have three.

The titles were the following: Volume I: *Del principio de autoridad; Del principio de la soberanía nacional; Del principio de la voluntad sustituido al de la autoridad; Defecto capital del que adolecen todas las constituciones políticas; La ciencia materialista; La ley atea.* Volume II: *El hecho formulado (reconsideración de la situación actual); De la rebelión; La anarquía; El despotismo; Resumen de los estudios sociales*[60].

[59] At the end of his introduction, he recognized he was in debt with Colins, albeit without explicitly stating the name: "Our convictions are born from the studies and observations we carried out in the countries we visited, and in the frequent conversations with men that represent the most advanced ideas of the century. Among these, some of them —and especially one— work in writing down the social principles that could be the foundation of the new building that humanity calls for" (Ibidem).

[60] Of all the titles we mentioned, in this anthology we incorporate the one corresponding to February, "Del principio de la soberanía nacional"; the one corresponding to October, "Anarquía"; and the last one, "Resumen de los estudios sociales", which includes his first aphorisms. We included them because, in these pages, Sagra himself claims: "The following synopsis can be read by everybody, as well as the analytic table of our social studies" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 242).

We have considered the one corresponding to February, "Del principio de la soberanía nacional", especially interesting, because although he repeated several times his ideas on the principle of authority —that "without it there is no possible society", and its evolution from the primitive societies to the moment of writing— in the first issue (corresponding to January), in this new issue he tackled the theme of national sovereignty and his criticism to democracy.

He considered that the system of majorities —which democracy was based on— was unfair, which didn't mean it wasn't temporarily necessary. To defend this idea, he supports his arguments with the theses of Catholic authors close to socialism, such as Lamennais, or just plain socialist authors, such as Pierre Leroux (let's not forget that Sagra collaborated in the *Revue indépendante*, of which Leroux was the editor). In his criticisms, he also looks for support in the ideas of Proudhon himself —whom Sagra knew of, although they didn't collaborate yet (as Proudhon and Colins never saw eye to eye). The article is also interesting because, in it, he proves that he knows about the ideas of "the series", which explains the necessary evolution of historical phenomena, taken from Fourier (from whom Colins had also taken them).

Sagra would apply the category of the series when analyzing the attributes of authority in the exercise of its sovereignty, reduced to the attributes of freedom and equality: "Category of freedom. Attributes: freedom of discussion: freedom of press; freedom of teaching: freedom of creed. Category of equality: Vote equality, or universal vote: political equality: civil equality" (Sagra, 1844b, I: 62-63). At this point, and understanding that the latter category, equality, would entail election for all authority agents, the destruction of enduring privileges and, with them, inheritance and land ownership privileges, he would take the opportunity to define, from the very beginning of the magazine, his political position, albeit in a slightly ambiguous fashion:

> "When reading our assertions, absolutists will congratulate themselves and liberals will protest against our deductions; but both of them will have rushed their judgment. The former, because all the evil they see, in effect of the sanctioned free principles, will not avoid their realization; the latter, because with the best intention in the world, they cooperate to this realization. To give a clearer idea of our ideas about each of the parties, which from our point of view are representative, respectively, of absolutism and

freedom, let us say that the former has no future, since the only base of stability on which it rested is no more; whereas the latter does have a future. Nevertheless, all the consequences we have mentioned, happy or disastrous, however they want to present them —though in our opinion, unavoidable—, will be associated with this future" (Sagra, 1844b, I: 63-34).

The second doctrinal article chosen for this anthology was the one corresponding to the month of October of the *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, which is entitled "*La anarquía*". Sagra had already tackled the topic of anarchy in the previous months, since he believed that he was living in a mainly anarchic time. Rebellion was a constant danger because of the lack of legitimacy of the authority, and the only original aspect is that, in this instance, he brings up diverse opinions on authority from a pure monarchist, from a former liberal converted to conservatism (Mr. Morón, editor of the *Revista de España y el extranjero*[61], and a partisan of absolutism like philosopher Jaime Balmes. We have chosen this article because, in it, there is a section entitled "Citas y Comentarios" that we consider to be greatly interesting.

CONTROVERSY WITH JAIME BALMES

Sagra wished to continue the work he started with his *Notas de Viaje* —in which he had analyzed some ideas and opinions that had appeared in the Spanish press— with his magazine. He decided that, in this occasion, he would call the ideas of philosopher Jaime Balmes, who was the editor —and wrote nearly the totality— of the newspaper *El pensamiento de la nación*, into question. He respected Balmes' ideas deeply, since he considered him one of the most skilled minds of the country, but he uses his arguments in a rather sophistic manner —as per usual with him— in order to qualify, refuting Balmes, both his political ideas and the ones having to do with social organization.

[61] The man in question was Fermín González Morón, nicknamed "little Voltaire." He maintained liberal ideas in the aforementioned magazine, he had controversies with Sagra himself on occasion, and he rapidly changed opinions with the coming of Narváez —with whom he was friends. Sagra took the compared reflections on authority and the anarchic situation, showing his aforethought idea of force being the only measure, "a brutal, irrational and absurd one if you will, but useful nonetheless," that can guarantee order, albeit only temporarily.

Balmes claimed that there are no men outside parties in Spain, for these would be men without ideas or desires. Obviously, Sagra, who considered himself to be apart from every party, couldn't accept such a claim, which in turn he would use to place the philosopher in the absolutist party, without this being intended as any kind of negative judgment whatsoever. This would also allow him to reconsider his point of view about previous statements, like the ones he made in the early 1840s and in his lessons at the Ateneo, therefore revealing a particular accidentalism.

Sagra, who had defended the monarchist-constitutional party in the past, in this new context —writing now under Narváez's tenure— he considers the ones who defend these political positions to be, at the very least, lukewarm and ambiguous: "As this can happen in a thousand different places of the road between the two extremes, we can find different groups of these individuals all along it, be them of little faith, be them of weak conviction, that call themselves constitutional monarchists, parliamentary monarchists, moderates, pure or clear liberals, progressives, and so on and so forth, with a thousand other intermediate modifications" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 164).

Between the two big tendencies existing in Spain at the time, as we previously mentioned, he placed Balmes among the absolutists. He respected his doctrines, noting, however, that he didn't share them[62]. He considered that his own position was "entirely exceptional." Men who, like him, didn't belong to any of the belligerent parties, "weren't lacking of ideas or desires because of this, like Mr. Balmes says. […] desires of a social order that certainly will aim at neither the resurrection of ancient despotism nor the current anarchy of freedom. This future is reserved for humanity and is a decree of Divine Providence" (Ibidem).

Sagra centered the controversy with Balmes in an article that the latter published in *El pensamiento de la nación*, entitled "*Reflexiones sobre el malestar de la España, sus causas y remedios"* (Balmes, 1844), in which he claimed that "Spain is a country very much built to be governed. […] How is it possible that nobody ever manages to form a government in this country? Is our race by chance any different of the rest of Europe's?" (Balmes, 1844).

[62] And he added: "Albeit we are irreconcilable enemies of absolutism, against which —in the event that it came to prevail— we have already taken measures, we aren't liberals either, in the defined sense; this is, we don't recognize, in numbers or majority, the right that authority exerts" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 165).

Sagra takes this opportunity to deny that there was any stable or good kind of government in Europe: "There is no shortage of governable or governing elements in Spain; it's the base of government what's lacking" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 166).

Balmes lamented the misfortunes that the nation suffered, and without trying to put the blame on any specific politician for them, he discovered something "extraordinarily providential" in this phenomenon. Sagra replied that there was a lot of providential in what was happening, indeed, but to understand the phenomenon one had to leave aside their opinions on parties and climb high enough to see all of humanity, its progress and its tendency in one glimpse: "Mr. Balmes may know that we admit providential action on the life of men and societies; but we will not blaspheme by giving Divine Providence any sort of reactionary tendency" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 167).

Finally, he also disagreed with Balmes regarding the permanent anarchic character of the current society. What in the eyes of Balmes was proof that revolutionary periods were a source of anarchy in humanity that was stifled once these periods ended, for Sagra they weren't but a proof of the fact that anarchy was permanent and inherent of the existing social organization.

Sagra used one last quote from Balmes about the scenes of anarchy that were happening in power —to which he suggested a remedy— to propose a formula based on rational socialism. Balmes wrote: "This scene has happened time and time again in Spain, and will continue to happen many more times and forever, until there's individual thinking in the elevated region of power, to which the parties that seize the power will have to bow to" (Balmes, 1844). Sagra's response was blunt: "We accept the first part of this assertion, but not the second part, in the place of which we propose the following: until intelligence discovers a base for power, a principle to authority, that isn't divine right or majority law; a principle that is provable for everybody, and therefore everyone can accept; until this happens, only anarchy or force will prevail" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 169)[63].

[63] In closing his debate with Balmes, he specified: "From everything that has been said, Mr. Balmes can know in which points of his doctrines he and we see eye to eye: in those regarding recognition of the current unrest, but not regarding the solutions he proposes" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 169).

THE ECONOMISTS IN THE MAGAZINE. COMMENTARIES TO ANDRÉS BORREGO'S *PRINCIPIOS DE ECONOMÍA POLÍTICA* AND CONTROVERSY WITH MANUEL COLMEIRO

Since the earliest issues of his *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, Sagra used to include a book review at the end of each issue, in a section entitled "*Bibliografía*" The list of works that appeared in it wasn't very long, though some of them were certainly odd. This was the case of the magazine *La Démocratie Pacifique*, edited by former Saint-Simonian and later Fourierist Victor Considerant. Economic works were practically nonexistent, in any case.

At the beginning of 1844, Andrés Borrego —a journalist and politician from Málaga— published *Principios de Economía Política, con aplicación a la reforma de aranceles de aduanas, a la situación de la industria fabril en Cataluña, y al mayor y más rápido incremento de la riqueza nacional.* Sagra reflected on this work, and he dedicated seven pages in the bibliography section of the March 1844 issue —something exceptional in the magazine— to it[64].

Andrés Borrego was a moderate liberal with reformist pretensions who —as can be deduced from the aforementioned publication— was very influenced in the economic field by the works of Sismondi, Ganilh and the authors of the *Nationalöekonomie* (Almenar and Sánchez, 2016: 83). He thought that the general principles of economic science should adapt to the situation of every country, considering that Spain's secular backwardness was the consequence of "the lack of security of people and property that there was under absolutism, the nefarious influence of institutions that did not reward the citizens' labor, the lack of communications with other countries until well into the 19th century, the lack of intellectual freedom, as well as an inefficient peninsular and colonial administrative system" (Borrego, 1844: 131) (Almenar and Sánchez, 2016: 83-84).

[64] In the documented publication by Concepción de Castro, entitled *Andrés Borrego, romanticismo, periodismo y política*, we only found one quote about Sagra. In it, in the attempt to treat Andrés Borrego's economic ideology, she cites the *Principios de Economía Política*, as well as the review that Sagra did of it in his *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales* (Castro, 1975: 63).

