

Working Papers in Technology Governance and Economic Dynamics no. 74

THE OTHER CANON FOUNDATION, NORWAY

TALLINN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, TALLINN

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80 Economic Bestsellers before 1850: A Fresh Look at the History of Economic Thought

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MAY 2017

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The core and backbone of this publication consists of the meticulous work of Kenneth Carpenter, librarian of the Kress Library at Harvard Business School starting in 1968 and later Assistant Director for Research Resources in the Harvard University Library and the Harvard College Library. We can now only imagine the incredible efforts required to produce the first version of the bestseller list, covering 40 titles, in 1975. Painstakingly assembling bibliographies of elusive and rare titles before the internet was made possible through Carpenter's extensive correspondence, over decades, with the major research libraries of the world, and through his visits to many libraries.

Carpenter's research took place in a fertile research atmosphere that had been created at Harvard Business School's Baker Library by Arthur H. Cole (1889-1974), the head librarian from 1932 until his retirement in 1956. From 1938 Baker Library housed the beautifully oak-paneled Kress Library devoted to economics books, mainly published before 1850. The core of Kress Library contained the second of two large book collections built by Cambridge economist Herbert Somerton Foxwell (1849-1936). Joseph Schumpeter, who spent most of his time during WW II writing the monumental *History of Economic Analysis* in the Kress Library, called it a scholar's paradise.

In 1975 Carpenter, the librarian of the Kress Library, produced an exhibition of the bestselling books in the library, and the catalogue from this exhibition (Carpenter 1975) contains the list mentioned above, a list of 40 economic bestsellers published before 1850. In the present paper, written 42 years later, the number of bestsellers has been increased to 80 works that were published in 10 or more editions before 1850. The

¹ http://hul.harvard.edu/publications/hul notes 1299/carpenter.html

² Cole's own research is represented in the bibliography of item XXIX.

³ The Kress Library of Business and Economics, founded upon the Collection of Books made by Herbert Somerton Foxwell, M.S., F.B.A, late of St. John's College, Cambridge, England, Publication Number 1 of the Kress Library of Business and Economics, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston Massachusetts, 1939. Today the collection is integrated in Historical Collections at Baker Library.

⁴ Foxwell's first collection is now the Goldsmiths' Collection at the University of London. On Foxwell and Kress Library see Reinert, Erik S. and Kenneth Carpenter, 'German Language Economic Bestsellers before 1850, with two chapters on a common reference point of Cameralism and Mercantilism', The Other Canon Foundation and Tallinn University of Technology Working Papers in Technology Governance and Economic Dynamics, No. 58, 2014 and in Rössner, Philipp (ed.) Economic Reason of State. Reconfiguring the Origins of Modern Political Economy, 1500–2000 A.D., London, Routledge, 2016, pp. 26-53. On Foxwell see also Keynes' loving obituary, "Herbert Somerton Foxwell", in Economic Journal, December 1916. Also published as chapter 17 in The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes. Vol. X. Essays in Biography, pp. 266-296.

McCraw, Thomas, 'Schumpeter Ascending', The American Scholar, Vol. 60, No 3, 1991, p. 386.

cut-off date was determined by the fact that Foxwell himself basically collected books published before he was born. As we shall see, the 1850 cut-off point produces an interesting *grand finale* with works reflecting the economists' controversies around the 1848 revolutions; ideologically tumultuous years with a collapsing liberal *ancien régime* not totally unlike the present moment in history.

At the time of the 1975 exhibition Fernanda Reinert, then a recent graduate of the Norwegian School of Library Science, worked in the Kress Library at Harvard Business School under Ken Carpenter, preparing the catalogue for the joint Goldsmiths'/Kress collection that was being microfilmed at the time. As a graduate student at Harvard Business School her husband Erik Reinert was a frequent visitor to Kress, and a life-long interest the history of economic thought and in old economics book was born in the family. When Reinert returned to academia in 1991 he contacted Carpenter and the collaboration leading to this paper was initiated.

The present paper is a preliminary version of a larger planned book project where our intention is to present an annotated bibliography of all the editions of the books that in the present paper are listed only with their first edition, with an illustration of the title page, a portrait, biography and bibliography of the author. The present one is a publication with very brief comments about the authors, the emphasis is on their bestselling economics books. Apart from the ancient Greek authors, more explanations are added about the oldest and least known works and their authors than about the newer ones. We have also added a small bibliography for each author as a starting point for further research. However, in trying to cover such a huge canvas, important works are likely to have been left out. On the other hand we have occasionally added references that perhaps are less common, but which the reader may still find interesting. In the case of one author, Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld and his 1760 publication (XXXIX), we have produced a longer piece on the life and work of the author. This is intended as a possible prototype for the kind of information that could be included in a future book project.

We realize this is a project that can never be perfect or complete, and one important purpose of this paper is to solicit input for the final book product from fellow economists regarding works that may be missing from our list. The bibliographies we have provided for each bestseller can certainly be improved by colleagues who know the work of individual economists better, and we hope to receive their feedback.

One work has been eliminated from the original list from 1975. Wilhelm Schröder's 1686 *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Kammer*. We were unable to find more than 8 editions (as in Carpenter 1975), and have decided to apply a strict cut-off point of 10 editions. This means that the present list contains 39 works from the first list and 41 new works, for a total of 80 bestselling economics books before 1850 written by 70 different authors + one anonymously published volume.

Overview

We have decided to include the first printed versions in book form of ancient Greek economics text if they also fulfill the criteria of achieving 10 or more editions before 1850. The list comprises one book printed in the 1400s, 4 books published in the 1500s, 13 during the 1600s, 46 during the 1700s, and 16 during the period from 1800 to 1848.

The language distribution is as follows:

- 4 books were originally printed in Latin, three translated from ancient Greek authors Aristotle and Xenophon (I, II, IV) and one by a German (XXXIII Pufendorf)⁷
- 1 book was originally published bilingual, Latin and Italian (XXXI Belloni)
- 2 books were originally published in Dutch
- 2 in Spanish
- 7 in German, of which one by an Austrian (XLV Sonnenfels) and one by a Swiss (XLI Hirzel)
- 7 in Italian
- 27 in English, of which 4 by Scots (XIX Law, XLVI Steuart, LIII Smith, LXXI McCulloch[®]), 2 by Welshmen (XXX Tucker, LXVI Owen), and 3 by Americans (XXXVII Franklin, LVIII Paine, LX Hamilton)
- 30 in French, 2 of which by Germans (XXXIX Bielfeld & XLIII Beausobre), one by an Italian (XLIX Galiani), and 2 authors hail from the Republic and Canton of Geneva (XXXVIII Rousseau, LI, LII, LV, LVII Necker).

⁶ For this reason, a detailed account of Schröder's influential and partly controversial work, with two illustrations, is contained in Reinert & Carpenter 2016 (see bibliography following).

Pufendorf was residing in Sweden when his book was published.

⁸ James Mill (LXX) was also born in Scotland and came to London at the age of 29.

Six authors are represented with more than one work. One of them was first written in Greek and first published in printed form in Latin (II, IV Zenophon), the other four were written and published in French. Pierre Daniel Huet (1630-1721, XXI, XXIII), Gabriel-François Coyer (1707-1782, XXXV, XLVII) – the former a Bishop and tutor of the Dauphin and the latter an Abbé – and Victor de Riquetti Mirabeau (XXXVI, XL) have two books each. Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) is represented with three works on the bestseller list (LXV, LXVII, LXXII), while the only author with four different works on this list (see above) – Jacques Necker (1732-1804) – Minister of Finance and an ardent anti-physiocrat – stood for principles different from those of Say.

Only two authors of the bestselling economic books are women, Jane Marcet (LXVIII) and Harriet Martineau (LXXV).

Methodology

Defining the limits of 'economics' is of course not straightforward. Not only does the delineation between economics and other sciences become more difficult the further we go back in time, authors tended to cover broader subject areas back then, at the same time the definition of what economics is has also narrowed over the recent decades. A main guideline for inclusion has been if the author is included in the 1900-1901 edition of *Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy* or similar works in other languages. This explains the inclusion of authors like Pufendorf and Filangieri: although today normally classified as lawyers they made significant contributions to economics. Herbert Foxwell's collection, which forms the core of the Kress Library, used criteria wider than ours.

In terms of the number of editions, the methodology has been relatively straightforward. We have included works that appeared in ten or more editions, including of course translations, before 1850. We have followed the practice of Carpenter (1975) in excluding practical works and manuals for merchants, farmers, and craftsmen. Journal articles have not been included, but in some cases we have included as books works that technically may have been classified as pamphlets. ¹⁰

 $^{^{9}}$ Necker was, as mentioned, a citizen of the Republic of Geneva, as was Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

¹⁰ The technical cut-off point between a book and a pamphlet seems to vary. The US Census of Manufacturers considers bound publications up to 49 pages as pamphlets, anything above that is considered a book. In the case of unbound books The New York Public Library traditionally used 90 pages as the cut-off point for between pamphlets and books.

The authors are aware that the number of editions by no means is the only possible way to measure the diffusion of ideas. Unfortunately it is generally impossible to estimate the number of copies printed. This list is therefore biased against authors who were already famous when their bestselling work was printed, since the initial print run is likely to have been large.

Carpenter (1975) makes this argument – a probably very large first print run of an already famous author – about Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes (1723-1802) whose *Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular* (1774) was translated into Dutch, German, Italian, and Portuguese but did not make it to 10 editions in total. The flip side of this bias against authors who were already famous, is a slight bias in favor of authors who started as outsiders, but whose ideas proved to have a large impact. In sum, we find this makes the list more – rather than less – interesting.

The Great Mirror of Folly (Het groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid) which was published in folio format in Amsterdam in 1720, consisting of a large number of engraved plates, one researcher with more than 30 copies at hand concluded that each and every copy may be unique. This book therefore meets our criteria in an unusual way, and the subject – the mechanisms of speculation of financial crises – also makes it highly relevant in today's context. It is also the only anonymously published book on our list, and one of two books originally published in the Dutch language.

We have made one exception to the ten-editions rule in order to include an author who was very influential at the time, and where the same arguments were spread over different books which, alone, do not meet the ten edition criteria, but when considered as one publication do. The author is Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717-1771) who developed his theories in many books with similar texts. One reason for this is probably that book publishing was the main income for this itinerant economist, another may well have been the turbulences of the Seven Years' War. Justi was not only the most important 18th century German economist, he was also the only one to be extensively translated. We felt that the many books on the same subject – bordering on self-plagiarism – make him qualify in order to provide the overview we wish this publication to render.

Cole, Arthur H, The Great Mirror of Folly (Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid): An Economic-Bibliographical Study (Kress Library Publication #6), Boston, Harvard Business School, 1949.
 Many of the books on the list were published anonymously, but their authors are now known.

¹³ We here refer to German nationality, not German language. Hirzel (Swiss) and Sonnenfels (Austrian) were both 18th century authors who wrote in German and both were translated, but they were not German nationals.

Main findings

Probably the most interesting outcome of this work is that if we assume some degree of correlation between the influence of a text and the number of editions published, the publication history we present here suggests that some authors who were once influential are now being neglected.

The most successful economics publication of the period is no doubt Benjamin Franklin's *Way to Wealth*, first published in 1757, which reached more than 1.100 editions before 1850. It is not a typical text-book of economics, but it is in many ways a handbook in capitalist ethics.

The history of economic thought has traditionally been focused on literature originating in English and French. We have consciously worked in order to bring into light bestselling economists writing in other languages. We consider it an important achievement that this publication now brings to the forefront the founders both of Italian and German economics, Giovanni Botero (V) and Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (IX). Our research into Spanish bestsellers only achieved increasing the number of works from 1 to 2 compared to the 1975 list, adding Jovellanos (LXIII) to Ustáriz (XXV).

As indicated above we feel that the data we present indicate that history of economic thought, as it is handed over to today's students, is somewhat biased. A recent list of 650 important economic texts of all times includes only 41 of the 71 authors on our list. We do not mention this in order to criticize the work in question – indeed it appears to be very thorough – but in order to emphasize that our story probably provides a version of the history of economic thought closer to Leopold von Ranke's ideal of finding out *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*: how it really was, in the sense of which economists were the most popular at the time, measured by the number of editions of their work.¹⁷

¹⁴ See Kenneth Carpenter's and Sophus Reinert's project www.waytowealth.org

¹⁵ We have attempted to bring these authors, their national traditions, and the role of emulation to the forefront in the recent *Handbook of Alternative Theories of Economic Development*, Reinert, Erik, Jayati Ghosh & Rainer Kattel (eds.), Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2016. Chapter 1. Erik Reinert: 'Giovanni Botero (1588) and Antonio Serra (1613): 'Italy and the birth of development economics', pp. 3-41, chapter 2: Sophus Reinert. 'Economic emulations and the politics of international trade in Early Modern Europe', pp. 42-62; and chapter 3: Erik Reinert and Philipp Rössner, 'Cameralism and the German tradition of development economics', pp. 63-86. The book has 40 chapters.

¹⁶ Hertz & Weinberger (eds.), 2006, see bibliography.

¹⁷ The authors from our list of 80 works who are not in the list of the 650 works are: Bacon, Beausobre, Belloni, Bielfeld, Botero, Cary, Coyer (2 works on our list), Culpeper, de la Court, Droz, Filangieri, Forbonnais, Gee, Herbert, Hirzel, Holroyd, Huet (2 works on our list), Jovellanos, Marcet, Melon, Mengotti, Mirabeau (2 works on our list), Muratori, Poivre, Rossi, Seckendorff, Temple, Thiers, Verri, and Young.

Since Wikipedia has become the measure of things, we have indicated the degree of wikipedia coverage of our authors. There are no Wikipedia entries for some of our authors, for Culpeper (VI), Cary (XVIII), Gee (XXVI), and Belloni (XXXI). It is worth noticing that, in addition to Culpeper, the only English economists who are not represented on Wikipedia are the two who most honestly explained English economic policy, e.g. (in the case of Gee) the prohibition of manufacturing in the colonies. For Herbert (XXXIII) Wikipedia has only name, dates, and the title of his book.

This publication reveals that confronting our historical record with today's textbooks in the history of economic thought, the textbooks have a heavy bias in favour of the physiocrats and disfavor of the anti-physiocrats. Very influential economists before Physiocracy – like Botero all over Europe and Seckendorff in Germany – who are presently neglected, stood for the opposite policy of physiocracy, for giving manufacturing industry priority over agriculture in national policy. As regards policy towards manufacturing it is also worth noticing that US Finance Minister Alexander Hamilton's *Report on the Manufactures* (LX) was published in Russian in 1807, just one year after the first translation of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (LIII) had been completed.