Sagra shared many of the ideas that Borrego proposed in his *Principios*; in fact, he praised it heavily in his book review. He shared his ideas of the need for government intervention in industrial operations, a better distribution of labor products and the industrial reform, as well as the criticism of institutions. They similarly both called for a greater freedom of trade, a general theory of imposition of custom duties —less restrictive than the tariff at the time— and, generally, the consideration that private interests were inefficient as production regulators.

But Sagra wasn't satisfied with the praises, and he wanted to mention some nuances and criticisms he had towards Andrés Borrego's book. First, after praising him for being able to separate in his book the principles of economic science from their application, he considers the exposition of the former to be inefficient. Because of this, he accused him of being laconic for dedicating only 46 pages of his voluminous book to it. He also found important holes in this exposition. Overall, he considered that there was an unbalance, or at least a lack of correspondence, between the two parts of the book[65].

The main criticism that he has for Borrego is that "among the causes opposing the effects of work, we don't find the current organization of property" (Sagra, 1844b, I: 140). In his book, he analyzes the distribution of property, but without having previously justified the legitimacy of its existence, which was one of Sagra's leitmotifs in his writings: "Considering it a right, it didn't occur to him, as an economist, to even mention where it came from. We don't like ambiguity in doctrines" (Ibidem)[66].

He not only accuses Borrego of ambiguity, but also condescension and systematic appeasement when he condoned in practice principles he condemned in theory, such as the ones regarding inheritance, primogeniture, bonuses and differential protective systems, which lead to prohibition. It's

[65] Although Borrego had made a summary of the history of Spanish economists of the past, Sagra felt that it lacked references to modern economists (Sagra, 1842b, I: 140).

[66] Behind this criticism, in his mind, lay the arguments he had used four years prior in his controversy with Flórez Estrada, which is why he insists: "If the author recognizes work as the base of production and the exclusive subject of economic science, as he can't but do, why can't he deduce the rest of the principles? He then would have found the legitimacy of property himself; he then wouldn't have distinguished capital from labor, the former being nothing else than accumulated backlog —as he nevertheless admits—, nor from intelligence which isn't but a degree of perfection in labor" (Ibidem).

at this point, and regarding the efficiency of social reform, where we can find the biggest disagreements between the two writers —especially regarding the Catalonian cotton industry.

About the cotton industry, Sagra believes that Borrego defends it for two reasons: 1. Because he believes its development to be possible, and 2. Because the government has a duty to maintain it after having promoted it. About the first point, Sagra did not believe that the cotton industry would be viable in Catalonia, Spain or any other European country for that matter. His arguments for that had been exposed in the aforementioned pamphlet he wrote about the Catalonian cotton industry. About the second point, he concluded: "But the recognition of [the government's] duty does not impose the obligation of maintaining an anathematized industry" (Sagra, 1844b, I: 143).

About the social reform proposals that are implicit in Borrego's work, Sagra remained remarkably skeptical. From his Colinsian point of view of science and social reform, all means are inefficient to achieve the proposed ends, because "all of them assume that an unresolved question is resolved." Although, on the other hand, he recognized that "trying to maintain society as it is constructed, we find it very difficult to conceive a system of ideas that is more rational than that of Mr. Borrego, who treats every point masterfully and impartially" (Ibidem).

After his comments on Andrés Borrego's *Principios de Economía Política*, with which he shared a lot more opinions than he admits —though that didn't stop him from criticizing it, as per usual—, he ended his book review by praising the author and considering his *Principios de Economía Política* a "work of European flavor". He highly recommended it as an example of the direction that the economy studies of the Spanish youth should take.

In the case of Manuel Colmeiro, it wasn't a review of any published work what sparked a new controversy with one of the most prestigious economists of the country this time[67]. In this instance, it was in a section enti-

[67] The magazine released its last issue in December 1844. Manuel Colmeiro's *Tratado elemental de Economía Política Ecléctica* was not published until the following year. If the magazine had continued being published, it would probably have noted the appearance of this book in the "Bibliografía" section, and Sagra would have published a review of it just like he had done with Andrés Borrego's *Principios de Economía Política*. We include Sagra's letter to Manuel Colmeiro in the anthology of texts included in this work because of its doctrinal interest.

tled "*Correspondencia de la revista*", which wasn't usually included in the magazine, where an extensive letter —almost ten pages long— written by Manuel Colmeiro appeared. The letter was politely yet strongly worded, and it aimed to criticize the magazine editor's doctrines.

The reason for this was that, a few days prior, both of them had exchanged letters in the newspaper *El Corresponsal*, in which Colmeiro criticized the doctrines that Sagra defended. On the other hand, it's important to note that the previous month, in the same "*Correspondencia*" section of his magazine, Sagra had published an anonymous letter written by a young man from Santiago de Compostela with the signature "A. de la R. B."[68].

In his letter, the anonymous young man defended the doctrines exposed by Sagra in his magazine, and criticized Manuel Colmeiro, accusing him of being excessively conservative[69]. This caused the latter to respond to Sagra in the pages of the magazine, sending him a letter dated October 17, 1844 that appeared in the magazine's November issue (Sagra 1844b, II: 227-236). Its publication is prefaced by a note by Sagra himself that refers to the first exchange of letters in the *El Corresponsal*, and is also annotated with a bunch of footnotes in which he tries to debunk Colmeiro's sharp arguments in a somewhat sophistic fashion.

Colmeiro admits that, when he wrote the first of his letters in April of that year, he had only read the first two issues of the magazine (the issues corresponding to January and February), and as such he didn't know in depth the complete doctrines that Sagra would develop in the magazine. His worry was then focused on "the fatalism that I have perceived at the

[68] Sagra justified the inclusion of young A. de la R. B.'s article in the September issue, since it clearly supported the doctrines that the magazine defended: "Our previous writings have prompted correspondence from various talented young people from the provinces, who are as eager to learn the new social doctrines as they are lacking in the resources to acquire this kind of knowledge" (Sagra, 1842b, II: 123). From the early 1840s on —and especially after defending the decentralization of administrative affairs in Parliament on the occasion of the 1840 bill of the Rule of Municipalities, Sagra maintained correspondence with a group of young Galician people with advanced ideologies and a "provincial" ethos, who in some cases took him as a master. They would later publish the short-lived magazine *El Porvenir*, which would get some of its members into serious political trouble (Cambrón, 1989: 125-127).

[69] At the end of the letter, Sagra added the following note: "Here we have the opinion of the same young student we mentioned about social doctrines, in an extensive letter we have received, dated May 14, 1844. In it, he elaborates on Mr. Colmeiro's opinions as well, a man whose controversy with us is currently on hold due to the indication of this professor, who was eager to see the doctrines of this magazine be further elaborated" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 127).

end of the discourse regarding the national sovereignty principle" (Sagra 1844b, II: 228).

Colmeiro claims, in a rather ironic fashion, that if he forgets this fatalism, "everything that is bound to happen, both in the physical and moral aspects, happened, happens or will happen," he must forget his rage and redraft his criticisms, "and since Mr. A. de la R. B. was also kind enough to mention my name, I believe that it is my duty to resume the controversy that we left on hiatus; but your strategy forces me to operate by shifting my aim slightly in order to return to it" (Ibidem).

What's most interesting about Colmeiro's letter is the fact that, once he read Sagra's doctrinal articles included in the two thirds of the magazine, he blames him because, in his opinion, what he has done up until now is just tearing down the existing social building without proposing new convincing formulas of social organization: "you should drop some more hints and not just let me glimpse, but reveal the whole social picture that you still keep mysteriously hidden to me" (Sagra 1844b, II: 229).

Colmeiro believes that, ultimately, the key to Sagra's proposal of social reform —given the powerlessness of authority and force— is the rehabilitation of the religious principle. He agrees with him in the seriousness of the social evils, but differs with both him and the socialists —to whom he compares him— about the proposed means to correct or mitigate them. He also admits being too apart from the principles that the socialists defend, taking the opportunity to undermine the anonymous Galician writer A. de la R. B., who considered him to be an ardent defender of the existing social order in his article.

He accuses Sagra of looking for a unique, absolute and exclusive organic principle of society, that he thinks he has found in religious principle. To this, he expresses a tremendous skepticism, therefore he replies to him again with the arguments that he used to criticize Sagra in the *El Corresponsal*: "Society —a complex body, fabric of good and evil, mixture of opposite elements— doesn't exist because there is one only attractive force that's able to compress all of its molecules and make them gravitate towards a center. […] And this is my concept, and it's more than a beautiful theory, in spite of Mr. A. de la R. B.: it's a practical, tangible, experienced truth" (Sagra 1844b, II: 231).

He also takes the opportunity to criticize the socialists, aiming his criticisms especially to C. Pecqueur —whom he considers to be an ultra-socialist— and the Fourierist "sect" of the *Démocratie Pacifique*. He accuses them of "proclaiming the abolition of all property of work tools in allegiance to universal charity and fraternity mandated by Divine Law" (Sagra 1844b, II: 232).

Colmeiro considers that, if Sagra shares these principles, then his theory would be nonsensical; even if his formula were more moderate, he would still criticize his use of the religious principle as the only base for social organization, comparing him to a new Saint-Simon.

He was not an absolutist or a reactionary, but he thought that Sagra described the social evils "with too strong colors." He considered that the social mechanism was too complicated and there were no magical formulas for a complete social reorganization based on a single principle, and in order to discredit Sagra by using his own sources, he didn't hesitate to use a quote from Pecqueur himself as a weapon:

> "Allow me to quote Mr. Pecqueur: There isn't in this world one unique principle, one single element, one only force in action, one simple piece of data in the social problem: there is only free, imperfect beings sitting one in front of the other, who limit and oppose each other in their expansion and attraction, and who have uneven and irregular strengths that should be harmonized" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 234-235).

Unlike Sagra, Colmeiro did believe in partial reforms, considering that there was only one grave social problem left to solve: labor organization. In his letter, he bid Sagra farewell, defending his restraint: "Lastly, maybe you would tell me that this eclectic philosophy is too timid, that it aims to just get by, that it will never remove the cancers that poison the entrails of this society… And maybe you're right, but allow me to doubt that your system would fare much better" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 235-236).

We must add that the seventeen footnotes that Sagra incorporated to qualify Colmeiro's notes —which the reader can look up in the text included in this anthology— weren't particularly convincing. They seemed to be written in a very defensive fashion, since Colmeiro, with his fine analysis, had hit him right where it hurt him most. In some of them, Sagra denies having demolished any social system; in others, in a rather sophistic fas-

hion, he denies trying to rehabilitate the religious system, and in others he sets himself apart from the socialists. Lastly, he accuses Colmeiro of being completely ignorant of his system:

> "Mr. Colmeiro does not know our system, since we haven't described or formulated it, and therefore it seems bold of him to label it the way that he does. This allows us to recommend him to meditate deeply about what we write, but without drawing consequences from suppositions that he attributes to us as principles" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 236, n.).

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL STUDIES. THE *AFORISMOS SOCIALES*

In the last issue of the *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*, the one corresponding to December 1844, Sagra alludes to the complicated political situation caused by the uprising against Narváez's government. This is why he decided to halt the exposition of his social doctrines and stop publishing the magazine. He also wanted to complete the set of doctrines he exposed, and so he elaborated a summary, through 154 short phrases or aphorisms —a method he had learned from Colins, as we have already seen—, considering that "the following synopsis, as well as the analytical table of our social studies, can be consulted by everyone" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 242)[70].

Though he doesn't call them *Aforismos sociales* yet, he would publish them later on under that name in several occasions, with some changes[71]. In them, as well as summarizing the doctrinal articles he exposed in the previous eleven issues of the magazine, he would foreshadow the new ideas that clearly define his subscription to the ideas of Baron de Colins —although, in the opinion of Núñez de Arenas, these are the least original part of Sagra's work.

[70] The author was fully aware of the criticism that publishing his aphorisms could report to him in such complicated political times: "The result of this publicity for the author of this magazine will be a greater isolation than the one the independence of his doctrines have brought to him until now, and maybe it will also bring him the hate and persecution of political fanatics who better allow a declared enemy in another side than the serious, impartial man that censors them all. However, fulfilling one's duty carries these obstacles and dangers" (Ibidem).

[71] We have mentioned already in previous pages the different editions of the Aforismos. It's enough to remember that he tried to distribute them in 1854, unsuccessfully, among the members of the Spanish Parliament. In 1859, Sagra published a last edition of his *Aforismos* in Paris, entitled *Le mal et le remède, aphorismes sociaux, profession de foi de Ramón de la Sagra* (Sagra, 1859b).

Since we included them in this anthology of texts, we will just describe them briefly, summarizing the core ideas in the words of Sagra himself, who divides in three parts the evolution of the different forms of social organization, which he calls: "*Lo pasado*", "*Lo presente*" and "*Lo futuro*". The structural idea of his exposition is the principle of authority as the base of social organization, as he considers that without authority there can be no society, and the role that reason and religion play in the evolution of society.

Sagra claims that, in the past, authority came from God, and legislation rested on this belief. In this time, science was subordinate to religion, and so material interests were subordinate to moral interests. Thus, peoples were living under an absolute regime, but on the foundations of faith, not force.

Rebellion was inconceivable, reason refused examination, and science and religion were united. However, reason slowly acquired the knowledge that it called truths, which found contradictions with religious principles. With that, the time of belief passed for scientific principles and the emancipation of knowledge started, and from examination doubt was born.

Reason substituted faith to create modern science. Science turned materialistic, and beliefs were subject to free examination. Supreme authority lost its base, and so started a social war between old authority and new science. With the invention of print, the fight turned more vicious, and it veered in favor of reason and against authority. Once freedom was proclaimed, religious freedom and civil equality were established: universal voting rights. Thanks to them, it's democracy the system that rules in this century. The tendency to which it veers is anarchy.

In the present, decisions are left to the vote of the majority, this is to say, authority now lay on majorities. Majority imposes its will, and sovereignty passes on to the masses. Opinions were divided in two belligerent groups: those who want to go back in search for order, and those who defend the reconciliation between freedom and order. In-between opinions are inconceivable. Liberalism marches on and destroys, driven by free will; absolutism represents the old society.

Passions reign instead of the right created by the majority. As will is volatile, the majority vote only reflects the selfishness of interest. Humanity

has only three options left: force, will and reason; however the latter is still unknown. The most rational thing would be to recognize the power of the majority as a way to avoid anarchy, although the order that this causes is temporary. But modern authority is debatable, because, in order to be acceptable, it must be rational.

This provokes a sentiment of permanent rebellion, which implies that this sentiment is inherent to the majority system. In the legal opposition, vote prevails; in revolutionary opposition, force does. All power inspires mistrust, and all rule inspires opposition. The exercise of freedom proves to be anarchic, and as a consequence, society is anarchic as well; this stems from the lack of a moral base. There's no possible freedom without a religious base. Anarchy reigns in the industrial, intellectual and moral systems. The only way to weaken anarchy is force. The use of force is absurd, but it's also efficient as long as it can be maintained. An order party means nothing else than a force party, but order imposed by force is also temporary.

The predominance of force is disgusting to reason, thus reason legitimizes rebellion against everything that isn't reasonable. Modern despotism is force without the prestige of belief. Without religious sanction, authority becomes atheistic and declares an atheistic law. This is why the invocation to the Supreme Being disappeared from the codes.

Law became material, egotistical and inhumane, and thus material interests started to prevail over moral interests. Progress only promoted material interests. This group of things gave birth to fraud, bad faith and perfidy. From this stems the conception that one's own good cannot be obtained but from the torment of others. The outside shine prevents the sight of the sores that eat away the very core of society, because the soul has become selfish and villainous.

In the future, society will come to a rational period, but for the time being it is —as it should be— in a state of constant rebellion while a new element of social order is discovered. As of current times, it's impossible to see a future where order prevails with freedom, but humanity will reach the point that Providence has saved for it. The providential end must exist, for otherwise society will perish in anarchy.

Denying a happy future for humanity is denying Providence itself and declaring fraternity impossible. The providential end will be the fusion of

science with freedom under the absolute and universal empire of reason. The current materialistic period is temporary. Some day, the social truth will have reason as a base and the vote of all humanity as approval. Society then will have standard, invariable principles without appealing to faith or majority. The current society is selfish, but the future society must be humanitarian. Individual interest is the base of the social building, and it must be replaced by humanity's interest.

This third period of simultaneous social and religious reason has not arrived yet. Christianity has announced the great principle, but it hasn't put it in practice. No partial remedy will be able to cure this evil. This big new work of organization will be realized when it's essential. When the evils that stem from immorality come to an insufferable extreme, all of us will look for the remedy and the reform will be accepted.

As long as the certainty of the evils is not generalized, cooperating to eliminate them is futile. The progress of anarchy, which will generalize the evils that the poor classes suffer to all of society, will urge the wealthy classes to think about the reform. The universality of the evil sentiment will be achieved when the poor classes react to their suffering towards the wealthy classes. Then, the principle of order will be established in humanity.

The ideas of Baron de Colins are perfectly abbreviated in these sort of aphorisms, which Sagra was quick to publish after closing the magazine—not only to summarize the doctrinal principles that were already expressed in it, but also to complete the ones he planned to develop in future issues if it had continued to be published in 1845. After summarizing his analysis of society's evolution in the past up until the present, and how he thought it would evolve in the future, he defines—following the lead of Colins—what his work must entail:

> "Meanwhile, a writer who is well aware of the state of the current society must limit himself not to formulate the remedy, but to prove beyond any reasonable doubt, through examination and discussion of moral and material interests, that the social body is gravely sick and that it calls for a prompt and powerful remedy" (Sagra, 1844b, II: 256)[72].

[72] In his *Notas de viaje*, Sagra had written the following: "With what can the democratic system be replaced, I need not say. The proof of the absurdity of a prevailing principle does not entail for-

THE WAR WITH THE *ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES MORALES ET POLITIQUES DE PARIS*

Sagra returned to Paris in 1845 to continue with his *History of the island of Cuba* and to read some books at the Académie. It was around this time that he met with Colins again. At the time, Colins was considering publishing a medium with a big international repercussion, with the goal of spreading rational socialism. Due to the lack of his own financial resources, he called his disciples for help —especially Potter, who had already given him considerable sums to his master.

After Potter's refusal, Colins asked Sagra for help. Sagra's financial situation wasn't exactly great, among other reasons because of the prepayments he had to do to his editors in order to advance the publication of his *History of the island of Cuba.* The delays in receiving the official subventions that the government had conceded him for it were a source of long controversies with the Spanish government[73].

This, according to some authors, led Sagra to plunge into the business world to collect funds. Colins thought that he simply wanted to get rich, which is why he censored him. (Rens,1968, I: 123). His business venture was focused on the field of the sugar industry in Andalusia, and it's not the focus of this text[74]. It's important to point out, however, that when Sagra

mulating the principle that must replace it. This is society's obligation" (Sagra, 1844a: 142). Colins himself had said to his disciples: You will answer this if you are asked for the solution: we ignore it. Because the time to reveal it has not yet come. (Let's remember at this point the aforementioned sharp accusations that Sagra received from Manuel Colmeiro.)

[73] Sagra had been dismissed from his position as a commissioned professor in Cuba's botanical garden in 1845 to publish his *History of Cuba* due to a double conflict with Narváez's government, and so for the following four years his economic situation was rather precarious (González, 1983: 261).

[74] For a more detailed description of Sagra's business venture, see (Cambrón, 1989: 111-114), as well as (Maluquer, 1977: 220-222). According to Ascensión Cambrón, Sagra did publish in 1844 a *Proyecto sobre las bases orgánicas de la empresa azucarera* and the *Informe sobre el cultivo y la fabricación de la caña de azúcar en las costas de Almería.* At the beginning of the following year, the Sociedad Azucarera Peninsular was established, and Sagra was named surveyor. He published a report about the advantages of promoting the cultivation of sugar cane in the southern shores of Andalusia in the *Guía del Comercio* and the *Boletín de Empresas.* According to Cambrón, "Sagra fore-

decides to create a sugar company in Andalusia with some associates who ended up pushing him away from it, he temporarily withdrew from social studies:

> "He prints his *Informe sobre el cultivo y la fabricación de la caña de azúcar en las costas de Almería* and publishes five issues of a newspaper focused on the subject that keeps him busy at the time (entitled *El Azucarero*, and published in 1846 and 1847); a pamphlet about the consequences of the elimination of the slave trade on the production in the Antilles, and a dissertation on the Spanish industry that is more forgiving than his previous criticisms against the Catalonian textile industry and greatly weighs the entrepreneurial labor of Heredia in Málaga" (Maluquer, 1977: 220-222).

This time lapse is especially interesting to consider, because in 1845 and 1846, Sagra published only two socio-economic texts directed to the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris*. The first one is just a translation and revision of the *Aforismos* he had written over the previous year and included in the last issue of his *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales*. The second one "was nothing else than an argument against the *bourgeois* society, and even though he wrote it in accordance to Colins, it presents a very similar approach to the one Sagra had since many years before" (Maluquer, 1977: 221).

We must stress: this time reference is especially interesting, because we agree with Jordi Maluquer in that "it was only in the second half of the year 1847, after the failure of the Torre del Mar sugar company, that he became a disciple of Colins in his own right, and he accepted the 'vulgarizer' task that he had assigned to him. This is how the truly socialist period of his intellectual life actually starts" (Ibidem).