Carpenter's policy from the start has been to leave out publications in periodicals, like the *Éphémérides du citoyen*. François Quesnay and his colleagues' volume on *Physiocracy* come far from meeting our established cut-off point of 10 editions. Victor de Riquetti Mirabeau – with two works (XXXVI & XL) – appears to be the only true physiocrat on our list (Forbonnais did change his mind and opposed physiocracy). Among the bestsellers we find a large number of anti-physiocrats, some of them ardently so: Forbonnais (XXXIV), Galiani (XLIX), Genovesi (XLIV), Mably (XLII), Necker (with 4 different works), and Verri (L). In fact physiocracy was only carried into practice in two limited geographical areas, and not with success, in Tuscany in Italy and in the Margravate of Baden in Germany. To Ferdinando Galiani – whom Nietzsche called 'the most profound, sharp-sighted ... man of his century' – Quesnay was no less than 'the Antichrist'.

The ardent anti-physiocrat Jacques Necker – the only author represented by four different works in this bestseller list – represents the theoretical counterpart to Quesnay. Necker's strong presence on this list and his

¹⁸ At the time of writing, April 2017.

¹⁹ Probably the most ardent of all anti-physiocrats, Simon-Nicolas Henri Linguet, was guillotined in Paris in 1794.

²⁰ For a discussion, see 'Introduction' in *Handbook of Alternative Theories of Economic Development*, op. cit. and Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.), *Physiocracy, Antiphysiocracy and Pfeiffer*, New York, Springer, 2011. The balance between physiocracy and anti-physiocracy is dicussed also in Kaplan, Steven L. and Sophus A. Reinert (eds), *The Economic Turn: Recasting Political Economy in Enlightenment Europe*, London, Anthem, forthcoming 2017. 2 vols.

absence in today's history of economic thought may be seen as a the mirror image of Quesnay's over-representation in today's textbooks and his absence from this list.

For an overview of the publication history of Quesnay's *tableau économique* see the thorough work of Marguerite Kuczynski and Ronald Meek²¹. We have not found a publication of the *tableau* that qualifies as a book in the required 10 editions which is the criterion for this list, but we stand to be corrected. The same François Quesnay in his role as a physician was a very verbose author when writing about his specialty, the art of bleeding patients. His works on the subject appeared in several editions in French, and also in Spanish translations. In 1736 Quesnay's volume *L'art de guérir par la saignée*²² consisted of 375 pages + introduction. By 1750 his volume on the same subject had grown to 716 pages + introduction²³.

Another salient observation regards the spread of economic ideas in the early 1800s. Data shows that the ideas of Adam Smith appear to diffuse more through French writers like Jean-Baptiste Say (LXV, LXVII, LXXII) and Droz (LXXIII) than through David Ricardo (LXIX), In fact Ricardo himself, in the translations both into French and German, was published 'avec des notes explicatives et critiques, par M. Jean-Baptiste Say'. The first economics textbook with a truly global publication record, including Argentina and India, appears to be that of James Mill in 1821 (LXX).

We should also mention three authors one might think were to be found on our list. We may be wrong about the editions, but one conspicuously absent author is Antoine Monchrestien (ca. 1575-1621). His 1615 *Traité d'économie politique* does not appear to have been published again until 1889. Another author whom we expected to qualify is Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi (1775-1842), the Geneva author whose changing ideas about the role of free trade mirrored his time. Richard van den Berg has informed us that Richard Cantillon's 1755 *Essay on the Nature of Trade in General* also does not make it to 10 editions before 1850.

At the very last moment before going online with this paper we have found two additional books also qualifying as bestsellers. Both represent the anti-free trade, anti-physiocracy tradition that has been marginalized

²¹ Quesnay's Tableau Économique, edited, with new material, translations and notes by Marguerite Kuczynski & Ronald L. Meek, London, MacMillan, 1972.
22 A Paris, chez Guillaume Cavelier.

²³ Traité des effets et de l'usage de la saignée, par M. Quesnay, Nouvelle édition de deux traités de l'auteur sur la saignée, réunis, mis dans un nouvel ordre et très augmentés [par F. Quesnay], Paris, D'Houry, 1750.

in the history of economic thought, with yet another English author who is not on Wikipedia. The first work is Charles King's *The British Merchant; or, Commerce Preserv'd*, published in in three volumes in London (John Darby) in 1721. The second one consists of the doubts expressed in 1768 by Abbé Mably (also author of XLII) about physiocracy (*Doutes proposés aux philosophes economists sur l'ordre naturel et essential des sociétes politiques*. A La Haye, et se trouve á Paris, MDCCLXVIII).

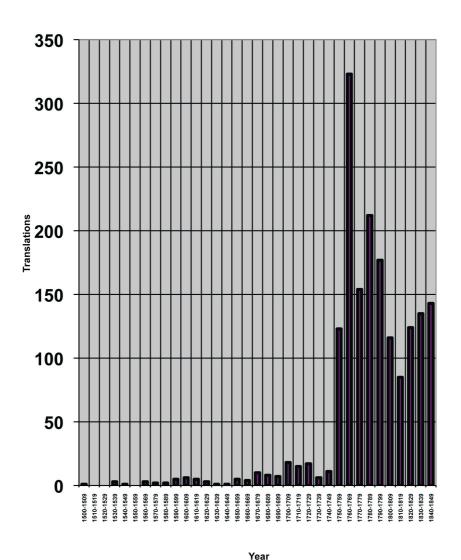
Kenneth Carpenter has also produced massive data, so far unpublished, on translations of publications (not only books) in economics. Using Carpenter's data in Chart 1²⁶ below, we can observe how the number of translations in political economy virtually exploded in the latter part of the 18th century. The *Vielschreiberei* – the *furor scribendi* – of the time manifests itself also as a huge increase in translations.

²⁴ The first translation was into Dutch (1728), then follow several French translations, the first one in 1733, and German (1764).

²⁵ The large number of editions of Mably's complete works adds some uncertainty to the number of editions of this book, but it appears to qualify.

²⁶ Source: Kenneth Carpenter, published in Reinert, Sophus A., *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2011, p. 46.

Chart I: Total European Translations of Political Economy 1500-1849

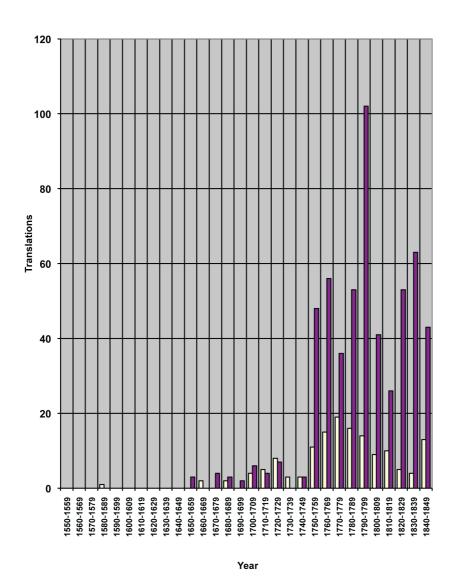


Studying the balance of translations in economics – the languages that had a surplus vs. a deficit in the number of translations – gives some surprising results. Chart II²⁷ reveals a wave of translations from English into other languages at the time it became evident that the United Kingdom was forging ahead of other European nations. 'Emulation' – learning

²⁷ Source Kenneth Carpenter, published in S. Reinert 2011, op.cit, p. 52.

from the leading country – was the name of the game.²⁸ In earlier periods this same principle was reflected in the publications and translations focusing on learning from the Dutch Republic, the leading nation before England: Botero (V), Seckendorff (IX), particularly after his visit to Holland, de la Court (X), Child (XII)²⁹, Temple (XIV), and Huet (XXI), all appearing in first editions before 1712.

Chart II: English Balance of Translations 1550-1849



²⁸ See S. Reinert 2011, op. cit.

Whose 1668 book opens with a statement about the need to learn from the Dutch.

Below we have included a bibliography of printed sources about economic bestsellers and their authors, followed by a chronological list of works. At the end of the paper there is an alphabetical list of the 71 different authors (+ one anonymous) and their 80 bestselling works in economics.

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- V. Botero, Giovanni, Della Ragion di Stato: Libri dieci, con Tre Libri delle Cause della Grandezza, e Magnificenza delle Città, Venice, 1591
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 - XLIV. Genovesi, Antonio, Delle Lezioni di Commercio, Naples, 1765-67
 - XLV. Sonnenfels, Josef, Grundsätze der Polizey-Handlung und Finanz, Vienna, 1765-76
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I. ARISTOTLE, 1469

384 BC Stagira, Chalkidiki, Northern Greece – 322 BC Euboea, Greece, Macedonian Empire

[Ethica, Politica, Oeconomica]

Translated by Leonardo Bruni. Strasbourg, Johann Mentelin, before April 10, 1469

198 unnumbered leaves, folio.

As with Aristotle, early economic writings in most cultures are embedded in general codes of human conduct. 'Aristotle's purpose in writing [Politics and Ethics] was to help the reconstruction of the existing social order which will salvage what he sees as valuable in the disintegrating structure of Greek civilization'.... Such was indeed the ultimate aim of ancient Hebraic thinking as well......one should not look for 'economic theories' in Judaism, but rather for a code of economic conduct'. In this sense, there are similarities between this work and the bestselling book on this list – Benjamin Franklin (XXXVII) – in seeing economics as a code of human moral conduct.

Modern scholars often attribute the work to a student of Aristotle, or to a student of his successor Theophrastus.

The translator Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) was an influential representative of *civic humanism* and chancellor of Florence.²

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¹ Ambirajan, S., 'The Concepts of Happiness, Ethics, and Economic Values in Ancient Economic Thought', in Price, *op.sit*, p. 32. The chapter also looks at ancient Indian economic thinking from the same perspective.

² See Baron, Hans, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriftten*, Leipzig & Berlin, B.G. Teubner, 1928. For an overview of the period, see Barons's *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: civic humanism and republican liberty in an age of classicism and tyranny*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955.

II. XENOPHON, 1506

430 BC Athens 430 - 354 BC Athens

Oeconomicus Xenophontis per R. Volaterranum conversus Impressus Rom: per Joannem Besicken Alemanum, 1506

Xenophon, whose works were brought from Byzantium to Italy in 1427, gave us the term 'economics' from his work on household management: *Oeconomicus*. Many translations of this work circulated during the Renaissance, and were used in important works like Leon Battista Alberti's *I libri della Famiglia* (1434). Apparently the first translation to make it into print, in 1506, was not the best.

Literature:

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III. MARTIN LUTHER, 1524

1483 Eisleben, Grafschaft Mansfeld – 1546 Eisleben, Grafschaft Mansfeld

Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher

Wittenberg, Hans Lufft

On Trade and Usury.

Together with an earlier work - Eyn Sermon von dem Wucher (Leipzig, Schumann, 1519) - Luther's works on trade and usury went through a large number of editions, with a conspicuous gap between 1667 and 1817, throughout the period in question (i.e. until 1850).

Martin Luther and the Reformation formed the epicenter of the religious shift which brought economic development to Northern Europe, while at the same time the Italian city states fell into decline. The Reformation of Martin Luther (1483–1546) can be usefully presented as a counterpoint to Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) and his counter-reformation.

In his writings on Savonarola, German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) contrasted the two as follows: 'One of Luther's largest accomplishment for the later development of the world lies in the distinction between civic and religious life. Savonarola wanted to make the connection between the two even closer than they already were' (see bibliography below).

The 2016 volume *Brand Luther* (see below) shows how Luther's activities spread with the spread of the printing press.

Literature:

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- Wilson, Derek, *Out of the Storm: The Life and Legacy of Martin Luther*. London, Hutchinson, 2007.

IV. XENOPHON, 1551, his 2nd entry on this list

430 BC Athens 430 - 354 BC Athens

Xenophontis [...] Opera, Qvae Qvidem Gr[a]ece extant, omnia. [T. 1-2] Basel, Michael Isengrin, 1551 (original around 352 B.C.).

The English title is normally rendered as: Poroi – On the Ways and Means of Improving the Revenues of the State of Athens.

Xenophon not only gave us the word for economics (II) as household management – *Oeconomicus* – he also left us a text on the economic government of states and nations: *Poroi* – *On the Ways and Means of Improving the Revenues of the State of Athens*. Here we find an early indication of the role of scale: Xenophon indicates that enlarging the size of a city may help alleviate problems. The influence of the Poroi has never been well charted. Through Georg Heinrich Zincke's 1753 German edition of more than 500 pages, Xenophon feeds directly into German cameralism.³

V. GIOVANNI BOTERO, 1589

1544 Bene Vagienna, Piedmont - 1617 Turin

Tre Libri delle Cause della Grandezza, e Magnificenza delle Città, in his Della Ragion di Stato: Libri dieci, con Tre Libri delle Cause della Grandezza, e Magnificenza delle Città

Venice, Appresso i Gioliti 367 pp, quarto.

English title of the 1635 London edition: *The Cause of the Greatnesse of Cities. Three Bookes, With Certaine Observations concerning the Sea. Written in Italian by John Botero*, London: Printed by E.P. for Henry Seile.

The importance of Botero's writings in Europe during the 1600s was visualized for three of the editors during a visit to the Gotha Library, the former *Hofbibliothek des Herzogtums Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg* where Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (author of item IX) was the first librarian. The holdings of the library included around 30 different editions of Botero's works in many languages, all from Seckendorff's time as a librarian (1645-1664) or before.

In fact, by 1671 Botero's Cause of the Greatness of Cities/ Della Ragion di Stato had reached about 42 editions in Italian, Spanish (first edition in 1593), Latin (in Germany, first edition 1602), French (first edition 1599),

³ Zincke, Georg Heinrich, Xenophons Buch von den Einkünften, oder dessen Vorschläge, wie das bereiteste Vermögen grosser Herren und Staaten nach ächten Grund-Sätzen des Finanz-Wesens zu vermehren, Wolfenbüttel & Leipzig, Meitzner, 1753.

English (first edition 1606), and German (first edition 1657). There were no editions between 1671 and 1830, and one edition in 1839. The editions vary in contents, so it has not been possible yet to establish how many of them contain the *Cause of the Greatnesse of Cities*.