These last reflections lead us to the ones we made in the first pages of this text, in which we doubted Sagra's categorization as a socialist thinker,

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saw that the Iberian Peninsula could produce the sugar that Cuba could not produce anymore after the emancipation of the slaves, but he also conceived the functioning of the company as 'exemplary' as he assigned social tendencies to it" (Cambrón, 1989: 111-112). This could bring him trouble with his business associates, who didn't have such philanthropic interests as him, and when they didn't include him in the board of directors, Sagra left the company. He tried to start a new project on his own, which was a complete failure, among other reasons, because of the impossibility of employing Derosne and Cail's machines, which he had brought to Spain himself, since the Sociedad Azucarera Peninsular had the exclusivity of them.

without getting into the debates his various biographers had —Viñas Mey and Núñez de Arenas among them, though we clearly stand closer to the latter.

We believe that Sagra wasn't a socialist writer *per se* before his trip to Europe, nor during his lessons at the Ateneo, nor during the publication of the *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales* (including the *Aforismos*). In fact, he explicitly denied such condition, although he subscribed Colins' "rational socialism." It's true that rational socialism had little to do with the socialism of other French authors, which would later be an inspiration for Marx and Engels —whose description as socialists (utopian or not) would also be disputable in some cases. Therefore, we agree with Maluquer in accepting that Sagra's socialist era started in mid-1847, and we add that it ended in 1849.

From 1847 on, after abandoning his business projects, he decided to conquer the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris* with his doctrines, together with Colins. As we have mentioned previously, he had read his *Aforismos* there two years prior, but the arguments he had exposed in them weren't very convincing for the members of the *Académie*: "The *Académie* honored the reading of my dissertation with a sustained attention, after which they made several observations to me, that I immediately replied to, but when transcribing my work, the following discussion was not put on the records" (Sagra, 1849g: 10) This was the start of his extensive dispute with the *Académie*, which further escalated in 1847 and eventually led him to publish *Mon contingent à l'Académie in 1849* (Sagra, 1849h)[75].

Maluquer highlights two texts from 1847, one of which he considers supremely interesting: a speech he delivered in September 18, 1847 at the International Congress of Economists in Brussels, entitled *Sur le Libre-Échange et la Prohibition*. The speech was partially quoted in the Fourierist newspaper *La Démocratie Pacifique* in its October 2, 1847 issue (Sagra, 1847a)[76]: "The extraordinary interest of this work lies in his choice of new

[75] This book was reedited again, in 1849, under the new title *Mis debates contra la anarquía de la época y en favor del orden social*, which included a synopsis of his interventions at the International Congress of the Friends of Peace and a text against socialist propaganda, as well as the aforementioned text. (Sagra, 1849g)

[76] The full text of the speech was published in Paris the following year, and it was entitled *Le probléme de l'organization du travail devant le congrès des économistes de Bruxelles* (Sagra, 1848c) (Maluquer, 1977: 221, n.)

grounds —international commerce— to point out the social chaos, and through that, he formulates—albeit in very non-technical terms —the first theory of imperialism, understood as a logical culmination of the market economy" (Maluquer, 1977: 221-222)[77].

Regarding *Mon contingent à l'Académie* —which, as we have seen in the previous footnote, incorporates Mis debates contra la anarquía de la época y en favor del orden social racional—, he gave it the following subtitle: *Sobre las condiciones del orden y de las reformas sociales*[78]. The dissertation was prefaced by seventeen pages in which Sagra explained his dispute against the *Académie*, elaborating on some of his doctrinal changes as well[79]. He also alluded to the recognition of his work: he had been reflected in the *Journal des économistes* and how eminent scholars, such as Villeneuve-Bargemont —who published a book about Sagra's life and work in 1844 (Villeneuve, 1844)— or Mr. Mittermayer in Germany, had noticed his work. (Sagra, 1849g: 8, n.3)

In the extensive introduction to his dissertation, he also says that his way of thinking changed when he came into contact with the work of a profound thinker, which had the entire critical history of humanity. The name of this thinker, private until then, he was now allowed to reveal: Baron de Colins. After coming into contact with this work, he reconstructed "piece by piece" the building of his own thought, and so he asserted his own ideas beyond Colins'. In his own work, he admits that the changes in his way of thinking started as far back as 1842 and 1843, and these changes were solidified and became more systematic from 1844 on.

He explains how this change led him to publish his *Revista de los intereses materiales y morales* and to produce the first version of his *Aforismos*, which, as we have mentioned previously, he presented at the *Académie* in

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[77] In his second work, dedicated to the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, "he claimed that political economy didn't have a solid body of doctrine, not even a homogeneous language. Thus, he was completely against teaching it in medium-level schools" (Sagra, 1847b).

[78] After the title, Sagra specified: *Primera memoria presentada a la Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas del Instituto de Francia*, en la sesión del 9 de diciembre de 1848.

[79] After listing the merits that made him deserve the attention of the institution —of which he was a relevant member—, such as his stay and publications in Cuba, his travels in Europe and the texts that stemmed from them, or his lessons at the Ateneo —to which he explicitly alluded—, he added: "In these books, the reader will find many useful facts and reflections, but without a definitive end. There's a lot of vagueness and even contradiction, since my intelligence was then in an anarchic period" (Sagra, 1849g: 8).

1845[80]. Here's where the dispute started. Since the *Académie* did not want to include the discussion that followed his exposition in the records, it was the republican newspaper *Le Siècle* the one that gave the account of the doctrines Sagra exposed in the debate that followed the end of his exposition.

Shortly after, he wanted to explain —with the consent of Colins, as we have mentioned previously— his vision of the work organization problem. As his readout was delayed, Sagra made his ideas known in the *Révue du droit français et étranger*. As a result, the *Académie* would not let him read out his dissertation, as it had already been published.

He repeated his instances to the *Académie* in Paris in October 1847 to discuss the problem of social organization. For this purpose, he asked to be inscribed for his new readouts, which prompted the *Académie* to refuse his request again. This refusal was communicated to him by his secretary, Mr. Mignet, whose relation with Sagra was truly awful.

Because of this new refusal, Sagra wrote a letter to the Secretary. Without being discouraged —which was out of character for him—, he went to a discussion about the inaccuracy of the economic principles and the instruction on political economy, which took place in the *Académie* on November 27 of that year. He took that opportunity to ask for the floor and develop his ideas in a later session[81].

Sagra claims that "my readout of this work caused a storm against me within the *Académie*" (Sagra, 1849g: 16), probably because of the ideas he expressed about property: "Property is unmovable; it's the organization of property, which was disrupted back in 1789, what's uncertain. And the ones who undermine this organization are precisely the economists who claim that wealth and poverty increase in parallel, which is also true" (Núñez, 1924: 477). As it happened in previous instances, his opinions were not put on record afterwards. They didn't appear in the *Journal des économistes*

[80] He presented the *Aforismos*, or the summary of his social studies, at the Académie, in the sessions of September 13 and September 20, 1845.

[81] His intervention took place on December 4, and it led to a dissertation that was published by the Fourierist newspaper *La Démocratie pacifique* in the December 31, 1847 and January 1st, 1848 issues. Later on, it appeared as a pamphlet (Sagra, 1849g: 15, n.). This is the work that J. Maluquer had mentioned previously, which this author considers to be relatively less important.

either; Sagra thought he had offended the *Journal* when he questioned the scientific solvency of orthodox economic principles.

Shortly afterwards, at the end of February, the Revolution of 1848 erupted, and so Sagra justifies his previous attempt before the *Académie*: "When I had judged that the fear of new dangers should draw the attention of serious men towards the examination of the big problems of the era, I directed my previous observations to my honorable colleagues, interspersed with quotes from my previous publications; all of it reunited in a pamphlet entitled *El problema de la organización del trabajo, ante la Academia de ciencias morales y políticas*" (Sagra, 1848c)[82].

That year, he traveled in Holland, Germany and Belgium, where he attended the International Congress of the Friends of Peace that took place in the last days of September. He surprised the attendants by opposing the disarmament measures proposed by the governments, which some attendees viewed as a real provocation: "The order enthusiasts, who discredit the sole guarantee for order that authority has left, seem even more revolutionary to me than those who boldly feed their vanity with this dictum. I told them that in the middle of the Congress, to their faces" (Núñez, 1924: 478-479)[83].

General Cavaignac, the Head of the Government of the Republic, firmly convinced of the dire political situation that the country was going through, addressed the *Académie* on July 17, 1848 to call for help and advice; and so Sagra dared to ask for his opinions to be head in the floor of the Académie for a fifth time. This new rejection[84], which caused him to address the

[82] "Ramón de la Sagra was suspicious of nihilism, and so he decided, in the line of Colins, to expose the basic principles of rational socialism with a title that he borrowed from another author of the time, Louis Blanc: *L'organisation du travail*. The Académie was made aware of his text in January" (Rens, 1968, I: 126).

[83] Núñez de Arenas transcribes the words that the *Journal des économistes* wrote about Sagra's speech: "Mr. De la Sagra [sic] has delighted himself, as he loves to do, in being eccentric to a degree that surpasses what's acceptable in a serious man" (Núñez, 1924: 479). In the French edition of the quoted text there are some pages that had been expunged from the Spanish edition —maybe for prudential reasons—, "in which the conservative principle, which is nothing else than the principle of resistance whose foundation is that the base of order is unmovable, is examined. But this base —faith— has been obliterated" (Núñez, 1924: 482).

[84] Núñez de Arenas himself claims that he began to read his dissertation, but his readout was interrupted and they wouldn't let him continue: "When the Académie's action was known, some classified Sagra as a dangerous anarchist; others had sympathy for him, and many had animosity instead. […] The pamphlet was nothing more than a summary of the Colins-inspired doctrines he already exposed in various occasions" (Núñez, 1924: 481-482).

Secretary of the *Académie* through the press[85], was the originator of the *Mon contingent à l'Académie*, which he considered as his testament of that moment after publishing it.

Núñez de Arenas specifies that the Spanish edition is full of footnotes, and that it was censored in some parts. In it, Sagra "grieves about having been a victim of slander, vile intrigues and unfair persecution, and in returning to France, he promises not to write about the big questions, but to just finish editing his *History of Cuba* in peace. Was it a tip from the Government, maybe concerned that one of their officials was coming off as a revolutionary? There is no data to confirm this, but he seems to imply as much" (Núñez, 1924: 482).

As Núñez de Arenas himself points out, this pamphlet is nothing more than a summary of the Colins-inspired doctrines he already exposed in several instances: "after censoring every economic school for only worrying about material goods, he shows the state of prevailing anarchy, and quoting lots of authors, he tries to prove that the proposed means to improve social order are harmful. The solution must be harmonic: the organization of instruction and wealth must be simultaneous. However, he doesn't indicate how this organization must be" (Ibidem).

Due to the excessive repetition of ideas and the length of it (42 pages), we have decided not to include the dissertation in our anthology of texts. We deemed more appropriate to mention the dispute that preceded it, which was the final note of his war against the *Académie* (of which he had turned into the most annoying corresponding member one could possibly imagine at this point). After so many incidents, it can't be ruled out that the members of the *Académie* had already figured out the strategy that he and Colins were trying to enact to just spread rational socialism —a set of ideas that was way far from their interests.