Botero's other important work, *Relazioni Universali* (Rome 1591), is a voluminous tome combining geography and ethnography written from Botero's unique position of being responsible for the office in Rome in charge of the Index of prohibited books. This book reached a total of 84 editions between 1591 and 1796, in Italian, German, Latin, Spanish, and Polish. The book reflects the Jesuit background of the author, the volume is remarkable for its lack of eurocentrism, every culture on the planet is seen and described as a celebration of diversity, of unique adaptation of culture to nature. Apparently this book was prohibited in France.⁵

The first publication of Botero on this issue is a 1588 piece estimating the number of inhabitants in Rome at the height of its power. §

In 1613 Antonio Serra, writing from a prison cell in Naples, added an important theoretical element to Botero's explanation on the wealth of cities: increasing returns found in a large number of different economic activities producing in the same city. In this way Serra also gives the theoretical explanation to the argument made by the great humanist Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), chancellor of Florence and translator of Aristotle and Xenophon, about wealth being a product of systemic synergies. As it was later stated by Machiavelli: *il bene comune è quello che fa grandi le città* ('the common weal is what makes cities great').

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, extensive, in many languages.

Assandra, Giuseppe (1926/1928), 'Giovanni Botero. Note biografiche e bibliografiche di Giuseppe Assandra suo concittadino' (edited by

⁴ However, an attempt is made in Reinert (2016), p. 17.

⁵ E. Reinert (2016) outlines many unseen influences from Botero on early economics. When Edward Misselden and Gerard de Malynes argued fiercely about trade in their works in 1622 and 1623, we recognize Misselden's argument about value added by human ingenuity as compared to raw materials as coming straight out of Botero. The same applies to the works of such diverse authors as Sir Walter Raleigh and Anders Berch, the first professor of economics outside Germany (in Uppsala in the early 1740s). Also in the 1730 folio work in Swedish by Andreas Bachmanson (alias Nordencrantz, Anders), *Arcana Oeconomiae et Commercii* (Stockholm, Horrn), there are strong similarities to Botero even in the page layout (in what the Germans call the *Satzspiegel*). Copying without proper citation was of course the usual practice of the day.

⁶ Tre discorsi appartenenti alla grandezza delle città, l'uno di M. Lodovico Guicciardini [Delle cause della grandezza d'Anversa], l'altro di M. Claudio Tolomei [Delle qualità che deve havere un sito d'una città], il terzo di M. Giovanni Botero [Che numero di gente facesse Roma nel colmo della sua grandezza], raccolti da M. Giovanni Martinelli, Rome, G. Martinelli, 1588.

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VI. THOMAS CULPEPER, 1621

1578 Hollingbourne, Kent, England – 1662 Hollingbourne, Kent, England A tract against usury

London, printed by W.I. for Walter Burre, and are to be sold at his shop

Initially the editors were undecided about including this work, because the work owes its fame fundamentally to Josiah Child including the text in his 1668 work (XXII). Before then, however, the work had already gone into four editions on its own. There were French translations in 1754 and 1755, and a Swedish translation in 1756. The latest English edition (with Child's work) is from 1775, showing the impressive life span of the work.

The title of the 1775 edition of the combined works of Culpeper and Child (London, Richardson and Urquhart) shows how their arguments were woven into a bundle of analysis and policy recommendations:

'A new discourse of trade: wherein are recommended several weighty points: relating to companies of merchants: the act of navigation, naturalization for strangers, and our woollen manufactures: the balance of trade, and nature of plantations, with their consequences, in relation to the kingdom, are seriously discussed: methods for the employment and maintenance of the poor are proposed: the reduction of interest of money to 4 £ per cent. is recommended: and some proposals for erecting a court of merchants, for determining controversies relating to maritime affairs, and for a law for transferring of bills of debts, are humbly offered'.

Literature

Wikipedia entry, none.

(www) http://www.culpepperconnections.com/ss/p8879.htm

VII. FRANCIS BACON, 1625

Strand, London 1561 - Highgate, London 1626

An Essay on Innovation

in The essayes or counsels, civill and morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. Newly written.

London, printed by John Haviland for Hanna Barret

Bacon's *Essays* – here represented first and foremost by his *Essay on Innovations* – represent the transition from innovations being a threat to *status quo* and therefore doubtful, as when Roger Bacon was arrested in Oxford around 1277 for *suspicious innovations*, into something highly desirable.

In the journal article cited below Reinert & Daastøl explore this transition from being a dubious activity into a duty to invent in German and English literature. The article by Fritz Redlich – a long term 'resident' of Kress Library – indicated below relates the transition of innovators both in the English and German languages from being called by the often derogatory term 'project makers' to something decidedly positive. Redlich cites Daniel Defoe, in his 1697 Essays on Projects, seeing that he is living in a new and dynamic age, and Defoe even determines 1680 as being the exact year this new age had begun.

The editions of Bacon's *Essays* are innumerous, and we have not attempted to find which editions contain the *Essay of Innovation*. Before 1850 Bacon's Essays had been translated into Dutch, French, German,

Spanish, and Swedish. Bacon's utopia *New Atlantis*, first published in 1627, was also a celebration of innovations that helped bring the mentality of the day away from the Medieval view that one man's gain was another man's loss.

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- Reinert, Erik S & Arno Daastøl, 'Exploring the Genesis of Economic Innovations: The religious gestalt-switch and the duty to invent as preconditions for economic growth', *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Vol 4, No. 2/3, 1997, pp. 233-283, and in Christian Wolff. *Gesammelte Werke, Illrd series*, Vol. 45, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 1998.

VIII. BERNARDO DAVANZATI, 1638

1529 Florence - 1606 Florence

Lezione delle monete, in:

Scisma d'Inghilterra con altre operette del sig. Bernardo Davanzati al serenissimo Ferdinando Secondo gran duca di Toscana.

Con privilegio di S.A.S. In Fiorenza nella nuoua Stamperia del Massi, e Landi. M.DC.XXXVIII. Con licenza de' superiori.

i title; ii woodcut portrait of Davanzati, and contents; iii Sereniss. Gran Dvca, signed: Amador Massi, e Lorenzo Landi; iv-xii Ritratto del sig. Bernardo Davanzati. All'illustrissimo signor Filippo Pandolfini, senator fiorentino, signed: Francesco di Raffaello Rondinelli; 1 original title: Scisma d'Inghilterra del sig. Bernardo Davanzati Con altre sue operette non piu stampate, Come la seguente faccia dimostra. In Fiorenza Nella nuoua stamperia del Massi, e Landi. 1637; 2 contents, lacking Coltivazione toscana; 3-4 dedication: All'illustriss. signore il signor Giouanni Bardi. Conte di Vernio, luogotenente generale dell'una, e l'altra Guardia di N.S., signed: Bernardo Dauanzati Bostichi, and dated: Firenze, April 1, 1600; 5-92 Schisma d'Inghilterra; 93-105 Notizia de cambi; 106-123 Lezione delle monete; 124-138 Orazione in morte del G. Duca Cosimo I; 139-145 Accusa data dal Silente al Travagliato nel suo sindicato della reggenza degl'Alterati; 146-151 Orazione in genere deliberativo sopra i provveditori dell'Accademia degl'Alterati; 152-201 Coltivazione toscana; 202-203 Tavola de capi principali; 204 Errata; 204 (lower half) Imprimatur

Davanzati's work on currency was originally presented in Florence in 1588, and was catalogued under that date in Carpenter (1985). However, we have not found any printed version before the 1638 posthumous collection of Davanzati's works detailed above.

There are at least 20 editions of this work between 1638 and 1846. The geographical distribution of the editions – the work was published also in Padova, Milan, Livorno, Bassano (i.e. Venezia), Siena, and Parma – testifies to a popular demand. There is one English translation, in London in 1638. In her work on early economic thought, Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson succinctly summarizes the reasons for the success of Davanzati's *Lezione delle Monete*:

'Davanzati simply presents, yet again, the Platonic and Aristotelian account of the origin and functions of money, develops the scholastic theory of value based on utility and scarcity, and condemns debasement of the currency. Yet he does so in so delightful and winning a manner, and with such a wealth of adornment and illustration, that these well-worn ideas strike us as charming novelties.'

Literature

- Wikipedia entry, few languages, very brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Bernardo Davanzati
- Boldizzoni, Francesco, 'L'anatomia politica di Bernardo Davanzati: prospettive sul pensiero economico del Rinascimento', in *Cheiron*, 2004, n. 42, 73-93.
- Michaud, Louis-Gabriel, 'Bernardo Davanzati' in his *Biographie universelle* ancienne et moderne, Paris, Michaud, 1843-1865.
- Stackelberg, Jürgen von, 'Bernardo Davanzatis Florentiner Tacitus', in Romanische Forschungen: Vierteljahresschrift Für Romanische Sprachen Und Literaturen, 1960.
- (www) http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardo-davanzati_(Dizionario-Biografico)/

IX. VEIT LUDWIG VON SECKENDORFF, 1656

1626 Herzogenaurach, Bavaria - 1692 Halle, Saale, Saxony

Teutscher Fürsten-Stat/ Oder: Gründliche und kurtze Beschreibung/ Welcher gestalt Fürstenthümer/ Graff- und Herrschafften im H. Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation, welche Landes, Fürstliche unnd Hohe Obrigkeitliche Regalia haben/ von Rechts- und löblicher Gewonheit

⁷ Grice-Hutchinson, Marjorie, *Early Economic Thought in Spain 1177-1740*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1978, p. 108.

wegen beschaffen zu seyn/ Regieret/ mit Ordnungen und Satzungen/ Geheimen und Justitz Cantzeleyen/ Consistoriis und andern hohen und niedern Gerichts-Instantien, Aemptern und Diensten/ verfasset und versehen/ auch wie deroselben Cammer- und Hoffsachen bestellt zu werden pflegen

Frankfurt, Götz, 1656

Seckendorff's voluminous tome represents the foundation of German thought on economics and economic policy. The setting is the period after The Thirty Years' War (1618-48) which had devastated Germany, when Seckendorff spent almost 20 years as librarian for Ernst der Fromme (Earnest the Pious). The *additiones* to the book formulated by Seckendorff subsequent to his travels to the Netherlands accompanying *Fürst Ernst*, reflect the author's admiration and desire to emulate the condition and institutions of that country.

This work appeared in 10 editions and effectively stayed in print for 100 years, but was never translated.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, few languages, very brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff
- Lüdke, Wilhelm, 'Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, ein deutscher Staatsmann und Volkserzieher des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbücher der Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt*, Neue Folge / Vol. 54, 1939, pp. 39-137.
- Pahner, Richard, Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff und seine Gedanken über Erziehung und Unterricht, Leipzig, Teubner, 1892.
- Reinert, Erik S. 'A Brief Introduction to Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626-1692)', *European Journal of Law and Economics*, 19, No. 3, 2005, pp. 221-230.
- Reinert, Sophus A., 'Cameralism and Commercial Rivalry: Nationbuilding through Economic Autarky in Seckendorff's 1665 Additiones', *European Journal of Law and Economics*. 19, No. 3 (2005), pp. 271-286.

X. PIETER DE LA COURT, 1662

1618 Leiden - 1685 Amsterdam

Interest van Holland, ofte Gronden van Hollands-welvaren / By V.D.H. [= Pieter de la Court de jonge]

Amsterdam, J.C. van der Gracht, 1662

The title of the 1702 London edition is *The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republick of Holland and West-Friesland*.

It is assumed that this work started out as a manuscript about the author's native city of Leiden circulating in 1659, *Het welvaren van Leiden* (see bibliography). Historians of economic thought generally point to the lack of 'high theory' in the Dutch Republic. This is confirmed by Etienne Laspeyres' 1863 study where he discusses 644 Dutch texts on practical economic and administrative issues from the time of the Republic. The same observations apply to de la Court's work. His is a view from the economic hegemony of the day, and his recommendations for industrial freedom and for keeping taxes and costs low are sensible in that setting. Only after the decline, around 1725, Dutch economic policy – including new tariffs – becomes more active.

However – as is evident in publications in this list, X (after Seckendorff's additiones), XIV, XXI) – from the late 1500s through the 1700s political economists from outside the Netherlands frequently comment on the economic success, and later decline, of the Dutch Republic, and attempt to draw lessons from the Dutch experience for domestic use (ref. Reinert, below).

The English and French editions state on the title page that the author is 'Jean de Wit', and the French editions are even called *Mémoires de Jean de Wit*. However only two chapters of these editions seem to have been written by that prominent Dutch statesman.

There are in total about 20 editions of this work before 1850, including translations into German (several), French, and English.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, few languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pieter_de_la_Court
- (references) http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/hait001repe01_01/hait001repe01 01 0182.php
- de la Court, Pieter (?), Het welvaren van Leiden. Handschrift uit het jaar 1659. Uitgegeven met Duitsche vertaling, aanteekeningen en bibliographische bijzonderheden [by F. Driessen], The Hague, Martinius Nijhoff, 1911.
- Drechsler, Wolfgang, 'Etienne Laspeyres' History of the Economic Thought of the Netherlanders: A Law & Economics Classic?', European Journal of Law and Economics, vol. 10, no. 3 (November 2000), pp. 235-242.
- Laspeyres, Etienne, Geschichte der Volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer und Ihrer Literatur zur Zeit der Republik. Nieuwkoop, de Graaf, 1961 [1863].

- Reinert, Erik S., 'Emulating Success: Contemporary Views of the Dutch Economy before 1800', in Gelderblom, Oscar (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2009, pp 19-40.
- Weststeijn, Arthur, Commercial republicanism in the Dutch golden age.

 The political thought of Johan and Pieter de la Court, Leiden, Brill,
 2012.
- Wildenberg, Ivo W. (ed.), *Pieter de la Court en zijn tijd (1618-1685).*Aspecten van een veelzijdig publicist, Amsterdam/Maarssen, Holland University Press, 1986.

XI. THOMAS MUN, 1664

1571 London - 1641 (place unknown)

England's treasure by forraign trade

London, printed by J[ohn]. G[rismond]. for Thomas Clark, and are to be sold at his shop at the south entrance of the Royal Exchange

Mun's book is generally considered the classic of English Mercantilism. This work was translated into French (2 editions), Swedish (2), and Italian (2), the last Italian edition being published in Naples exactly 100 years after the first English one in London. In the first Italian edition (1757) Mun's text is incorporated into John Cary's work (XVII). There were about 14 editions in all before 1850.

Mun's posthumous bestseller was preceded by an earlier work, *A Discourse of Trade, from England into the East-Indies: answering to diverse Objections which are usually made against the same* (London, printed by Nicholas Okes for John Pyper, 1621).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas Mun
- Erikson, Emily, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600–1757*. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Hardy, A.L., 'Mun, Thomas', in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1894), Vol. XIII, pp. 1183-1186.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. and Franz Gehrels, *Thomas Muns Werk in mod*erner Sicht: Vademecum zu einem frühen Klassiker, Düsseldorf, Verlag Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 1989.
- Mun, Thomas, La riqueza de Inglaterra por el comercio exterior; Discurso acerca del comercio de Inglaterra con las Indias Occidentales,

introduction by Jesús Silva Herzog, with a study by E. A. J. Johnson, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1978.