On that prolific year of 1848, Sagra published two short books about the *Banque du Peuple* —which were actually two different editions of the same book— and a third version of his *Aforismos sociales* in which he now

[85] Sagra addressed the Secretary of the Académie through a conservative newspaper, *L'Assemblée Nationale*, on December 23, 1848 (Sagra, 1848d), and a progressive newspaper, the Proudhonian paper *Le Peuple*, on the 28th of the same month (Sagra, 1848e).

defends Colins' (and Pecqueur's) collectivism, though he still doesn't propose it as a solution[86].

[86] Núñez de Arenas does a perfect job in listing the little changes that Sagra made in the different versions of his *Aforismos* depending on where they were published: "Lastly, the Madrid edition —the fourth one— almost completely glosses over what we could call economic criticisms to the current society; collectivism, especially of soil, doesn't appear to be clearly proposed, and everything related to inheritance —such as things regarding capital— appears to be skillfully blurred. This concealing of his ideas is especially noteworthy because, in the foreword to the edition I'm talking about, he claims that he's presenting his doctrines —poor victim— for everyone to judge him as he is" (Núñez, 1924: 483-484).

1848. REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM

REFLECTIONS ON THE 1848 FRENCH REVOLUTION

After the start of the Revolution, Sagra "closely follows the evolution of the clubs in which social doctrines are discussed, especially the club for labor organization and the club for work freedom —the former's opponent— under the guide of economists; he sees the profusion of doctrines as one more symptom of the anarchy of the time, and he senses that the time has come to establish a social science of which he is an isolated, misunderstood preacher" (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 193-194).

In this situation, in April[87], he sends a letter to the *Guía del Comercio*, a publication he had co-founded, and the Fourierist-leaning newspaper *La Organización del Trabajo*, created that same year by Fernando Garrido and Sixto Cámara, in which he informed about his opinion about the future of the revolution and his alienation from socialist doctrines. In it, he claims that the recent events that happened in France confirm his worst predictions, even though the "apostles of economy" continued to maintain their principles as the only possible way to regenerate society: "This must be said in honor of the economic school of transition: it recognizes the necessity for means of regeneration, since the old sect still maintains that the current organization of society —which they call natural organization— is the best one possible, and therefore the reformist doctrines, aside from being dangerous, are also useless" (Sagra,1848a).

He thinks that three big schools of thought have been formed with regard to the social problem: the old economists, who defend the current system (Dunoyer, Passy, Bastiat); the modern economists, who claim the need for non-radical partial reforms (Blanqui, Chevalier, Wolowski), and the socialists, who propose a radical reform, but differ on the proposed means (Fourierists, communists, reformed Saint-Simonians, Lechevalier, Louis Blanc, Pie-

[87] This letter was signed by Sagra on April 17, and it appeared in the *Guía del Comercio* in May 3.

rre Leroux). These economists discuss their doctrines in clubs and press media, and Sagra is surprised that the working classes sometimes prove to have a better judgment than the professors in the debates that take place there.

He reveals that the shortfall of the old doctrines has caused the rise and popularity of the socialist doctrines, which demand solutions and propose remedies to the evils that humanity suffers from: "As an immediate consequence of the revolutionary extension of the reform, the political question of the constitutive principle and the form of government is lies within it" (Ibidem).

Sagra claims —erroneously, we believe— that all schools recognize the democratic principle and the republican form as a means to implement social reform, and, with this affirmation in mind, he questions if this decision is fair: "Are the aforementioned principle and form a real goal of social revolution, or just a revolutionary means to achieve a rational organization?" (Ibidem).

Republicans are also a target of Sagra's criticisms. According to him, they are a very heterogeneous group, and very different from the ones represented by the economic and socialist schools. They were gathered around the influential republican newspaper *Le National*, which defended Cavaignac's authority and proposed building a republic under the auspices of order. Sagra considers them to be equally useless, "some believe that the republic can be political without being social, and others think that a republic can't be realized unless it has dictators" (Ibidem).

In his article, he saves his most vicious attacks for his former friend Louis Blanc, who —applying his ideas based on labor organization— tried to look for a formula to end unemployment and inequality through the creation of the Ateliers Nationaux from the so-called Luxembourg Commission.

Sagra, just like Proudhon and other socialists, did not trust the efficiency of these measures, which were more utopic than real, and that would soon come under fire from the government itself once the conservative phase of the republic had started: "Impartial men have already started to distrust the promises of socialism after seeing the ridicule and absurd division it has caused in [the] Luxembourg. When the time comes for the rest of the doctrines to translate their principles into practical formulas, the same phenomenon of mistrust and disappointment will happen. And thus doubt and

anarchy will continue to emerge, as I have predicted years ago, as a transitional and unavoidable period of humanity" (Ibidem).

He ended his letter with a very calculated reflection on Spain: he considered that, after seeing the example of what happened in France and various other European countries, it was still possible to save the country from anarchy by implementing a system of social reorganization. However, he didn't think that this was the route that Spain was taking, and so "industrial revolution will also invade the whole peninsula" (Ibidem).

His criticisms towards socialism didn't seem to please the editors of *La Organización del Trabajo*, to whom Sagra had also sent his first letter in April, so he sent a second letter in June[88], this time only to the *Guía del Comercio*. In it, he started by correcting a misunderstanding: because of the tone of the first letter, Sagra seemed to imply that socialists and economists were equally far away from looking for an adequate social reorganization formula (and this was actually one possible interpretation of his letter.)

But now, Sagra was backpedaling, and in order to avoid being seen as a radical, he directed his attacks against socialism in general, starting with Louis Blanc once again; not only had Blanc's experiment of the Ateliers Nationaux failed due to the government of the republic itself undermining it, but it had also caused controversy between the main socialist leaders:

> "You may already know, in [the socialist school], the fate that Mr. Louis Blanc's system —which has been notably altered since the first letter I sent to you— has suffered. This alteration was met with the approval of many republican socialists, but it didn't arouse the sympathies of the National Assembly or the aforementioned leaders of the school. Victor Considerant, Lamennais and Proudhon have spoken up against it. […] If we moved from Louis Blanc's doctrines to the ones defended by each of the schools, we could see that the leaders of the other schools have also spoken against them. For instance, the fundamental principle of association between capital and work, which is the base of the French and the recently modified Saint-Simonian schools, has just been viciously attacked in Pierre Leroux, George Sand and Thoré's newspaper." (Sagra, 1848b)[89].

[88] The second letter was dated June 15, and was published in the *Guía del Comercio* on the 28th of that month.

[89] Sagra is talking about the *Revue indépendante*, edited by Pierre Leroux with the usual financial help of his friend George Sand. We included this long quote because it's a perfect example of

Thoré himself edited another magazine in 1848, entitled *La Vraie République*[90], in which Pierre Leroux, George Sand and Armand Barbés also collaborated. Sagra uses a text that was featured in the magazine to explain the impossibility of a joint effort between all socialists, therefore reinforcing his own arguments —which he had already exposed in his writings about work organization:

> "Opposites don't combine, divergent forces don't join together. In the current economic constitution, capitalists and workers have opposite interests. Capitalists want to increase their capital constantly; workers want an increase of their salary. But capital —which is a net product, this is, the part of wealth that hasn't passed on to consumption— cannot increase unless production costs decrease, and salaries are among the production costs. And production costs (even if we accept that capitalists could increase production as they pleased) cannot be increased unless the part of profit that capital demands is removed. Therefore, how can the association between two disagreeing parties be understood?" (Ibidem).

In order to stress his anti-socialism before the Spanish audience, Sagra told the editor of the *Guía del Comercio* that he had written a booklet entitled *El socialismo es la barbarie* and that he had read it out in the central club for work organization. Just like with his first letter, he uses this one —referring to Spain, though not explicitly— to defend the need to increase agricultural production in order to satisfy the urgent needs of the working classes (let's remember that he had been recommending this solution for many years as well as condemning the preference for industrialist tendencies).

At the end of the letter, he continues denying the efficiency of applying partial solutions, and he stands his ground: "the difficulty lies in making remedies that don't include a tone of irrefutable incontestability acceptable by reason. The difficulty lies, in the end, in discovering the radical remedy and making it acceptable when only anarchic, society-destroying ideas prevail, rule and reign. Such is the situation in France, and such will be the situation in all of Europe" (Ibidem).

Sagra's knowledge of almost all of the schools of French socialism, and his varying degrees of tolerance towards some of them. We have also corrected the typographical errors in the names of some authors (Saint-Simon, Leroux…).

[90] *La Vraie République* was a short-lived publication, as could be expected considering the events that happened during the most critical moments of the revolution. It was only published from March 26 to August 21, 1848.

P. J. PROUDHON AND THE *BANQUE DU PEUPLE*

Despite his collaboration and on-and-off clashes with Colins, Sagra maintained his relationship with him at least until 1852, as we have mentioned in the previous pages. However, starting at the end of 1848 and for a short period of time, Sagra grew closer to P. J. Proudhon, actively collaborating in his publications and projects while trying not to break off his own acquaintanceship with Colins (whose relationship with Proudhon was frankly horrible). It is unknown exactly how and when this approach took place[91].

The truth is, when Proudhon started to publish his newspapers in 1848[92], Sagra collaborated in them, and when the former launched the idea of the Banque du Peuple, Sagra collaborated in the project since its inception (Sagra, 1849b and c). Mercedes Cabrera, Antonio Elorza and Matilde Vázquez include the complete text of *Banco del Pueblo. Teoría y Práctica de esta institución fundada en la doctrina racional* by Sagra in their aforementioned publication. Due to its length, this text isn't included in our anthology, so we will refer to the work of Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez instead[93].

The adventure, as the aforementioned authors remark, was short-lived: just eight weeks. In the first issue of *Le Peuple*, "Proudhon summarized his reform program: universal suffrage, centralization, identity of the worker and capitalist through credit gratuity and suppression of usury. The draft statutes of the *Banque du Peuple* were already present in the second issue, although it isn't until February 5, 1849, that the Company's Minutes of P. J. Proudhon & Co. —which gave birth to this new institution— are released" (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 195).

Sagra was already listed as a collaborator for *Le Peuple*, and from February on he started to publish several articles to spread awareness of the

[91] Let's remember that Sagra had claimed in 1840 to have had Proudhon's book *Qu'est-ce que la proprieté* in his hands, but there's no record of the two of them having met by then.

[92] The newspaper *Le Peuple*, created by Proudhon, appeared in September 1848.

[93] The complete title of the article is *El Banco del Pueblo* y otros escritos de reforma social. (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 193-307). The 1849 publication of *Revolution économique, causes et moyens* (Sagra, 1849i), was also a product of his collaboration with Proudhon.

project, entitled *Théorie et pratique de la Banque du Peuple*. The publication of these articles was interrupted in April, shortly before the dissolution, for reasons that are detailed below[94].

The system it was based on was to put bonds in circulation. These bonds were defined as "a delivery order wrapped up in perpetual, social character, payable upon presentation by every associate or adherent in products and services of their industry or profession." (art. 18) "The role of the bank would be, firstly, to guarantee the acceptance of these bonds for reciprocal exchange of goods and services between associates. Bonds were handed to them at the bank in exchange for cash, and the attached traders commit to accept no other form of payment than the aforementioned bonds" (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 196).

Operations were supposed to start in early March, but the non-achievement of the minimum capital needed to launch the project, as well as a judicial process that put Proudhon in prison, ended up aborting the whole project[95]. The war that erupted between Proudhon and his associates regarding the continuity of the project is well known. While he did not want to continue pursuing the project, some of his associates —Sagra among them— wanted to carry on with it under the patronage of the democratic-socialist party, and continued the propaganda from the pages of the Fourierist newspaper *La Démocratie pacifique*. As a result of these conspiracies, Sagra was barred entrance to France on suspicion of being a socialist.

It is indeed paradoxical that Sagra, who had always rejected partial reforms, was now seeing a real possibility of change in this project and was supporting it so much. In his pamphlet about the *Banque du Peuple*, he justified this last extreme. The previously mentioned authors connect this decision with the last version of his *Aforismos sociales* (1848), in which Sagra had stressed his deterministic vision of history —everything that is socially and universally deemed indispensable ends up arriving—, and they consider that:

[94] As a theoretical principle of the society, the unproductive character of capital was assumed, which would be remediable through interest suppression (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 195).

[95] In the cease memorandum for the project, dated April 11, Proudhon put forward his own personal circumstances, which in his opinion showed the failure of peaceful propaganda and its necessary replacement by revolutionary propaganda (Ibidem).

> "Therefore, reason, in confirming the need for a new order, enables the appearance of new principles that don't entail a dangerous revolution, but a useful reform, since they appear at the right time. This is the reason why, at the end of the text, the *Banque du Peuple* appears to be a reasonable, logical reform, and not the result of a political operation; therefore, available for men of all parties to analyze" (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 197).

The new system called for free universal instruction and the transformation of the economic system: "In focusing his critical analysis in the process of money circulation, La Sagra believes that the key to the problem lies in free universal credit, which would be able to guarantee fair exchange. The shortfall of his explanation is stated in the complementary (not meaningful) solution of making the work tools available for the worker" (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 199).

The paradox highlighted by the authors, through which we summarize Sagra's ideas about the Banque du Peuple, is that —in accordance with Colins— if work remains the only factor of production and capital relinquishes its dominant position, then soil cannot remain at the sole disposal of a minority without contradicting the fundamental principle of work freedom. Property would recover its true meaning: the consecration of labor.

According to the same authors, "we would have to go back to Pecqueur's influence on La Sagra in establishing the privatization of work tools, forces and material conditions of wealth as the cause of inequality, without forgetting the real meaning that Proudhon gives to the statement 'property is theft': suppressing the type of property that would contradict social interest. La Sagra's project tends not to suppress, but to universalize, a usual formula that allows contradiction to be solved among reformist pretensions and the defense of the capitalist order" (Ibidem).

SAGRA, SOCIALISM AND THE SPANISH POLITICAL PARTIES

When Sagra started collaborating with Proudhon in late 1848, he informed Colins about it: he wrote to him to tell him about his participation in the Banque du Peuple. Despite still sharing some of Colins' —and Pecqueur's— ideas, he continued to voice his criticisms against the various

socialist schools. To add insult to injury, he himself had been compared to them, which caused some Spanish intellectuals to discredit him. His bar from entering France in December 1849 didn't help his case, either.

Maybe it's because of this that around this time, after the failure of the Banque du Peuple and the evolution of the political events in France —which in his opinion foreshadowed a social revolution—, Sagra turns his life around. This is why he decided against editing his reflections on the *Banque du Peuple* in Spanish, choosing to instead publish a book that we have referred to already: *Mis debates contra la anarquía de la época y en favor del orden social racional*. In this book, he gathered the doctrines he exposed before the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris*, his intervention at the Congress of the Friends of Peace in Brussels, and his doctrines against the socialist propaganda.

It was now clear that Sagra was confused and disillusioned by his last projects, and so he decided to relocate, starting a new chapter of his life starting in 1850 that is no longer of interest for our work, but to which we will nevertheless allude to. This new chapter of his life is strongly based on religious beliefs.

This is why a study he wrote —still partly influenced by Colins— while he was working with Proudhon, entitled *Sobre la organización del trabajo*, is especially interesting to us. He also wrote a text focused on criticizing and discrediting various socialist groups: *La vérité à tous; aux socialistes*, which he published in the ultra-conservative newspaper *L'Assemblée Nationale* (Sagra, 1849e).

After ending his collaboration with Proudhon, he also looked for a new platform to attack the socialists, and he found it in the newspaper *La Tribune des peuples*, whose editor was Polish nationalist poet Adam Mickiewicz. He wrote and published a series of seven articles —which are hard to track down[96]— about the political parties in Spain, entitled *Les partis en*

[96] The seven articles we mentioned above, Les partis en Espagne (I through VII), included in *La Tribune des Peuples*, can be read in the Polish digital platform https://fbc.pionier.net.pl/. I would like to thank Lola Hernández Ara, the bibliographic information manager for the Faculty of Law at the University of Zaragoza, for her kindness and competence in helping me track them down. We managed to find the articles in issues 35, 36, 39, 46, 49, 50 and 51, published between April 19 and May 5, 1849. Núñez de Arenas mentions them without offering further comment. Shortly afterwards, the-

Espagne (Sagra, 1849d). It's easy to see that Sagra had no qualms about spreading his ideas in political platforms with such different, if not outright opposite, views[97].

Published on January 9 of that year, *La Vérité à tous; aux socialistes* was actually a brief allegation of little interest in which Sagra discredits the attempt made by the *Asociación General Socialista* to constitute itself, which was covered by the press. This article had the goal of opposing the socialist propaganda that the leaders of the various European socialist schools were planning to spread outside of France.

In a note at the beginning of the article, Sagra qualifies that: "I have published it in a reactionary newspaper, *L'Assemblée Nationale*, and though it must have deeply hurt the socialists, none of them showed publicly any sign of being offended. My various publications against the anarchic tendencies of liberal conservatives and liberal democrats have also encountered the same luck. Every one of them, with no exceptions, run away from the discussion when they find themselves under attack in the very core of their doctrine" (Sagra, 1849e).

The argument that Sagra held was that socialist propaganda only obeyed to two possible ends: tearing down the current order, or building a future order. For this, the Association called for the unity of belief in the need for tearing down the current order, about the necessary means and about the new order that would replace the old one. He did not believe that these circumstances would ever happen, since he couldn't see any common understanding about the partial or total destruction of the current order, citing Lamennais and the Fourierists of the *Démocratie pacifique* as examples. Likewise, he didn't see any sort of agreement among them about the means to employ, which would hinder the group of schools' organizing power.

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se articles were compiled in a 32-page booklet, edited in Paris under the title *Les partis en Espagne*. (Sagra, 1849f) There's a more direct reference to its contents in (Cabrera, Elorza and Vázquez, 1973: 326-327).

[97] His harshest criticisms against socialism would correspond to the most conservative era of his life, which isn't the focus of our introductory study —though it's necessary to mention it: in his 1858 article *El socialismo en España*, published in the Catholic-monarchist newspaper *La Esperanza*, he gives long summaries of articles he published nine years prior in *La Tribune des Peuples*, therefore—he thinks—confirming his predictions about the evolution of socialism in Spain.

He didn't believe that they could all agree in which the new order should be replacing the old one, which was nothing more than a consequence of their differences about the nature of the reforms they should carry out. All of this led him to foresee a sad result for the association: "the abyss of contradictions that the socialist schools have fallen into is so deep, that none of them can answer a single question without finding adversaries in the others, nor they can invoke a single principle, a single maxim, without risking it being destroyed by other socialist arguments. For instance, without even breaking away from the first article of this association's own manifesto, an association whose goal is to spread the principles of social democracy, I dare every school to unanimously answer the following question: which are these principles?" (Sagra, 1849e).

To reaffirm his arguments, he quoted —albeit in a somewhat chaotic fashion— the programs of the *Démocratie Pacifique*, "the Mountain", the central committee, the central counsel of the people, and Lamennais' and Pierre Leroux's Constitutions, as well as several texts by Owen, and the manifestos of the German, Italian and Portuguese democrats[98].

In his article, Sagra takes the opportunity to talk about Spain, "which, no doubt, the socialist association will not honor with an exception in its favor," and the repercussions that the events of February 1848 had had in it —referring to the persecution he himself had suffered in his own country due to the contents of his latest writings. Trying not to project a revolutionary image that would damage him —among other things, to avoid losing the funding for his yet-to-be-finished *Historia de Cuba*, which the Spanish government had discontinued in 1845—, he strategically wrote the following:

> "This undeserved persecution I'm subjected to would be reason enough to justify my criticisms against the revolutionary —and, most of all, anarchic— movement of the socialists. Thus, it gives me the right to proclaim myself a vigilant sentinel and scream to the socialist missionaries from the top of the Pyrenees: 'Stop! Give me your passports!' And after seeing that they're not valid, scream at them again: 'Back off! You can't come through!' (Ibidem).

[98] He cited the criticisms that Pierre Leroux directed towards Proudhon's Banque du Peuple and the clashes between Falansterians and Proudhonians —who, in his opinion, couldn't even agree on the elemental question of the capital—as examples of internal differences. Let's not forget that this article was written while Sagra was still collaborating with Proudhon in *Le Peuple* and the *Banque du Peuple* project.

The articles that Sagra would publish two months later in *La Tribune des peuples*[99] about the political parties in Spain, entitled "Les partis en Espagne" (Sagra, 1849d), are more interesting to us; although some of the early ones have a rather historical tone, with references to old Spanish writers who actually had nothing to do with socialism. As we have previously mentioned, Sagra summarized some of them —especially the last ones— in his 1858 publication *El socialismo en España*, with which we will complete this analysis.

He published the first two articles in issues 35 and 36 of the magazine (LTP), dated April 19 and 20, 1849, respectively. In the first one, he claimed to be independent from all parties, that he didn't intend to judge them but merely to expose their principles, and focused on summarizing the principles of a new party: "The most recent of them is an extreme left-wing fraction of the Chamber of Deputies of Madrid. From our point of view, it's the most democratic manifesto there is in Spain as of today, as an expression of a simply progressive, and in no way republican, party" (LTP, 35).

Just like he claimed two months prior in his article published in *L'Assemblée Nationale*, he showed the lack of agreement among the different progressive tendencies, verifying the opinion of some Spanish press media, such as *El Siglo*, *La Reforma* and *El Clamor Público* among the progressives, and Madrid's Heraldo and La Época among the conservatives. He shared the opinions of some of the latter, such as the incompatibility of national sovereignty and hereditary monarchy, or that the progressive party shouldn't accept the program proposed by its democratic wing (LTP, 36).