(www) http://www.hetwebsite.net/het/profiles/mun.htm

XII. JOSIAH CHILD, 1668

1630 London - 1699 London

Brief observations concerning trade and interest of money / by J.C.

London, Printed for Elizabeth Calvert ... and Henry Mortlock ..., 1668, 38 p.

Next to Mun's work (VII) Josiah Child's is the most famous of the English 17th century mercantilists. There were French editions in 1754 and 1755, a German translation in 1763 (+ a later abbreviated translation).

In 1756 a partial translation was made into Swedish for the parliament (*Riksdagen*) to promote the public good ('til det allmännas tjänst'). One reason for translating Child's text was to explain the 'success of the Dutch in trade, wealth, and navigation'. ('Här til kan äfven läggas hvad denne Vittre Auctor nämner ibland orsakerne til Holländernes besynnerliga framsteg i Handel, Rikedom och Sjöfart, nemligen: . . .')

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, several languages, brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Josiah Child
- Letwin, William, *Sir Josiah Child, Merchant Economist*, Boston, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1959.
- (www) http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/child-josiah-1630-99
- (Britannica) https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclopædia_Britannica/Child, Sir Josiah

XIII. SAMUEL PUFENDORF, 1673

1632 Dorfchemnitz, Saxony - 1694 Berlin

De officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem libri duo

Londini Scanorum (i.e. Lund, Sweden): Sumtibus Adami Junghans impremebat

⁸ For a discussion of the Lund editions, see Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi, 1600-talet: Bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning*, Uppsala, Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1942-46.

In early translations the title in English was rendered as:

'The whole duty of man according to the law of nature: By that famous civilian Samuel Puffendorf, Professor of the Law of Nature and Nations, in the University of Heidelberg, and in the Caroline University, afterwards Counsellor and Historiographer to the King of Sweden, and to his Electoral Highness of Brandenburg. Now made English'.

Natural Law (*Naturrecht*) was an important foundation for economics. Among other subjects Pufendorf contributed to the theories of price and value. See Sæther (2017) below for a modern statement of his importance for economics. According to the bibliography by Carlos Luig (see below) this work by Pufendorf reached exactly 150 editions before 1850.

This book has a very complicated publication pattern. Since so many early editions are in Latin, there is little correspondence between language and place of publication. The first translations were into English and German (both 1691).

There were in total 106 editions in Latin: 62 in Germany (1678)³, 11 in Holland (1686), 8 each in England (1682), Italy (1746), Sweden (1673), 5 in Switzerland (1707), 2 in Austria (1757) and Poland (1682), and 1 each in France (1769) and Turkey (1773).

A total of 19 editions were published in French: 7 in Holland (1707), 4 in France (1751), 3 in England (1740), 2 in Germany (1696), 2 in Switzerland (1722), and 1 in Luxembourg (1707).

In addition there were translations into the local languages: 7 into English (1691), 5 into German (1691), 4 into Italian (1761), 3 into Dutch (1706), 2 into Russian (1724), and 1 each into Danish (1742) and Spanish (1834).

Samuel Pufendorf was one of several foreign dignitaries invited by the Swedish regents to work in the service of that country. Others were Hugo Grotius, Sweden's ambassador to Paris 1634-1644, and Descartes, who died in 1650 from pneumonia at the Stockholm castle after only a few months' stay. In 1658 Sweden had conquered the province of Skåne (English: Scania, German: Schonen) from Denmark, and in 1666 a new university was established there in the city of Lund. This is why Pufendorf's book is the only bestseller first published in Scandinavia (Londoni Scanurum = Lund).

⁹ As usual the year of the first translation is indicated in parenthesis.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel von Pufendorf
- Haara, Heikki, *Sociability in Samuel Pufendorf's Natural Law Theory* (Ph.D. thesis), Helsinki, University of Helsinki, 2017.
- Carr, Craig L., 'Editor's Introduction', in *The Political Writings of Samuel Pufendorf*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Droysen, Johann Gustav von, 'Zur Kritik Pufendorfs', in his *Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte*, Leipzig, Veit, 1876.
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- Treitschke, Heinrich von, 'Samuel von Pufendorf', in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 35, Berlin, 1875.
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- Sæther, Arild, *Natural Law and the Origin of Political Economy. Samuel Pufendorf and the History of Economics*, London, Routledge, forthcoming 2017.
- Welzel, Hans, *Die Naturrechtslehre Samuel Pufendorfs*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1958.
- Wolf, Erik, Grotius, Pufendorf, Thomasius, Tübingen, Mohr, 1927.

XIV. WILLIAM TEMPLE, 1673

1628 London - 1699 Surrey, England

Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands by Sir William Temple of Shene, in the county of Surrey, Baronet, Ambassador at the Hague, and at Aix la Chapelle, in the year 1668

London, Printed by A. Maxwell for Sa. Gellibrand at the Golden Ball in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1673

[14], 80, 65-255, [1] p.

In spite of its title, contemporaries saw this as an economic treatise and as a valuable source of information about the successful Dutch nation. There seem to be 20 separate editions in English plus 8 editions as parts of various editions of Temple's complete works, 10 editions in Dutch, 12 in French, 2 in German and 1 in Italian.

Sir William Temple had a distinguished career as a statesman and diplomat. The later famous Jonathan Swift was Temple's secretary for most

of the period from 1689 onward, and wrote a preface to Temple's memoirs. Temple was much loved by his friends; Swift wrote that all that was good and amiable in mankind departed with him.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, several languages, brief.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir William Temple, 1st Baronet

- The Life and Character of Sir William Temple, Bart., written by a Particular Friend [i.e. Lady Martha Giffard, his sister], London, Motte, 1728, 2 vols.
- Courtenay, Thomas Peregrine, *Memoirs of the Life, & Correspondence of Sir William Temple*, London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1836, 2 vols.
- Sieveking, Albert Forbes, Sir W. Temple and other Carolean Garden Essays, 1908.
- Marambaud, Pierre, *Sir William Temple, sa vie, son œuvre*, Paris, Éditions Minard, 1968.
- Temple, Sir William, The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart., to which is prefix'd some Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, London, printed for Churchill, Goodwin,
- Temple, Sir William, Nouveaux Memoires du Chevalier Guillaume Temple, Ambassadeur & Plenipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne en diverses Cours de l'Europe. [.] Publiez avec une Préface par le Docteur Jonathan Swift. On y a joint la vie et le caractere du Chevalier G. Temple par un de ses Amis particuliers. Traduit de l'Anglois, The Hague, van Duren, 1729.

XV. WILLIAM PETTY, 1683

1623 Romsey, Hampshire - 1687 London

The present state of England: containing I. an account of the riches, strength, magnificence, natural production, manufactures of this island, with an exact catalogue of the nobility, and their seats, &c., II. the trade and commerce within it self, and with all countries traded to by the English, as at this day established, and all other matters relating to inland and marine affairs

This is the first and unauthorized issue of Petty's *Political Arithmetick* and has the imprint: London: Printed by R. Holt for T. Passinger, and B. Took, 1683

Another essay in political arithmetick, concerning the growth of the city of London: with the measures, periods, causes, and consequences thereof. By Sir William Petty, Fellow of the Royal Society

London: printed by H[enry]. H[ills]. for Mark Pardoe, at the Black Raven, over against Bedford-House, in the Strand, 1683

Petty refrained from printing his Political Arithmetik. It was privately circulated in manuscript form, and – in 1683 – published anonymously without his consent under a different title. It was only in 1690, after the Glorious Revolution and Petty's own death, that his family saw fit to finally publish it together with his anatomy of Ireland. Petty's many works on Political Arithmetic appeared in a large number of editions, with a French translation published in London in 1686.

Petty became a cabin boy at the age of 17, but was set ashore in Normandy after breaking his leg on board. After this setback, he applied in Latin to study with the Jesuits in Caen, supporting himself by teaching English. After a year, he returned to England, and had by now a thorough knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, mathematics, and astronomy.

The influences of Thomas Hobbes, for whom Petty acted as personal secretary, and of Francis Bacon were both profound. Having studied at a Jesuit college a little more than two decades after Giovanni Botero had passed away (in 1617) Petty may have been exposed to Botero's work attempting to estimate the population of ancient Rome (see under V). His passion for accuracy led Petty to famously declare that his form of science would only use measurable phenomena and would seek quantitative precision, rather than rely on comparatives or superlatives, yielding a new subject that he named political arithmetic. Petty thus carved a niche for himself as amidst the merchant-pamphleteers – such as Thomas Mun (XI) and Josiah Child (XII) – who dominated economic writing in England (but not elsewhere) at the time.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, many languages, extensive.

- Aspromourgos, Tony, 'The life of William Petty in relation to his economics', in *History of Political Economy*, 20, 1988, pp. 337-356.
- Hull, Charles H. (ed.), *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1899, 2 vols. Hull wrote an extensive introduction to Vol. 1.
- Hutchison, Terence W, 'Petty on Policy, Theory and Method', in his Before Adam Smith: the Emergence of Political Economy 1662-1776, Oxford, Blackwell, 1988.
- McCormick, Ted, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Roncaglia, Alessandro, *Petty. The Origins of Political Economy*, Cardiff, University College Cardiff Press, 1985.

XVI. HÖRNIGK, WILHELM VON, 1684

1638 Frankfurt am Main – 1712 Passau (German border town with Austria)

Oesterreich über alles wann es nur will. (Austria above all, if she only wishes to) Das ist: wohlmeinender Fürschlag wie mittelst einer wolbestellten Lands-Oeconomie, die Kayserl. Erbland in kurzem über alle andere Staat von Europa zu erheben / und mehr als einiger derselben / von denen andern Independent zu machen. Durch einen Liebhaber der Kayserl. Erbland Wolfahrt

Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1684

[i] title; [ii] blank; [iii-viii] Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; pp. 1-303 text

[No place of publication, but Nürnberg; no publisher, but according to the preface to the 1708 edition, the printer was Johann Hoffmann]

This volume was published in the summer of 1684, less than a year after the end of the last failed Turkish siege of Vienna. 18 editions appeared between 1684 and 1784, and as in the case of Seckendorff (X), the work appears a) to have stayed continuously in print for 100 years, and b) no translations were published. In the last edition (Vienna 1784), Benedikt Franz Hermann – an Austrian professor of technology - remarks on the success Austrians have had following Hörnigk's recommendations given 100 year earlier.

An interesting feature of this book is Hörnigk's nine point list of recommendations for a poor country to *catch up* with the rich." The publication of a first English translation of Hörnigk's work with an introduction by Philipp Roessner, produced through a grant from the *Institute of New Economic Thinking*, is planned for the autumn of 2017.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, very few languages, very brief.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philipp von Hörnigk

Brauleke, Heinz Joachim, *Leben und Werk des Kameralisten P. W. von Hörnigk*, Frankfurt, Lang, 1978.

Gerstenberg, Heinrich, 'Philipp Wilhelm v. Hörnigk', in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*," III. Folge, Vol. 78, 1930, pp. 813-871.

Hörnigk, Philipp Wilhelm, Austria Supreme (If It So Wishes). – An Economic Strategy for the Empire and Austria (1684), translated by Keith Tribe, commented with an introduction by. P. R. Rössner, London, Anthem, forthcoming 2017.

¹⁰ A list of editions is provided in Reinert and Carpenter 2016.

¹¹ Hörnigk's nine point list is reproduced as appendix V in Reinert, Erik S., *How rich countries got rich...and why poor countries stay poor*, London, Constable, 2007, pp. 313-316.

- Inama-Sternegg, Karl-Theodor v., 'Über Philipp Wilhelm v. Hornick', in Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, NF II, 1881, pp. 194-200.
- Matis, P. W., von Hörnigk: Leben, Werk und ökonomisches Umfeld, Düsseldorf, Verlag Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 1997.
- Otruba, Gustav (ed.), Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will: nach der Erstausgabe von 1684 in Normalorthographie übertragen und mit der Auflage von 1753 kollationiert sowie mit einem Lebensbild des Autors versehen, Vienna, Bergland Verlag, 1964.
- Reinert, Erik and Kenneth Carpenter, 'German Language Economic Bestsellers before 1850, with two chapters on a common reference point of Cameralism and Mercantilism', in Roessner, Philipp (ed.) Economic Reason of State. Reconfiguring the Origins of Modern Political Economy, 1500–2000 A.D., London, Routledge, 2016, pp. 26-53.

XVII. BOISGUILBERT, PIERRE LE PESANT, Sieur de, 1695

1646 Rouen - 1714 Rouen

Le détail de la France. La cause de la diminution de ses biens et la facilité du remède, en fournissant en un mois tout l'argent dont le Roi a besoin, et enrichissant tout le monde

[no publisher, no place], 1695. Published anonymously

There are at least 20 editions of Boisguilbert's work on the economic and social affairs of France spread over the period 1695 to 1843, but no translations. One edition published in Cologne in 1696 carries the title France ruinée sous le règne de Louis XIV.

There were 8 editions between 1695 and 1699, and then none until 1707. That year Vauban's volume (No. XX) was published, advocating a similar royal tithe, and this spurred new interest in Boisguillebert's work which saw nine new editions in 1707. Boisguilbert's volume was even published under the title *Testament politique de Monsieur Vauban* (Vauban died in March 1707).

- Wikipedia entries in several languages, brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de Boisguilbert
- Cadet, Félix, *Pierre de Boisguilbert précurseur des économistes 1646-1714*, Paris, Guillaumin, 1870.
- Durand, René, Essai sur les théories monétaires de Pierre de Boisguilbert, Poitiers, Texier, 1922.

- Faccarello, Gilbert, *Aux origines de l'économie politique libérale: Pierre de Boisquilbert*, Paris, Anthropos, 1986.
- Frotier de la Messelière, Maurice, *Boisguilbert et la liberté du commerce des grains*, Paris, Larose, 1903.
- Méret, Edmond, Étude sur les travaux économiques de Boisguilbert, lieutenant général de police et président au bailliage de Rouen, Rouen, Julien Lecerf, 1893.
- Pierre de Boisguilbert ou la Naissance de l'Économie Politique, Paris, Institut national d'études démographiques, 2 volumes, 1966.
- Roberts, Hazel Van Dyke, *Boisguilbert: Economist of the Reign of Louis XIV*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1935.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre, 'Boisguilbert et la genèse de l'État moderne', *Esprit*, January 1982, pp. 32-52.
- Talbot, Albert, Les Théories de Boisguilbert et leur place dans l'histoire des doctrines économiques, New York, B. Franklin, 1971.
- Tremblay, Bertrand, *La Conceptualisation de l'activité économique selon Boisguilbert*, Montréal, Université de Montréal, 1973.
- Braeuer, Walter, *Boisguilbert in der deutschen Literatur*, Leinfelden-Echterdingen, Historia-Drucke, 1983.
- Cohn, Gustav, 'Boisguillebert. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Volkswirthschaftlehre', *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, vol. 25, 1869, pp. 360-407.

XVIII. CARY, JOHN 1695

1649 Bristol - 1720 Bristol (?)

An essay on the state of England, in relation to its trade, its poor, and its taxes, for carrying on the present war against France. By John Cary, merchant in Bristoll (sic)

Bristoll (sic): printed by W. Bonny, for the author, and are to be sold in London by Sam. Crouch, at the corner of Popes Head-Alley in Cornhill, and Tim. Goodwin, at the Queen's Head, near the Temple; also by Tho. Wall, and Rich. Gravett, near the Tolzey, in Bristoll, Novem. 1695

[20], 178, [2] p.; 8° The last leaf is blank.

Cary's work was composed in one slim volume in 1695, grew to two volumes in the French translation (1755), to three volumes in the subsequent Italian translation (1757-58), only to revert into one volume in its final (1788) rendition in German (see Reinert below).

Cary codified the aggressively nationalistic policies carried out by England at the time, including extensive tariffs and other intrusive policies. While earlier bestsellers had tended to emulate the success of the Dutch Republic, Cary's work made English policies into practices to be emulated by other

countries in order for them to achieve success. With Cary political economy reinforced its earlier role as a science of *emulation* of successful countries before the logic of *comparative advantage*, could be embarked upon.

In their edited work on 17th Century Economic Documents Thirsk and Cooper (see below) emphasize the fact that Cary clearly argues for the merits of high wages [1695, pp. 143-50]. This position, consciously stating that high wages actually benefits development both because it incentivizes technological change and at the same time increases demand, appears to be new with Cary. The contrast between Cary on the one hand and Malthus' and Ricardo's dismal science more than a century later on the other could not have been larger.

Literature:

No Wikipedia entry in any language.

- Barry, Jonathan, 'The "Great Projector": John Cary and the Legacy of Puritan Reform in Bristol, 1647–1720', in Pelling, Margaret and Scott Mandelbrote (eds.), *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine, and Science, 1500–2000*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993, pp. 185-206.
- Lane, H. J., *The Life and Writings of John Cary*, M.A. diss., University of Bristol, 1932.
- Morgan, Kenneth, 'Cary, John', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, 10, pp. 434-436. www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4840¹² (dictionary entry).
- Reinert, Sophus A, *Translating Empire: Emulation and the Origins of Political Economy*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Thirsk, Joan and J.P. Cooper, *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Wichmann, Christian August, Anton Genovesi, Ökonomisch-politischer Commentarius zu Johann Carys historisch-politischen Bemerkungen über Grossbritanniens Handel und Gewerbe, Leipzig, Heinsius, 1788.

XIX. LAW, JOHN, 1705

1671 Edinburgh - 1729 Venice

Money and trade considered, with a proposal for supplying the nation with money

Edinburgh: printed by the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queens most Excellent Majesty, Anno Dom. 1705, 120 pages.

¹² References are from Sophus A. Reinert, *Translating Empire*. 2011.

John Law is best remembered for being largely responsible for the Mississippi Company bubble and the subsequent chaotic economic collapse in France, contemporaneous with the South Sea Company bubble in England. See item (XXIV), 1720.

In fact no new impressions of Law's theoretical work appeared between the Edinburgh edition of 1705 and a number of new editions appearing in 1720, including translations into French and German. A Dutch translation followed in 1721, and later English editions followed until 1850.

As Controller General, Law instituted beneficial reforms that sometimes recalls the policies of Colbert more than a century earlier. His reforms attempted to take France out of the feudalism that had been supported by the physiocrats. Law tried to break up large land-holdings to benefit the peasants; he abolished internal road and canal tolls; he encouraged the building of new roads, the starting of new industries (even importing artisans but mostly by offering low-interest loans), and the revival of overseas commerce—and indeed industry increased 60% in two years, and the number of French ships engaged in export went from sixteen to three hundred.

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John Law (economist)
- Ainsworth, William Harrison, *John Law: The Projector*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1881, (fiction).
- Buat, Nicolas, *John Law. La dette ou comment s'en débarrasser*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2015.
- Daridan, Jean, John Law: père de l'inflation, Paris, Denoël, 1938.
- Dutot, Nicolas, *Histoire du Système de John Law* Publication intégrale du manuscrit inédit de Poitiers, établie et introduite par Antoin E. Murphy, Paris, INED, 2000.
- Levasseur, Émile, *Recherches historiques sur le système de Law*, Paris, Guillaumin, 1854.
- Mann, Fritz K., Die Vorgeschichte des Finanz-systems von John Law, in Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reiche, 1913, 37, pp. 1165-1229.
- Martinot, Bertrand, *John Law: le magicien de la dette*, Paris, Nouveau Monde éditions, 2015.
- Minton, Robert, *John Law: The Father of Paper Money*, New York, Ass. Press, 1975.
- Murphy, Antoin E., *John Law: Economic Theorist and Policy-maker*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Oudard, Georges, *La vie très curieuse de Law aventurier honnête homme*, Paris, Plon, 1927.

- Thiers, Adolphe¹³, *Histoire de Law*, Paris, Michel-Lévy frères, 1858. (English translation 1859 http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/johnlaw.pdf)
- Wiston-Glynn, A.W., John Law of Lauriston: Financier and Statesman, Founder of the Bank of France, Originator of the Mississippi Scheme, Edinburgh, Saunders, 1907.
- Wood, John Philip, Memoirs of the Life of John Law of Lauriston, Including a Detailed Account of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Mississippi System, Edinburgh, printed for A. Black, 1824.

XX. VAUBAN, SÉBASTIAN LE PRESTRE DE, 1707

1633 Saint-Léger-de-Foucheret, Burgundy - 1707 Paris

Project d'une dixme royale : qui supprimant la Taille, les Aydes, les Doüanes d'une Province à l'autre, les Décimes du Clergé, les Affaires extraordinaries; & tous autres Impôts onereux & non volontaires: Et diminuant le prix du Sel de moitié & plus, produiroit au Roy un Revenu certain et suffisant, sans frais; & sans être à charge à l'un de ses Sujets plus qu'à l'autre, qui s'augmenteroit considerablement par la meilleure Culture des Terres

n.p., Rouen?] M. DCC. VII. [1707] [8], 204, [20] p.

The title of the 1708 English translation reads:

'A Project for a Royal Tythe: or, General Tax; which, By suppressing all the Ancient Funds and Later Projects for Raising the Publick Revenues, and for ever abolishing all Exemptions, unequal Assessments, and all rigorous and oppressive Distraining on the People, will furnish the government a fixt and certain revenue, sufficient for all its Exigencies and Occasions, without oppressing the subjects. By the famous Monsieur Vauban, Marshal of France, Knight of the King's Orders, and Governour of Lisle.'

Marshall Vauban was a famous personality in France, *Commissaire Général des Fortifications*, and a favorite of Louis XIV until this book came out, was suppressed, and burned. There were about 20 'official' editions in France and Belgium and an English translation (1710).

The 'Preface to the English Reader' testifies to the nature of pirate translation and book publishing at the time:

'The Eagerness with which this Book was bought up, when it came over lately in the Original French, and that by Persons of Distinction, both for their Sense, and Judgment in Books, as well as by People

¹³ Note that Thiers is also the author of item LXXX on this list.

of Quality has encourag'd the rendring it into *English*. The Reception it met with among those who understood the Original, soon spread a good Opinion of it among those who did not, and bred a Longing in them to have it translated... The Book will sufficiently recommend itself to those who shall discreetly peruse it, and so needs no Certificate from any one. It is not of the Nature of that miserable Trash which is every day imposed upon the Credulous and Ignorant, under the counterfeit Names of *Memoirs* and *Essays*. Those are things, for the most part, very partial and trifling, serving only the Interest of Booksellers, and sometimes of Parties, or perhaps to prevent a mercenary Scribler's Starving.'

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban
- Auger, Daniel, *Vauban, sa vie, son œuvre*, Saint-Léger-Vauban, Yonne, 1998.
- Blomfield, Sir Reginald, *Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban, 1663-707*, London, Methuen, 1938.
- Lazard, Pierre, Vauban, thèse de doctorat, Paris, Alcan, 1934.
- Le Brun, Dominique, *Vauban, l'inventeur de la France moderne*, Paris, Vuibert, 2016.
- Monod, Alain, *Vauban ou la mauvaise conscience du roi*, Paris, Riveneuve, 2008.
- Prost, Philippe, *Vauban: Le style de l'intelligence*, Paris, Archibooks, 2007.
- Virol, Michèle, Vauban: de la gloire du roi au service de l'État, Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 2003.

XXI. HUET, PIERRE DANIEL, 1712

1630 Caen, Normandy - 1721 Paris

Le grand tresor historique et politique du florissant commerce des Hollandois, dans tous les etats et empires du monde : quelle est leur maniere de le faire, son origine, leur grand progrés, leurs possessions & gouvernement dans les Indes : comment ils se sont rendus maîtres de tout le commerce de l'Europe : quelles sont les marchandises convenables au trafic maritime, d'où ils les tirent, & les guains qu'ils y font : ouvrage aussi curieux que nécessaire à tous les négocians : trés propre à rétablir le commerce de France

Rouen, Chez Ruault, 1712.

<u>i</u> title; <u>ii</u> blank; <u>iii-xxii</u> Preface de l'auteur, pour réveiller le commerce de France, & le faire prévaloir à tout autre; <u>xxiii-xxvii</u> Table des chapitres; <u>xxvii-xxviii</u> Privilége du roy, dated Jan. 30, 1712; 1-332 text

The title of one of the early English translations reads as follows:

'Memoirs of the Dutch trade in all the states, empires, and kingdoms in the world: Shewing its first rise and amazing progress: after what manner the Dutch manage and carry on their commerce; their vast dominions and government in the Indies, and by what means they have made themselves masters of all the trade of Europe. As also what goods and merchandize are proper for maritime traffick, whence they are to be had, and what gain and profit they produce. A treatise very necessary for every Englishman. Translated from the French, now printed at Amsterdam. By Mr. Samber.'

This is an important volume in what we could call *the emulation school of economics*. There are several English translations (the first in 1717), a German (1717), a Dutch (1718), and a Spanish (1746).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry in several languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre Daniel Huet
- Ducoeur, Guillaume, 'Pierre-Daniel Huet et la Hollande: voyage, érudition et éditions', *Deshima, Revue d'histoire globale des pays du Nord*, Université de Strasbourg, No. 6, 2012.
- Gournay, François Amand de, *Huet évêque d'Avranches, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, Caen, Le Gost-Clérisse, 1854.
- Henry, Camille, *Un érudit homme du monde, homme d'église, homme de cour...,* Paris, Hachette, 1879.
- Huet, Pierre Daniel, *Mémoires de Pierre Daniel Huet*, Salazar, Philippe-Joseph (ed.), Paris/Toulouse, Klincksieck/SLC, 1993.

XXII. MANDEVILLE, BERNARD, 1714

1670 Rotterdam - 1733 London

The fable of the bees: or, private vices publick benefits. Containing, several discourses, to demonstrate, that human frailties, ... may be turn'd to the advantage of the civil society, ...

Preface 12, contents 9, 228 p.

London, Printed for J. Roberts, 1714

This work is probably the most influential Enlightenment work on the spirit and ethics of capitalism, setting off an extremely useful debate on the role and limits of self-interest. It had a 1705 predecessor in *The Grumbling Hive; or, Knaves turn'd honest.* : [A satire, in verse, by B. de Mandeville].

Mandeville's book inspired a heated discussion on where to draw the line between private and public interest. Just to provide one example. Erik Pontoppidan, former Bishop of Bergen, at the time Rector of the University of Copenhagen and the editor of Denmark-Norway's first economic journal, attempts to draw a demarcation line in Mandeville's work between the self-interest which promotes the common weal and that which destroys the common weal:

'I know how an English author of the work *The Fable of the Bees* can argue for lasciviousness and luxury: that it creates labour for many hands. This can apply to policy when foreigners buy more of the work than we do ourselves, when the raw materials are our own, and when the hands of our labourers are more than those who can be employed at the plough, at the flail, and at the oars. I also know what has been replied to this writer, with good reason, that if his suggestions had been well founded, it would follow that a group of arsonists, to whom it occurred to set fire to all four corners of London, ought to be seen as the best of patriots, because they, more than anyone else, would do much for the trade and employment of many thousands of masons, carpenters and other artisans in the reconstruction of the town'.¹⁴

In his main work of 1771 (No. L on this list), Count Pietro Verri of Milan succinctly condensed the limits to Mandevilles's theory in one brief sentence:

Because the private interest of each individual, *when it coincides with the public interests*, is always the safest guarantor of public happiness. ¹⁵

Literature:

Wikipedia entry in multiple languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard Mandeville

Carrive, Paulette, Bernard Mandeville, Paris, VRIN, 1980.

Donati, Riccardo, *Le ragioni di un pessimista. Mandeville nella cultura dei Lumi*, Pisa: ETS, 2011.

Goldsmith, Maurice M., *Private Vices, Public Benefits. The Social and Political thought of Bernard Mandeville*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Monro, Hector, *The Ambivalence of Bernard Mandeville*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975.

¹⁴ In the journal Pontoppidan edited. Danmark og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin, Preface to Vol. 1, 1757 (our translation).

¹⁵ Pietro Verri, *Meditazioni sulla economia politica*, Genova: Ivone Gravier, 1771, p. 42, emphasis added. For a discussion of this subject in today's context, see Reinert, Erik, 'Civilizing capitalism: good and bad greed from the enlightenment to Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929)', *real-world economics review*, No. 63, 25 March 2013, pp. 57-72, http://www.paecon.net/PAEReview/issue63/reinert63.pdf

XXIII. HUET, PIERRE DANIEL, 1712, his 2nd entry on this list

1630 Caen, Normandy - 1721 Paris

Histoire du commerce, et de la navigation des anciens

A Paris, Chez François Fournier, ruë S. Jacques, & Antoine Urbain Coustelier, Quay des Augustins. M. DCC. XVI. Avec privilege du roy

<u>i</u> title; <u>ii</u> blank; <u>iii-iv</u> Avertissement du libraire; <u>v-xxxii</u> Table des chapitres; <u>1</u>-446 text; <u>447-448</u> blank; <u>449-511</u> Table des matieres; <u>512</u> blank; <u>513</u> Approbation, dated Aug. 14, 1715; <u>513</u> bottom-<u>515</u> Privilege du roy, dated Feb. 4, 1716 and registered Feb. 6, 1716

This, Huet's second book on this list, appears to have more editions in translations than in French. If there are more translations into the same language, only the first is mentioned: English edition (1717), Dutch (1722), Italian (1737), German (1763), and Spanish (1793).