He expressed the same opinion in his third article. Progressive parties jointly defended order and progress, but differed in the ways of applying them. Moderates advocated for leaving the government in the hands of elitist minorities, while progressives defended popular sovereignty. At the same time, he pointed out that Spanish progressives did not sympathize much with republican democrats and socialist *novatores* (LTP, 39).

[99] Sagra had collaborated in other occasions in the same newspaper —in some instances before the publication of seven articles— starting in April (the paper had started publication on March 15 of that year). The articles focused on the controversy that was happening around that time regarding the continuity of the *Banque du Peuple* (issues 29 and 32, the latter dated April 16) are especially interesting.

Starting with his fourth article, he focused on analyzing the political positions of the moderates, in whom he analyzed the principle of "resistance" exposed by Guizot. He also pointed out how some Spanish conservatives, such as Donoso Cortés, thought that the concession system was insufficient for maintaining authority. Cortés thought that a religious reaction was improbable, as was a return to dictatorship, but in his opinion, only the former could prevent catastrophe. Sagra preferred formulas, such as a return to order based on absolute justice (LTP, 46).

A brief fifth article completed the information about the supporters of absolutism, whom he thought were disappearing since their proposals could only lead to the acceptance of the principles of a monarchy based on Divine right, which in turn would justify a new Inquisition (LTP, 49). However, in the same article, Sagra included some interesting information about the republican parties in Spain, which represented the reaction against the absolutist parties.

The latter proclaimed the absolute principle of popular sovereignty, with all of its consequences: the destruction of monarchy and the privilege system; the equality and freedom of all citizens, and the right to free discussion. Sagra believed that this party still wasn't big in Spain, and he claimed not to know their program, although he thought that they tended more towards federation than unity in the Iberian Peninsula. He claimed that no press publication held their doctrines.

Even without knowing their program, he dares make an important reflection. He believes that, before its existence, progressive parties opposed democracy, but today this criticism is weakened. Although this isn't a prelude to the union between both tendencies, it does indicate a tolerance closer to them. In the future, the monarchic-progressive party could slide towards the ranks of revolutionary democracy, and Sagra warns of this risk, since the progressive media itself recognizes the existence of democratic tendencies in Spain[100].

However, he would elaborate at greater length in his sixth and seventh articles, in which he focused on the socialists (LTP, 50 and 51). We consi-

[100] This prediction would later turn out to be accurate: the democratic party, or progressive democratic party, was founded in Spain in April 1849, splitting from the progressive party (Eiras, 1961).

der these two last articles to be extremely interesting for explaining the evolution of socialism in Spain. Before talking directly about them, Sagra started, in a rather extemporaneous fashion, by alluding to Spanish economists from the past who had been the first to criticize —even before Adam Smith— the social organization of their time, especially usury, even though he doesn't consider them direct precursors of the socialists[101].

One of the precursors of socialism he cites —albeit an indirect one— is Álvaro Flórez Estrada, whom he alludes in this occasion by giving his doctrines more credit. He considers Flórez's doctrines to be equivalent to the ones that Proudhon was divulging in France, and he admits that the criticisms he directed towards him in his 1840 lessons at the Ateneo weren't fair to him: "It was this way, because our intelligence was then in its period of simple social protest, determined by the acknowledgment of human suffering, but without having found the rational principles of future order" (LTP, 50). He erroneously believes that Flórez's ideas about property didn't resonate much with the Spanish economists and that they didn't influence French socialism either.

He considers that the socialist party doesn't exist in Spain yet, but that socialism started to become known in our country shortly after Flórez Estrada exposed his doctrines. It had started to arrive in Spain through Fourierist ideas and the *Démocratie Pacifique*, which arrived in Spain thanks to the P. L. Huarte's translation of Abel Transon's summary of Fourierist ideas. He also mentions Sagrario de Beloy's attempted project of building a phalanstery in Cádiz in the early 1840s[102].

It is, indeed, amazing how now he describes the school that his friend Antolín Faraldo and the so-called group of Galician "provincialists" created in Santiago de Compostela as "eccentric." They had started the newspaper *El Porvenir* and maintained a good relationship with him. He would later part ways with them, and he would think that this publication —which was

[101] Sagra alludes to old writers such as Tomás de Mercado, Sancho de Moncada, Caxa de Leruela, Pérez de la Oliva and Martínez de Mata, among others, in this article.

[102] In some cases, Sagra considers "the [Catalonia] Principality workers' protest and rebellion against the labor laws as the first practical manifestation of socialism in Spain" (Sagra, 1858). Let's remember, at this point, his 1841 articles for the *El Corresponsal* and his 1842 publication about the Catalonian cotton industry.

shut down by the authorities— had gone too far. Sagra considers them precursors of socialism in Spain[103].

In his seventh article, the last one in the series, he echoed the introduction of communist ideas in Spain that began in November 1847 with the publication of Icarian ideas in the newspaper *La Fraternidad*, which was eliminated in February of the following year. The Icarians proclaimed the right to exist and the duty of working. He describes the publicity that the *Fraternidad* gave to the Icarian expedition to the United States, and how some Catalonian Icarians, such as Ignacio Rovira, participated in it.

He also talks about the appearance of a publication called *La Organización del Trabajo* in Madrid, which spread Fourierist ideas such as the association of capital, work and intelligence: "It preached order and peace; it declared that social science wasn't revolutionary, all while proving the sickly state of today's society and the need for a radical reform" (Ibidem).

Having achieved what he intended —a mere description of the state of the political parties in Spain, with special attention paid to the socialists— and foreseeing that the 1848 revolution would inexorably extend all over Europe, Sagra made an assessment to which he would come back in 1858, when his opinion about socialism had turned even more radical:

> "The big revolutionary phenomena that we are witnessing compromised all vested interests, and announcing a horrible cataclysm in the order of the old states, they move all spirits, they revolt all sentiments, they stimulate all ambitions. These consequences have arrived in Spain as they arrive everywhere. The efforts of power are maybe not efficient for anything else than just containing their manifestation, but their same efforts of activity and energy to contain the overflow of ideas have also proved the severity of the symptoms of unrest that threaten the old order of things" (Sagra, 1858).

[103] "Everything would have ended in silence if the *El Porvenir* editors wouldn't have been foolish enough to enunciate the inevitable consequences of their doctrine in the religious and political order; they didn't hide that freedom without restraint in literature would also entail freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion, and really all kinds of freedom that would enter in the formation of the future society. Evidently, this constituted radical socialism, based in the principle of liberal school" (Sagra, 1858 LTP, 51).

EPILOGUE:
RAMÓN DE LA SAGRA, 1850-1871

We have focused the pages of our study on the period in which Ramón de la Sagra went from the reformist beliefs of his first lessons at the *Ateneo* in 1838, all the way up to 1849, the year in which, after living the revolutionary events, he collaborated with Proudhon in his *Banque du Peuple* and drifted away from socialism —a belief he temporarily supported in his own way, only to later disown them, as we have seen earlier.

At the start of this text, we have mentioned various reliable sources that have done a complete tour of his biography. Therefore, we will briefly allude to some of the collaborations that happened since Sagra's shift in opinion after that time. Firstly, we must not forget that in 1849 he made a historiographical contribution about Spanish economists of the past which, together with Manuel Colmeiro's (1861), still constitutes the foremost reference work on the subject. That same year, Sagra published his *Apuntes para una Biblioteca de los economistas españoles* (Sagra, 1849a)[104] which, albeit not as precise as Colmeiro's work, it did have the advantage of an updated catalog until its publication date, since Colmeiro only included economists that had been published until the end of the 18th century.

Afterwards, in 1853, he greatly increased his work after publishing his *Catálogo de los economistas españoles* (Sánchez, 2016)[105] He would equally produce some notes on prostitution, and in 1851 he was commissioned to represent Spain in London's 1851 Great Exhibition and elaborate a report, a part of which was published in 1853. He would also collaborate in press media, such as the *Heraldo* in Madrid, and perform parliamentary duties: he

[104] It appeared in the *Guía del Comercio*, and later it would appear published on its own.

[105] This work was published in the unofficial part of the *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Hacienda* in 1853. It was afterwards published in the *Cuadernos Bibliográficos de Hacienda Pública*, issues 2, 3 and 4, volumes I and II, in 1958 and 1959, in the University of Deusto, and later in 1971, in the magazine *Anales de Economía Española*, 3rd era, issue 11, with an introduction written by Professor Gonzalo Anes.

was elected representative for Lugo in 1854, intervening in duties concerning the island of Cuba and inheritance issues (Núñez, 1924: 489-492).

He distributed his *Aforismos sociales con relación a España* among other representatives —with little success— and after he was again misunderstood in Parliament, he resigned and asked for permission to visit the Exposition Universelle in Paris. According to Núñez de Arenas, it's during this years when "the conversion"—as he calls it—happens: another shift in his life, and the last one. After leaving for Paris, he works on finishing his work on the history of Cuba, the last volume of which was finished in 1856; after which, he was laid off and penniless[106].

He returned to Spain in order to manage a pension, which was denied to him, and he published various articles in Catholic newspapers such as *La Esperanza*, in which, according to Núñez de Arenas, he illustrated his conversion to Catholicism: "*El socialismo en España* and the collection that would later be published under the title of *Las malas doctrinas* are studies that are mostly made out of old scraps, thus making them say the opposite of what they said in the past" (Ibidem).

In 1859, he published his last volume of aphorisms, entitled *Le mal et le remède*, in which, just like Saint-Simon in his last work *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, he believes that humanity is walking towards a third phase of Christianity: "Everything depends on faith, and the religious principle is the basis of social order. In summary, the three high points of Sagra's doctrine at the time, and the backbone of his book, are: the predominance of the religious idea, the acceptance of revelations as the only source of moral truths, and the constant subordination of human reason to divine reason" (Ibidem)[107].

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[106] Although various biographical writings on Sagra claim that the last volume of his *History of the island of Cuba* was published in 1856, it was actually published in Paris in 1857. (González, 1983: 364)

[107] Núñez de Arenas notes that Sagra, in the previous *Aforismos*, also mentions the religious tie. "The vocabulary remains the same, but the contents have changed. Now, when he says ´religion`, he means ´Catholicism`" (Ibidem). Ascensión Cambrón qualifies Núñez de Arenas' claim: "The most interesting thing of this era of his life, however, the continuity in some activities he had always cultivated, was the religious conversion he went through, which led him to criticize his own previous socialist theories. La Sagra admitted that 'Colins' rationalism is very attractive to religious philosophers, but it's a sign of pride not to know the limits of reason to find the truth all by itself." Cambrón also highlights that this is the reason why the last edition of these *Aforismos* is clearly different from the 1844 and 1848 editions (Sagra, 1859b, VIII) (Cambrón, 1989: 139-140).