For literature, see XXI.

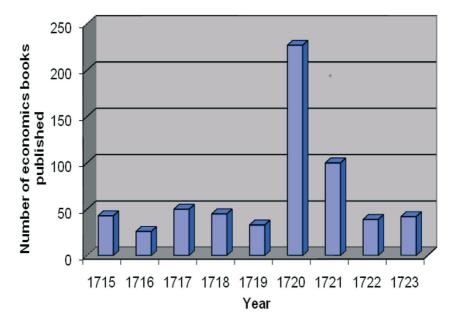
XXIV. ANONYMOUS, 1720

Het Groote Tafereel Der Dwaasheid (*The great Mirror of Folly*)
Amsterdam, 1720

As noted in the introduction, this book – consisting of a large number of illustrated plates – is fairly unique in that not two copies may be alike. The year 1720 represented the first time the real economy and the financial economy 'split up' simultaneously in several countries, leading to financial crises in Amsterdam, London, and Paris the same year. In the sense that one picture may say a thousand words, the book illustrates many mechanisms of financial crises from Hyman Minsky's 'destabilizing stability' to inflation and – above all – speculative frenzy indicating a general feeling that 'economic gravity' had ceased to exist (this is reflected in many of the plates).

The graph below, based on the number of economics books in the Kress collection published between 1715 and 1723 indicates that the impact of the 1720 crises on the publication of economics books was similar to that of the financial crisis starting in 2007-2008.





Source: the authors.

Literature:

Cole, Arthur H, *The Great Mirror of Folly (Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid): An Economic-Bibliographical Study*, Kress Library Publication #6, Boston, Harvard Business School, 1949.

Goetzmann, William N. et al., *The Great Mirror of Folly, Finance, Culture, and the Crash of 1720*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011. On the Kress collection on the subject: https://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/

ssb/using print.html

XXV. UZTÁRIZ, GÉRONIMO DE, 1724

1670 Santesteban, Navarra - 1732 Madrid.

Theorica y practica de comercio, y de marina, en diferentes discursos, y calificados exemplares, que, con especificas providencias se procuran adaptar a la monarchia española, para su prompta restauracion, beneficio vniversal, y mayor fortaleza contra los emulos de la Real Corona, y enemigos de la fè catholica, mediante la soberana proteccion del rey nuestro señor Don Phelipe V. A cuyos reales pies los ofrece Don Geronimo de Uztáriz, cavallero del orden de Santiago, del Consejo de su Magestad, su secretario de hazienda sala de millones, en la Real Junta del Tavaco, y con exercicio de decretos en la primera mesa de la secretaria del despacho de la guerra

[Madrid, 1724]

<u>i</u> title; <u>ii</u> blank; <u>iii-x</u> dedication: A la Catholica Magestad del Rey, Nvestro Señor Don Phelipe V, signed: D. Geronimo de Vztariz, & dated 20 December 1724; <u>xi-</u> Tabla de los capitulos que incluye este tratado de comercio y de marina (107 chapters); <u>1</u>-560 text; <u>561-605</u> Indice de las cosas notables de este tratado de comercio, y de marina

This book is reputed to have been banned when it first came out in 1724. Even if that is not true, the author of the approbation in the 1742 edition claims that it was distributed only among friends of the author. The author's son received in 1734 a royal privilege for a new edition. That privilege, then renewed in 1742, permitted publication of the edition of that year. It has improvements by the author as well as added material by Bernardo de Ulloa.

This work, which acknowledged the sad state of Spain's economy, analyzed, on the basis of reading and travel, the factors behind the flourishing of other economies, and it urged that Spain imitate the others. Besides the four Spanish editions, there were two in English, (the first in 1751), two in French (the first in 1753), and one in Italian (1793). One of the French editions was published in Hamburg, which means that the text was available through the booktrade of German-speaking Europe.

- Wikipedia entry, in Italian, Spanish, Bask and Russian. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerónimo de Uztáriz
- Bitar Letayf, Marcelo, *Economistas españoles del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, Ed. Cultura Hispanica, 1968
- Carrera Pujal, Jaime, *Historia de la economía española, III*, Barcelona, Bosch, 1945.
- Colmeiro, Manuel, *Historia de la economía política en España*, Madrid, Lopez, 1865.
- Colmeiro, Manuel, *Biblioteca de los economistas españoles de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, Madrid, Martinez, 1880.
- Hamilton, Earl J., 'The Mercantilism of Géronimo de Uztáriz', in Himes, Norman E. (ed.), *Economies, Sociology and the Modern World*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. 111-129.
- Mounier, André, Les faits et la doctrine économique en Espagne sous Philippe V. Gerónimo de Uztáriz [1670-1732], Bordeaux, Université, 1919.
- Sempere y Guarinos, Juan, *Jéronimo de Uztáriz y su obra*, Madrid, Academia de la Historia, col. Sempere, vol VI, 1797.
- Wilson, Charles, 'Geronimo de Uztáriz: un fundamento intelectual para el renacimiento economico español del siglo XVII', in *Dinero y Credito (siglos XVI al XIX)*, Madrid, 1978.

XXVI GEE, JOSHUA, 1729

1667? London - 1730 (London?)

The trade and navigation of Great-Britain considered: shewing that the surest way for a nation to increase in riches, is to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as may be rais'd at home. That this Kingdom is capable of raising within itself, and its colonies, materials for employing all our poor in those manufactures, which we now import from such of our neighbours who refuse the admission of ours. Some account of the commodities each country we trade with take from us, and what we take from them; with observations on the Balance

London: Printed by Sam. Buckley, in Amen-Corner. MDCCXXIX [18], 129 [i.e.131], [1]; 16p.

Joshua Gee was born circa 1667, probably in London, and died 3 November 1730. Little is known of his background, but by 1700 he had built up a thriving mercantile business and was trading with the American colonies. Gee – along with Augustine Washington, father of George Washington – was one of the owners of the Principio company, which produced pig iron in Maryland and Virginia for sale in England. He was a merchant in silk, iron and other commodities and also an adviser to the Board of Trade and Plantations. It may be assumed that Gee had other commercial interests in America and the West Indies. Gee was a Quaker and a personal friend of William Penn.¹⁶

There were at least 20 editions of Gee's work between 1729 and 1780, and the issues are unusually widely spread geographically. There are English editions published in London, Glasgow, and Dublin, French translations (the first in 1749), published in London, Amsterdam and Geneva, Dutch (1750), Spanish (1753), and German (in Copenhagen, 1757).¹⁷

One factor leading both to the geographical spread of this book, and to its later oblivion is probably that Gee not only was very straightforward when he described English interest in protecting their manufacturing industry, he was also unusually honest about the intention of colonialism being the opposite, to hinder manufacturing there:

That all Negroes shall be prohibited from weaving or spinning or combing of Wool, or manufacturing hats, ...Indeed, if they set up

¹⁶ https://www.facebook.com/GeeFamilyGenealogy/posts/540319592743293

¹⁷ The Danish translation of Melon (XXVII) claims that the Copenhagen imprint of the German edition of that work is false, and that the place of publication actually was Leipzig. That a text in German may have been published in Copenhagen is not entirely unlikely. At the time German was the *Amtssprache* ('administrative language') in Denmark. Some of Justi's important books appear to have been first published in Copenhagen, but this may of course be a false imprint as was so common at the time.

manufactures, and the Government afterwards shall be under a Necessity of stopping their progress, we must not expect that it will be done with the same ease that now it may.

At the time it must have occured to those who published the 1730 Dublin edition of Gee's volume that not only *negroes* were subject to this policy, so was Ireland. The trade with Ireland was a contested issue, also in John Cary's volume (No. XVIII). In 1779 John Hely-Hutchinson, then Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, anonymously published *Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered in a series of letters addressed to a Noble Lord*. The English authorities thought Hely-Hutchinson's book protesting against the prohibition to export woolen manufactures from Ireland so insidious that the book became the last book in the United Kingdom to be publicly burned by the hangman.

Gee was a contributor to the journal *The British Merchant* which opposed a commercial treaty that would have established free trade with France. The polemical articles from this journal were published in 1721 in three volumes as *The British Merchant; or, Commerce preserv'd* (London, John Darby), with Charles King as the author/compiler. This work appeared in a steady stream of editions between 1713 and 1776, and in translations into Dutch (1728), French (1755) with Forbonnais (author of XXXII) as translator, and German (1764). The last edition is in 1776, in French with an Amsterdam imprint. The editors mistakenly categorized this work a journal, thinking that the 3 volume 1721 edition was the only compilation. At the last minute it became clear that King's volumes are clearly both a book and a bestseller and should have been on this list as number XXV. Future editions will be corrected.

Together with John Cary (XVIII) Joshua Gee's volume probably scores higher than any other book on this list on what we could call the *fame to oblivion axis*: compared to the popularity at the time these volumes seem to be the least remembered today. These were the two authors who probably were the most honest in explaining the policies that were actually carried out by the English.

¹⁸ Dublin, William Hallhead, 1779. For the reproduction of a second edition (Dublin, M. H. Gill &Son, 1882), see http://www.qutenberg.org/files/38841-h/38841-h.htm

¹⁹ King also entered into a disagreement with Daniel Defoe (of Robison Crusoe fame). Defoe's *A plan of the English commerce: being a compleat (sic) prospect of the trade of this nation, as well the home trade as the foreign* (London: Printed for Charles Rivington, 1728) was published in several editions contributing to the virtually unknown, but ferocious debate on English trade policy at the time (see also S. Reinert, 2011).

Precisely these two authors, Cary and Gee – who explained the policies against which Hely-Hutchinson protested and had his book burned – are the same two English bestselling authors, in addition to Culpeper, of which there are no signs on Wikipedia at the time of writing (April 2017).

Literature:

No wikipedia entry in any language.

Johnson, Edgar Augustus Jerome, *Predecessors of Adam Smith. The Growth of British Economic Thought*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1937. pp. 141-157 provide an overview, albeit a negative one, of Charles King and *The British Merchant*.

XXVII MELON, JEAN FRANÇOIS, 1734

1675 Tulle, Aquitaine (now Nouvelle-Aquitaine) - 1638, Paris

Essai politique sur le commerce, par M. M*** 1734

1 title; 2 blank; 3-4 Extrait d'une lettre de Paris au Libraire, le 15. Mars 1734; i-ii Table des chapitres contenus dans ce livre [with typographic ornament in 9 parts at head of page]; 5-273 text

Some twenty editions of Melon's attack against John Law (XIX) were published, including translations into Dutch (1735), English (Dublin 1738), Swedish (1751), Italian (1754), German (1756), Danish (1759), Russian (1786), and Spanish (1786).

Charles Dutot, formerly cashier of Law's *Compagnie des Indes*, defended Law. The defense also sold well, but not nearly so extensively as Melon's attack, there being 6 editions between 1738 and 1754.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry in French, Italian and Russian, brief.

https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-François Melon

Bouzinac, J., *Jean-François Melon, économiste*, Toulouse, Imprimerie Ouvrière, 1906.

Dufrenoy, Marie-Louise, L'idée de progrès et la recherche de la matière d'Orient: Jean François Melon et les sciences économiques, Paris, Centre de Documentation Universitaire, 1964.

Megnet, Franz, Jean-François Melon (1675 bis 1738). Ein origineller Vertreter der vorphysiokratischen Ökonomen Frankreichs, Winterthur, Keller, 1955.

Rebière, Alphonse, Jean-Francois Melon: l'économiste, Tulle, Crauffon, 1896.

²⁰ Ordered by the first translation to appear in each language.

XXVIII. JOHANN HEINRICH GOTTLOB VON JUSTI, 1741

1717 Brücken, Saxony (now Saxony-Anhalt) – 1771 Küstrin (now Kostrzyn nad Odrą)

Policeywissenschaft, various works from 1741

As indicated in the introduction, we are making an exception for Justi in that we consider his many variations over the theme *Policeywissenschaft* ('the science of policy-making') collectively as a bestseller. (It should be noted that a *Policeystaat* means a state ruled by policies, not a police state).

The three best known 18th century German economists – Georg Heinrich Zincke (1692-1769), Justi (1717-1771) and Johann Friedrich Pfeiffer (1718-1787) had all been soldiers as a preface to their eventful lives as economist adventurers or *gelehrte Abenteurer* ('scholarly adventurers'). Justi, Zincke and Pfeiffer all rose to fame as accomplished writers of economics and *Staatswissenschaften* (political science) and trusted administrators; but all of them ended their careers in varying degrees of disgrace, all accused of embezzlement, all suffered similar tragic fates towards the end of an active life of teaching, writing, public administration and public entrepreneurship. Justi died in the prison fortress of Küstrin.

Justi sufferered from what contemporaries referred to as *Vielschreiberei* (which could be rendered as 'excessive writing'). He had an immense literary production on a variety of subjects, 67 books on a variety of subjects and 7 journals were published between 1741 and 1771.²²

Schumpeter remarks that '[Justi's] vision of economic policy might look like laissez-faire with the nonsense left out.' (Schumpeter 1954, p. 172).

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, several languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi

Adam, Ulrich, *The Political Economy of J.H.G. Justi*, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2006.

Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.), The Beginnings of Political Economy: Johann

²¹ For a list of Justi's work in this category, see Reinert, Erik S. with Kenneth Carpenter 'German Language Economic Bestsellers before 1850, with two chapters on a common reference point of Cameralism and Mercantilism' in Rössner, Philipp (ed.) *Economic Reason of State. Reconfiguring the Origins of Modern Political Economy, 1500–2000 A.D.*, London, Routledge, 2016, pp. 26-53.

²² See Reinert, Erik S. & Hugo Reinert, 'A Bibliography of J.H.G. von Justi' in Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.) *The Beginnings of Political Economy: Johann Friedrich Gottlob von Justi*, New York, Springer, 2009, pp. 19-31.

- Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, series The European Heritage in Economics and the Social Sciences, New York, Springer, 2009,
- Inama-Sternegg, Karl Theodor von, 'Justi, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB)*, Vol. 14, Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1881, pp. 747-753.
- Nokkala, Ere, *Passions and the German enlightenment: the political thought of J.H.G. von Justi*, Florence, European University Institute, 2010.
- Reinert, Erik S. 'Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717-1771): The Life and Times of an Economist Adventurer', in Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.), *The Beginnings of Political Economy: Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi*, New York, Springer, 2009, pp. 33-74. http://www.othercanon.org/papers/
- Reinert, Erik S. & Hugo Reinert, 'A Bibliography of J.H.G. von Justi', in Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.) *The Beginnings of Political Economy: Johann Friedrich Gottlob von Justi*, New York, Springer, 2009, pp. 19-31. http://www.othercanon.org/papers/
- Schefold, Bertram & Heinz Rieter, Vademecum zu einem Klassiker des Kameralismus: [Kommentarband zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der 1756 erschienenen Erstausgabe von Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: Grundsätze der Policey-Wissenschaft], Düsselforf, Verlag Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 1993.
- Wakefield, Andre, *The Disordered Police State. German Cameralism as Science and Practice*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2009.

XXIX. LUDOVICO ANTONIO MURATORI, 1749

1672 Vignola, Modena, Emilia-Romagna – 1750 Modena, Emilia-Romagna

Della pubblica felicità, oggetto de' buoni principi, trattato di Lodouico Antonio Muratori, bibliotecario del serenissimo signor Duca di Modena

Lucca [i.e. Venezia] [n.p.] 1749

Octavo, 461 pp.

Muratori's book raises economics to the level of understanding what causes *human happiness*. The work in many ways resembles the 'Kings' Mirrors' (*Fürstenspiegel*) of the past, and also recalls the German economic tradition in his separation between private and public goods.

Muratori also leaves the legacy of the *Muratorian Fragment*, a copy of perhaps the oldest known list of most of the books of the New Testament discovered by him.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, several languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludovico Antonio Muratori
- Boldizzoni, Francesco, 'Ludovico Antonio Muratori, in *Il contributo italiano alla storia del pensiero, VIII, Economia*, pp. 379-375.
- Continisio, Chiara, *Il governo delle passioni: Prudenza, giustizia e caritá nel pensiero di Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, Florence, Olschi, 1999.
- Corte, buon governo, pubblica felicità. Politica e coscienza civile nel Muratori, Atti della III giornata di studi muratoriani, Vignola (14 ottobre 1995), Florence, Olschi, 1996.
- De Carli, Ferruccio, Lodovico Antonio Muratori: la sua vita, la sua opera e la sua epoca, Florence, Macrì, 1955.
- Venturi, Franco, Settecento riformatore, Vol. 1, Da Muratori a Beccaria (1730-1764), Turin, Einaudi, 1969.

XXX. JOSIAH TUCKER, 1749

1713 Laugharne, Carmarthenshire, Wales - 1799 Bristol, England

A brief essay on the advantages and disadvantages, which respectively attend France and Great Britain, with regard to trade: with some proposals for removing the principal disadvantages of Great Britain

London, Printed for the author, and sold by T. Trye, 1749 v, [1], 79 p.

Clergyman Tucker's 1749 *Brief Essay* was 'adapted' into French by Plumard de Dangeul (under which the work is listed in Carpenter 1975) under the pseudonym John Nickolls. Plumard de Dangeul's 'adapted' French version alone reached 10 editions between 1754 and 1782, including translations back into English (1754), and into Swedish (partial 1754, full 1761), Spanish (1755), Danish and German (1756), and Italian (1758). In addition many editions were published under Tucker's own name.

Tucker's arguments proved to be immensely influential on French Enlightenment economists, notably Vincent de Gournay and François Quesnay. Jacques Turgot translated two of Tucker's pieces and opened correspondence with Tucker during the 1770s.

Tucker is perhaps best known for his views on the relationship between Great Britain and its colonies. He believed that Britain would do far better economically if it gave up its dreams of empire. Arguing that English trade would not be injured by American independence, Tucker urged the British to let the colonies go. Unlike Edmund Burke, he did not believe the Ameri-

can colonists were justified or had any relevance to the British at home. Let the malcontents go, Tucker argued, Britain will be better off without them.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, English, French and Polish, brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josiah Tucker
- Clark, Walter Ernest, *Josiah Tucker, economist: a study in the history of economics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1903.
- Ford, Paul Leicester, 'Josiah Tucker and His Writings: An Eighteenth Century Pamphleteer on America', *The Journal of Political Economy, Appendix II*, 1894. Full text https://archive.org/details/jstor-1819490
- Schyler, Robert Livingston, *Josiah Tucker: A Selection from his Economic and Political Writings*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1931. Schyler's introdution gives an account of Tucker's life.
- Shelton George, *Dean Tucker and 18th-Century Economics and Political Thought*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 1981.

XXXI. GIROLAMO BELLONI 1750

1688 Codogno, Lombardy - 1760 Rome

De commercio dissertatio

Roma, Ex typographia Palladis. Excudebant Nicolaus, et Marcus Palearini superiorum facultate

<u>i</u> title in Latin; <u>ii</u> blank; <u>iii</u> title-page in Italian: Del commercio dissertazione del marchese Girolamo Belloni. In Roma MDCCL. Nell Stamperia di Pallade / Appresso Niccolò, e Marco Pagliarini con licenza de' superiori; <u>iv</u> blank; <u>v-ix</u> dedication: Santissimo Domino Nostro Benedicto XIV. Pont. Opt. Max., signed Hieronymus Belloni; <u>x</u> blank; <u>xi-xiii</u> Erudito lectori / All'erudito lettore, signed Nicolaus Palearinus typographus / Niccolò Pagliarini stampatore; <u>xiv</u> Approvazioni, dated October 2 and 9, 1750, & Imprimatur; <u>1</u>-5 Praefatio / Prefazione; 6-39 text; <u>40</u> ornamental vignette; 41-69 Appendix / Appendice. 32.2 x 22 cm

The text is in Latin and Italian in two columns.

There are about 20 editions of this book. The first edition was the only bilingual. Italian (1751)²⁴, French translation (1751), English (1752), German (1752), Russian (1771), and Spanish (1788).

Coming from a wealthy family, and after an early career as a trader, Belloni became a trusted administrator to the Vatican.

²³ Adapted from http://www.hetwebsite.net/het/profiles/tucker.htm

²⁴ As always, the year of first translation into the respective languages in parenthesis.

Literature:

No wikipedia entry in any language.

- Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, 1965, 'Belloni, Girolamo; b. 1688; d. 5 July 1760'.
- Belloni, Coriolano, 'Un banchiere romano del Settecento: Girolamo Belloni', *L'Urbe*, XXVI, 3, 1963, pp. 3-12.
- Caracciolo, Alberto (ed.), *Girolamo Belloni, Scritture inedite e dissertazione 'Del commercio'*, Rome, Istituto per la storia del risorgimento italiano, 1965.
- Reinert, Sophus A, 'Girolamo Belloni', in *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti: Il contributo italiano alla storia del pensiero economico*, Zamagni, Vera Negri and Pier Luigi Porta (eds.), Rome, Istituto della enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 2012, pp. 271-274.

XXXII. DAVID HUME, 1752

1711 Edinburgh - 1776 Edinburgh

Political discourses

Edinburgh, Printed by R. Fleming, for A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson

Despite the title, Hume's *Political discourses* are largely economic in content. They were more successful than any English work of economics prior to Adam Smith.

Carpenter has recorded a total of 42 editions of Hume's main work, including German (1753, the first translation being partial), French (1754), Dutch (1764), Italian (1764), Swedish (1767), and Spanish (1789).

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David Hume
- Harris, James A., *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Hume, David, *The Life of David Hume, written by himself*, [London, Strahan and Cadell, 1777] 1826. Full text https://archive.org/details/thelifeofdavid00humeuoft
- Mossner, Ernest Campbell, *The Life of David Hume*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980.

XXXIII. CLAUDE JACQUES HERBERT, 1753

1700 Paris - 1758 Paris

Essai sur la police générale des grains

A Londres, [no publisher] M. DCC. LIII

Herbert's work started off as a 53-page pamphlet, but already in the French 1756 edition the work had expanded into a volume of 436 pages. This book was one of the first published in the mid-eighteenth century debate as to whether the grain trade should be free. Carpenter has recorded a total of 15 editions, including translations into Spanish (1755), German (1756), Swedish (1763), Italian (1765), and Portuguese (1766). Remarkably there is no translation into English, but three into Swedish (two partial).

In the Vienna edition (1780) Sonnenfels (author of XLV) complains bitterly about the poor quality of the translation in the Berlin edition (1757).

The grain problem involves several considerations. In surplus countries the public interest of keeping the price of wheat (and bread) low by prohibiting exports was in conflict with the interest of the farmers in getting higher prices by being allowed to export. In countries less favored by climate and nature the problem was the opposite: the public interest in keeping the price of bread low was in conflict with the interest of the farmers in keeping import duties high on foreign grain. As in many other instances reducing a problem such as this simply to one of 'free trade' or not obfuscates hugely different sets of vested interests.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, none (only name, dates, and the main title). https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Claude-Jacques Herbert

According to Palgrave (1900) Herbert was 'farmer-general of the royal mail coaches' and an early physiocrat who was favorably mentiond by Adam Smith as a 'very faithful, diligent, and laborious collector' of the prices of corn. The main source of the little knowledge we have is from Edgar Depitre's preface to the 1910 edition of the *Essai sur la Police générale des grains*. It appears the author committed suicide at the age of 58 due to the bankruptcy of his son-in-law, that ruined him as well. Herbert owned a collection of 12.000 books which were sold after his death.

(www) http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/het/herbert/herbert.htm

XXXIV. FRANÇOIS VÉRON DUVERGER DE FORBONNAIS, 1754

1722 Le Mans, Maine (now Sarthe) - 1800 Paris

Elemens du commerce. Premiere [seconde] partie

A Leyde, et se trouve à Paris, chez Briasson, rue Saint Jacques. [chez] David l'aîné, rue Saint Jacques. [chez] Le Breton, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi, rue de la Harpe. [chez] Durant, rue Saint Jacques. M. DCC. LIV

There are 6 chapters in v. 1: Du commerce en général; De la concurrence; De l'agriculture; Des manufactures ou du travail industrieux; De la navigation; Des colonies. Vol. 2 has 6 chapters: Des assurances; Du change; De la circulation de l'argent; Du crédit; Du luxe; De la balance du commerce.

In his *History of Economic Analysis* Schumpeter called Forbonnais 'the prototype of the «useful» or «sound» economist of whom the public approves.' According to Schumpeter Forbonnais 'might be compared with Justi or Sonnenfels' (p. 174).

Of the 12 editions recorded by Carpenter, three are in German (1755, including one in Trieste in 1762), and in Spanish (1765), Dutch (1771), and Russian (1781).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, French, English, German, brief. https://fr.wikipedia.org/ wiki/François Véron Duverger de Forbonnais
- Fleury, Gabriel, *François Véron de Fortbonnais. Sa famille, sa vie, ses actes, ses œuvres 1722-1800*, Mamers, Imprimerie Fleury, 1915. Full text https://archive.org/details/franoisvrond00fleu
- Gourdeau, Gaston, *Forbonnais, un grand Sarthois*, Vadé au Mans, Librairie Moderne A, 1938.
- L'Isle de Sales, Jean-Baptiste de, *Vie littéraire de Forbonais*, Paris, Fuchs, 1801.

XXXV. GABRIEL-FRANCOIS COYER, 1756

1707 Baume-les-Dames, Burgundy (now Bourgogne-Franche-Comté) – 1782 Paris

La noblesse commerçante

A Londres, et se trouve A Paris, Chez DUCHESNE, Libraire, rue S. Jacques, au-dessous de la fontaine S. Benoit, au Temple du Goût. M. DCC. LVI

The role of the nobility was a heated controversy before the Revolution. Of about 13 editions of this work there are several translations: German (1756, the translator was Justi, see XXVIII), Russian (1756), Italian (1773), and Italian (1781).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry only in French, brief. https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel-François Coyer
- Adams, Leonard, *Coyer and the Enlightenment*, Banbury, The Voltaire Foundation, 1974.
- Cheminade, Christian, L'Abbé Gabriel-François Coyer, 1707-1782: un 'philosophe' républicain et réformateur au XVIIIe siècle, Bordeaux, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, 1989.
- Gordon, L.S., 'Gabriel-François Coyer et son œuvre en Russie', *Revue des études slaves*, vol. 42, no 1, 1963, pp. 67-82. Full text http://www.persee.fr/doc/slave_0080-2557_1963_num_42_1_1808

XXXVI. VICTOR DE RIQUETTI MIRABEAU, 1756

1715 Pertuis, Provence (now Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur) – 1789 Paris

L'ami des hommes

Avignon, 1756. 3 vols. Vol. 4 was published in 1758, vol. 5-6 in 1760

The titles of the different translations are:

German 1759: Der politische und oekonomische Menschenfreund oder practische Vorschläge zum Aufnehmen der Bevölkerung der Staaten und zur Erhaltung und Vermehrung ihrer Reichthümer.

Swedish 1759 (extracts): *Tankar om sedernas werkan på folk-mängden i et land.*

English 1760: The Population of a state is as the measure of subsistance. Translated from L'ami des hommes, ou Traité de la Population

English 1766: The oeconomical table, an attempt towards ascertaining and exhibiting the source, progress, and employment of riches, with explanations, by the friend of mankind, the celebrated marquis de Mirabeau.

Italian (1783): L'amico degli uomini ovvero trattato della popolazione.

Palgrave (1910) assumes that there are around 40 editions in French, plus the translations. Carpenter (1975) states that 'no bibliographer is likely to ever undertake the nightmarish task of sorting out the 40 editions of this multi-volume book'.

Schumpeter's judgement of Mirabeau is rather harsh: 'It is difficult to understand – except on the hypothesis that force of temperament and glowing phrases will always carry everything before them – how it was that this man, whose unquestioned ability was completely spoiled by lack of judgment, could have enjoyed, though only for a few years, an international and national fame much greater than that of any other economist before or after, not excluding A. Smith or K. Marx. This happened . . . on

the strength of a performance that cannot be called impressive in anything except passionate phraseology.²⁵

Literature:

(wikipedia entry) several languages, informative. https://fr.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Victor Riquetti de Mirabeau

Castries, René de La Croix, duc de, *Mirabeau ou l'échec d'un destin*, Paris, Fayard, 1960.

Loménie, Louis de, Les Mirabeau, Paris, Dentu, 1879, 2 vols.

Ripert, Henri, *Le Marquis de Mirabeau, ses theories politiques et économiques*, Paris, A. Rousseau, 1901.

Soboul, Albert (ed.), *Les Mirabeau et leur temps*, Paris, Imprimeries Oberthur, 1968.