He traveled to Cuba one last time. A minister commissioned him a supplement to his *History of Cuba*, which turned into the thirteenth volume of his work, and after he returned, he wrote *Relación del último viaje del autor*, a bitter book in which he labels his life as a failure (Ibidem). The book commissioned by the government would appear in 1861; it was entitled *Cuba en 1860, o sea, Cuadro de sus adelantos en la población, la agricultura, el comercio y las rentas públicas, suplemento a la primera parte de la "Historia política y natural de la isla de Cuba"*[108].

After his return to Madrid, he would go back to France, where he published several books on botany and religion. As María del Carmen Rodríguez has noted, "the constant movement between Havana, Madrid and Paris turns him into a stranger everywhere he goes […] this position leads him to loneliness in his latest years, an isolation against his will and nature —an expansive nature at that; he was always willing to inform and debate. This intellectual exile is a consequence of the disillusionment and the resignation he adopts about it" (Rodríguez, 2010: 50).

He died alone and unknown in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, in the house of one of his friends, his fellow Colins disciple Adolphe Hugentobler, during the Paris Commune's "Bloody Week." (1871)[109]

[108] This was also published in 1862 and 1863. The work was partially re-edited in 1963 by the UNESCO Cuban commission under the title *Cuba: 1860*, with an interesting introduction by Cuban historian Manuel Moreno Fraginals. For Emilio González López, *Cuba: 1860* is one of Sagra's best works, and "it's of great value from the point of view of the information about the progress and progresses of the island, and there is no other work that comes close regarding any other part of Spain" (González, 1983: 394).

[109] About Sagra's last years, see (Cambrón, 1989: 139-142) and (González, 1983: 413).

APPENDIX

RAMÓN DE LA SAGRA'S FRENCH BIOGRAPHERS

A look at the two biographical writings made in 1858 and 1860 allows us to confirm our hypothesis that Sagra's kaleidoscopic personality has given way to many different —if not outright opposite— ways to define him: from a socialist or proto-socialist Sagra to a conservative, Catholic —when not reactionary— Sagra.

This is why it's supremely interesting to see the Emilio González López's comparison between both texts. These biographies were written by Gustave Vapereau (1858) and Henry Lauzac (1860), and both presented different versions of Sagra.

Fourteen years before the first of the aforementioned biographies, Viscount Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont had submitted a text in French and Spanish, entitled *Noticia sobre el estado actual de la Economía Política en España y sobre los trabajos de don Ramón de la Sagra*[110]. More than half of the 38 pages of the pamphlet are dedicated to the life and work of the Galician author, although the work itself isn't exactly a biography of Sagra. Besides, it only talks about the period before its publication, so it doesn't cover the years in which the most significant changes in his life took place.

The reason why we have mentioned it at all is that it's the first precedent in which a writer —more precisely a member of the Institute de France and an outstanding representative of Christian social thought— talks about Sagra, whom he considered a disciple.

[110] The Spanish version, which added numerous notes that expanded the French version, was published in 1844, the same year in which the French version appeared, at the Imprenta de Sordomudos. In a handwritten note that precedes the copy we have consulted, it's noted that "due to the press, and the knowledge and politeness of the notes, we can affirm that the translator was D. Ramón de la Sagra." Likewise, it's indicated that the copy of the book can be found at the Real Sociedad Económica de Santiago (Foll, 168-4) (Villeneuve, 1844).

At the end of his publication, Villeneuve claims: "D. Ramón de la Sagra, whom we have met in his last trip to Paris and favors us with his affection, is still young and has a bright future […] As an economist, he belongs to the school that we are proud to call Christian, this is, the school of writers whose efforts tend to restrict the economic science to the moral and religious element" (Villeneuve, 1844: 36)[111].

The first official biography of Sagra in French was the one published by Gustave Vapereau in his *Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains*[112], (Vapereau, 1858) which was widely read and was re-edited several times. Vapereau was a professor of Philosophy and Literature at *l'École Normale de Paris* who had been laid off because of his republican ideas, and he had befriended Sagra (González, 1983: 373), as can be evidenced by the fact that he talks about some penitentiary colonies that the Galician writer had visited in his travels.

In his biography, he retells his first steps in La Coruña and Madrid, his time as a naturalist in the island of Cuba, his economic contribution in France and his political contribution in Spain —the numerous occasions in which he was a representative in Parliament. Vapereau highlighted in his writing Sagra's ambivalence: a political conservative, but with a socializing sense in his economic ideas:

> "he didn't take kindly to La Sagra's [*sic*] position on the real prerogatives in the Senate business, and he tried to compensate it depicting La Sagra [sic] as a progressive and a leftist in economic matters; however, in doing so he made a mistake, as Henry Lauzac —his second French biographer— pointed out: he depicted him participating in the discussion and voting process of the new *Disentailment* Law, when actually La Sagra didn't actually intervene in either of those —he was in Paris during the latter. However, he did have a very important intervention in the matter of imposing bigger taxes on inheritance destined to strangers, distant relatives and the Church, for

[111] Let's not forget that Villeneuve-Bargemont was the writer who directly inspired the lectures in social economy that Sagra gave at the Ateneo in 1839-1840 —especially through his book *Économie Politique Chretienne*, which Sagra quoted profusely. According to Emilio González López, both writers were worried about child labor in factories and pauperism, which directly united them (González, 1983: 242).

[112] This dictionary was published in two volumes, which were completed with a supplement published in 1863. It was re-edited in 1861, 1865, 1870 and 1880. By the fifth edition, Sagra—who had passed away nine years prior—wasn't mentioned anymore (González, 1983: 374).

which he presented a draft law that his colleagues at in the Spanish Parliament considered radical" (González, 1983: 359-360).

As we can see, his first biographer made an attempt to depict Sagra as self-contradictory, but reformist and progressive in economic matters. This biography summarizes his life up until the year 1855.

The second biography was published two years later, in the *Galerie Historique et Politique du XIX Siècle*, written by Henry Lauzac, (Lauzac, 1860) who focuses about a dozen pages on Sagra. Unlike Vapereau, Lauzac was a Catholic conservative who tried to depict Sagra in a completely different light: in political matters, he depicts him as a "moderate partisan of the revolution that happened in his country around this time (1839)" (Lauzac, 1860: 8).

He mentions his pamphlet *Les partis en Espagne*, which compiles the articles he published in *La Tribune des Peuples*; he also notes that he was named Chévalier of the Legion of Honor, and in the last few years that are summarized in the biography, he depicts Sagra as a man of order; in 1854, "he backs the prerogatives of the Crown with all his strengths and he tries hard to secure the principles of order" in the Parliament (Lauzac, 1860: 10).

He praises the social aphorisms contained in *Le mal et le remède*, "the book by Mr. Ramón de la Sagra has a religious nature, but it isn't symbolic," and he condemns the fact that he had been made to look like a socialist.

About economic matters, he claims, though in a rather ambiguous way: "In economics, he presents the dangers of the free competition and trade, and condemns the excessive extension of credit and agriculture, the unhealable wounds of our time" (Lauzac, 1860: 15).

As González López has pointed out, Lauzac, who also goes through Sagra's life (his trips to Cuba, the United States and various European countries), deliberately omits the controversies with the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de Paris*, and depicts his collaboration with Proudhon in the *Banque du Peuple* as a one-time thing, trying to maintain the distance in order not to project an excessively progressive image of Sagra: "at least, he didn't share the subversive principles of the latter [Proudhon]" (Lauzac, 1860: 9). Lauzac ends his biography of Sagra with his comments on the aforementioned *Le mal et le remède*, whose ideas he shares.

The comparisons between both biographies is further proof that, just like the various Spanish writers who have talked about Sagra's work, there can be as many versions of him and his work —self-serving in some instances— as we want: from a socialist Sagra (Núñez de Arenas), to a Catholic Sagra (Legaz Lacambra, Viñas Mey) or a Sagra that evolved from reformism to socialism —temporarily— and returned to Catholicism in his later years. Even in this last interpretation, which would respect some temporary affiliations to some doctrines, wouldn't be enough for us.

POST-SCRIPTUM

Sagra's personality was multifaceted, ambivalent and contradictory, besides being a tireless debater. Emilio González López, the author of one of the texts that have better captured Sagra's heart and psyche —and whom we have only mentioned at the end of our text—, may have picked the perfect word, "loner", when he chose the title for his book: *Un gran solitario: Don Ramón de la Sagra*. If there was one characteristic that defined Sagra was constant rootlessness and change, not just of residence, but of a reformist creed to rely on for his impossible search for a solution for a humanity he believed was doomed.

His contradictions were constant: he believed in progress, but not on the social effects that stemmed from it. He believed in science, but this was not enough to change society. He never accepted partial reforms, and despite this he was a true social reformer that defended some of them. As Maluquer claims, he never fully understood the "industrial atmosphere," but the truth is that he accurately discovered the evils that capitalism generated in the lower tiers of society.

He lived most of his life on the salary that the Government granted him as a commissioner for the Havana Botanical Garden to write his *Historia física, política y natural de la Isla de Cuba*, but this was interrupted in several occasions, which resulted in constant disputes with the Government. His diverse nominations and the ability to travel were a result of his friendships with influential politicians in various times of his life (Martínez de la Rosa, General Pinillos, General Tacón, Vázquez Queipo, and so on.)

And above all, he was, as Emilio González López said, a big loner. He was a big loner in his native Coruña, where he barely set foot on (he only returned to live there between 1820 and 1823, and in one other occasion for family reasons in 1839). The fact that he had been appointed representative for the moderate parties was one that his former progressive friends —with a few exceptions— would never forgive him for, even though he

frequently intervened in Parliament with more progressive proposals than the moderates.

He was a big loner in Paris, where, after enjoying the perks of being an elect correspondent member of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* in 1837, his interventions at the Académie would only bring him clashes with his former economist friends —such as A. Blanqui, who ended up hating what he considered to be Sagra's frivolities. And he was a big loner in Paris because, as much as people pegged him for a socialist, he and the socialist parties and organizations never saw eye to eye: his relationships with Proudhon, his former friend Louis Blanc and the *Fourierists* ended rather badly.

The same could be said about Belgium and his relationship with Colins, which was especially close from 1844 to 1848. Sagra accepted being his loyal disciple, and during that time he defended rational socialism. When Colins tried to establish a hierarchy in their relationship, Sagra broke it off and approached Proudhon.

And he was a loner in Madrid, where he felt —justifiably or not— constantly misunderstood, both in Parliament (where his proposals either didn't prosper or were considered extemporaneous) and in the various press media (where he got involved in multiple controversies).

When he fleetingly returned to Cuba in 1859, he must have felt that, during the 24 years that had passed since he had left the island to become a social reformer —and going through every imaginable experience—, his project had failed. Pessimism had settled in his heart. Maybe it's because of this that he went back to religious conceptions (a new, fairer Christianity that hadn't lost its social nature), but that he now saw, maybe in the hands of Providence, as the only way out.