XXXVII. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1757

1706 Boston - 1790 Philadelphia

Poor Richard improved: being an almanack and ephemeris of the motions of the sun and moon, the true places and aspects of the planets . . . for the year of our Lord 1758: being the second after leap-year. Containing also, the lunations, conjunctions, eclipses, judgment of the weather, rising and setting of the planets, length of days and nights, fairs, courts, roads, &c. Together with useful tables, chronological observations, and entertaining remarks. Fitted to the latitude of forty degrees, and a meridian of near five hours west from London, and but may, without sensible error, serve all the northern colonies

Philadelphia: Printed and sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall. [1757]

Although the length of the publications are often not long, Benjamin Franklin's *The Way to Wealth* is by far the most successful pre-1850 text in economics. *The Way to Wealth* project at Harvard Business School lists the about 1.100 editions of Benjamin Franklin's *Way to Wealth*, published between 1757 and 1850 http://waytowealth.org/

The database is based on a bibliography of pre-1851 appearances of Benjamin Franklin's *The Way to Wealth*, in multiple languages, written by Kenneth E. Carpenter. Professor Sophus A. Reinert sponsored the website development as part of his research program.

What impresses most is perhaps the wide geographical diffusion in Franklin's words of wisdom, being published in small towns from Finland to Italy, clearly establishing a practical and moral standard as to what the

²⁵ Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, p. 175 n.

market economy and capitalism was all about. In this sense Franklin provided a work playing a similar role to what Leonbattista Alberti's *I libri della famiglia* did during the Renaissance.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benjamin Franklin
- Brands, Henry William, *The First American: The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, New York, Anchor Books, 2002.
- Lemay, Joseph A. Leo and Paul M. Zall (eds.), *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, New York, Norton, 1986.
- Reinert, Sophus A., 'The Way to Wealth Around the World: Benjamin Franklin and the Globalization of American Capitalism', in *American Historical Review*, 120, no. 1, February 2015, pp. 61-97.
- Van Doren, Carl, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, Viking, 1938. Pulitzer Prize winning biography. (www, text from 1931) http://rjensen.people.uic.edu/franklin.htm#becker

XXXVIII. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, 1758

1712 Geneva – 1778 Ermenonville, Oise, Picardy (now Hauts-de-France)

Discours sur l'œconomie politique

Geneve: Chez Emanuel du Villard

The English edition 1797, published in Albany NY , is entitled: A dissertation on political economy: to which is added, a treatise on the social compact (sic); or the principles of political law.

This work was first published in the *Encyclopédie* in November 1755. This is the first edition in book form.

Rousseau's works were published in a large number of editions before 1850. Of this particular work there are two Swedish translations (1799 & 1826), an Italian translation in Bologna around 1800, and a German one (1845).

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Cranston, Maurice, Jean-Jacques: The Early Life and Work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1712–1754. New York, W. W. Norton, 1983.

The description of the printer of this volume is given as: Albany, Printed and sold by Barber et Southwick, at Faust's Statue, below the Dutch Church, State-Street, 1797.

Groethuysen, *Bernard, Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Paris, Gallimard, 1949. (www) http://www.iep.utm.edu/rousseau/

Guehenno, Jean, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1712-1778, 2 vols., 1962, translated into English by John and Doreen Weightman, New York, Columbia University Press, 1966.

Lepan, Géraldine, Rousseau: une politique de la vérité, Paris, Belin, 2015. Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, Political writings: new translations, interpretive notes, backgrounds, commentaries, Ritter, Alan and Julia Conaway Bondanella (eds.), New York, Norton, 1988.

XXXIX. JACOB FRIEDRICH VON BIELFELD, 1760

1717 Hamburg - 1770 Altenburg

Institutions politiques

Par Monsieur Le Baron de Bielfeld. Two volumes.

A La Haye, Chez Pierre Gosse Junior, Libraire de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Prince Stadhouder. M. DCC. LX. Avec privilege de nos Seigneurs les Etats de Hollande & de Westfrise

With Beausobre (XLIII) Bielfeld is one of the two bestsellers published in Germany in the French language, both writing in the Prussian cultural setting. A third important economic work by a Prussian German in French was that of Ernst Ludwig Carl (1682-1742).

Bielfeld's main work made it into 12 editions, including translations into German (1761), Italian (1764), Spanish (1767), and Russian (1768/75). An abbreviated version was published in Portuguese in Brazil in 1823.

NB²⁹ As an important advisor to Frederick the Great of Prussia, Bielfeld is frequently mentioned in the literature, but there is not much on Bielfeld himself. The literature is limited to two relatively slim theses (*Inaugurald-issertationen*) on him, by Gerda Voss from the University of Berlin in

²⁷ Traité de la Richesse des Princes, et de leurs etats: et des moyens simples et naturels pur y parvenir, Paris, Theodore Legras, 1722-1723. Carl is the first to introduce the pin factory as an example to illustrate the division of labour, which more than 50 years later was to be made famous by Adam Smith.

^{28 [}Ferreira, Gervásio Pires], Resumo das Instituições Políticas do Barão de Bielfeld, parafraseadas e acomodadas à forma actual do governo do Império do Brasil, oferecido à mocidade brasiliense por um seu compatriota pernambucano, Rio de Janeiro, Tipografia Nacional, 1823. We are grateful to Alexandre Mendes Cunha for this information.

²⁹ NB. As mentioned in the introduction, relatively long accounts of Bielfeld's life and work are included with the hope that these entries serve as rough guidelines (prototypes) for the texts that we hope to collect for the final production of this list, which will include portraits of the authors (where possible) and reproductions of title pages of the works.

1928 and by Friedel Stössl from the University of Erlangen in 1937. We also have an *Eloge* published after he passed away.

Born into a family of merchants in Hamburg in 1717, Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld's life was international already from an early age. In 1732 he started his university studies in Leyden, Holland. In 1735 he travelled in Holland, France, and England. In 1738 he met and befriended then Crown Prince Fredrick of Prussia. Like Frederick, Bielfeld was a freemason. With Fredrick's ascent to the Crown in 1740, Bielfeld started his diplomatic career as Counselor to the Prussian Consulates in Hannover, later in London and Berlin. In 1745 he became tutor to Prince August Ferdinand, in 1747 he became curator of Prussia's universities and director of Berlin's famous Charité hospital. In 1748 Bielfeld was ennobled as Baron, and after 15 years of service to Prussia – at the age of 38 – he withdrew from a *vita attiva* to a *vita contemplativa* at his properties in Altenburg in the Eastern part of Germany in 1755. Due to the Seven Years' War Bielfeld had to leave Altenburg in 1757 for his native Hamburg, returning only in 1763. He died in Altenburg in 1770, at the age of 53.

Bielfeld's letters and anecdotes from the Prussian Court were popular at the time. With the exception of his short-lived weekly journal *Der Eremit* (*The Hermit*) which ran from 1767 to 1769, Bielfeld only published in French. In addition to the *Institutions Politiques* (1760), the letters and the journal, Bielfeld also wrote an interesting work on the recent progress of Germany and an encyclopedic work in the Enlightenment tradition: *L'érudition universelle, ou Analyse abrégée de toutes les sciences, des beaux-arts et des belles-lettres* in four volumes. The English edition is entitled *The elements of universal erudition: containing an analytical abridgment of the sciences, polite arts, and belles lettres*. These publications all fall within the realm of the normal for economists of Bielfeld's generation and importance. His only atypical publications are comedies, which were first staged in Berlin. One comedy is entitled *The Germans in Paris*.

³⁰ Bielfeld's *Lettres familières et autres* (1763), in two volumes, was translated into German in 1765. The 1768 English translation is entitled *Letters of Baron Bielfeld: Secretary of Legation to the King of Prussia; Preceptor to Prince Ferdinand; Chancellor of the Universitys (sic) in the dominions of his Prussian Majesty, F.R.A.B. &c. Author of the Political Institutes(sic): containing original anecdotes of the Prussian Court for the last twenty years, London, J. Robson, 1768.*

³¹ Progrès des allemands dans les sciences: les belles-lettres & les arts, particulièrement dans la poésie & l'eloquence, Amsterdam, F. Changuion, 1752.
32 Berlin, n.p., 1768.

³³ London, G. Scott, for J. Robson, 1770, Dublin edition: Printed for H. Saunders, J. Potts, etc, 1771. Three volumes.

³⁴ Comédies nouvelles, par M. le baron de Bielfeld, Berlin, E. de Bourdeaux, 1753. Amusemens (sic) dramatiques de Monsieur le Baron de Bielfeld, Leyden, Sam. et Jean Luchtmans, 1768. Les Allemands à Paris, comédie, no place, no publisher, no date.

Bielfeld is known to be the person to have used the term 'statistics' for the first time in English, defined as 'the science that teaches us what is the political arrangement of all modern states of the known world', found in the *The Elements of Universal Erudition*.

Bielfeld's volumes of *Institutions Politiques* are written in the venerable *Fürstenspiegel* – or 'Kings' Mirror' – tradition. Going back to Greek (Aristotle) and Roman (Pliny the Younger) this type of work lists the virtues and duties of ruler and princes, establishing the necessary wisdom and principles for good governance. An important German predecessor was Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff's *Teutsche Fürstenstaat* (IX) published in 1656 which was continuously in print for 100 years, the last edition being printed in 1754. Seckendorff and Bielfeld were both employed by men who represented the best intellectualism of Enlightened Despotism: Ernest the Pious of Gotha and Frederick the Great of Prussia respectively.

Frederick the Great's *Antimachiavel* (1740) – his criticism of Nicolò Machiavelli – represented a curious incident inside the *Fürstenspiegel* tradition in that the Fürst (the Ruler) himself participated in the debate. The *Antimachiavel* was the result of Frederick's correspondence with Voltaire from 1736 to 1740. Also Bielfeld corresponded with Voltaire.

Bielfeld's approach is taxonomic and typical of his time. Like Linnaeus (1707-1778) did in the world of plants and animals, Bielfeld attempts to create order in the economic and political world by creating the necessary categories of forces at work. The first person to create a scientific economic treatise, Antonio Serra (1613), also used a taxonomic approach, and the same approach was found in English economics before Adam Smith. In contrast with his predecessors, Smith eliminated important taxonomies as found e.g. in King (1721) – that of 'good' and 'bad' trade among them – and insisted on the counterintuitive proposal that all economic activities are qualitatively alike as agents of economic wealth.

³⁵ Bielfeld is mentioned for this in modern textbooks, eg. in Gupta, B.D., *Mathematical Physics*, New Delhi, Vikas, 2004. Section 15.1. See also Ycart (2016) in the bibliography.

³⁶ This was also seen at the time of publication of Bielfeld's work:

^{&#}x27;Les Ouvrages tant anciens que modernes, qui ont paru sur cette matiere, sont plutôt des Recueils de préceptes détachés pour la conduite des affaires publiques, qu'une théorie foncière, qui enseigne l'essence de la Politique même. L'auteur de ces *Institutions* s'est proposé de remplir ce vuide, de réduire la Politique en Système, & de faire une Science, qui puisse être enseignée aux Princes par leurs Précepteurs, & à la jeunesse en général dans les Chaires des Professeurs', Annales typographique pour l'Allemagne (Berlin), Jan. 1761, p. 72 (italics inside text added).

³⁷ Reinert, Sophus A. (ed.), Antonio Serra, A 'Short Treatise' on the Wealth and Poverty of Nations (1613), London, Anthem, 2011.

³⁸ King, Charles, *The British Merchant; or, Commerce Preserv'd*, London, John Darby, 1721, 3 vols.(see under XXVI, Joshua Gee).

³⁹ For a discussion of this, see Reinert, Erik S., 'The Role of the State in Economic Growth', in *Journal of Economic Studies*, vol. 26, No. 4/5, 1999, pp. 268-326.

tugal having neglected its manufacturing sector, Bielfeld (1760) sees that nation's position vis-à-vis Britain as one of unfortunate dependency. This of course contrasts sharply with Adam Smith's (1776) and David Ricardo's (1817) use of Portugal as an example of the blessings created by free trade.

Bielfeld's emphasis on avoiding inequity is noteworthy. This was strongly emphasized by our bestselling pre-Smithian economists all over Europe: In Germany by Seckendorff (IX) and Justi (XXVIII), in France by Marquis de Vauban (XX), and in Italy by Pietro Verri (L). Indeed the issue of equity seems to be remarkably similar, but cyclical, across culture and time. The advice of General and Governor Thahir Ibn al Husein (775-822) on this issue is still relevant in politics today, 1.200 years later: 'Distribute (taxes) ...among all taxpayers in a fair, just and equitable manner and make them general, not exempting anyone because of his noble rank or great riches... and do not levy on anyone a tax which is beyond his capacity to pay'.

- Wikipedia entry in German, brief. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakob_ Friedrich von Bielfeld
- (Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie) https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ ADB:Bielfeld, Jakob Friedrich Freiherr von
- Fournay, Johann Heinrich Samuel, 'Eloge de M. de Bielfeld', in *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Berlin*, Berlin, Voss, 1772.
- Reinert, Erik S., 'Jacob Bielfeld's On the Decline of States (1760) and its Relevance for Today', in Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.), *Great Nations in Peril*, New York, Springer, 2015, pp. 133-172.
- Stössl, Friedel, *Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld: sein Leben und Werk im Lichte der Aufklärung*, Forchheim, O. Mauser, 1937.
- Voss, Gerda, Baron von Bielfeld; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen und des ausgehenden Rationalismus, Berlin, Curtius, 1928.
- Voss, Gerda, Jakob Friedrich Freiherr von Bielfeld; Ein Jugendfreund Friedrich des Großen, introduction by Stephan Kekulé von Stradonitz ['Unter Förderung der Grossen National-Mutterloge "Zu den drei Weltkugeln" und "des Vereins deutscher Freimaurer"'], Berlin, Curtius, 1928.
- Ycart, Bernard, 'Jacob Bielfeld (1717-1770) and the Diffusion of Statistical Concepts in Eighteenth Century Europe', in *Historia Mathematica*, Elsevier, 2016, 43 (1), pp. 26-48. https://hal.archivesouvertes.fr/hal-01071715

⁴⁰ The quote comes from the *Prolegomena* of Ibn-Khaldun (1332-1406), quoted in Neumark, Fritz, 'Zyklen in der Geschichte ökonomischer Ideen', in *Kyklos*, Vol. 28, 1975, No. 2, p. 274.

XL. VICTOR DE RIQUETTI MIRABEAU, 1760, his 2nd entry on this list

1715 Pertuis, Provence (now Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur) - 1789 Paris

Theorie de l'impot

[n.p.] M. DCC. LX i title; ii blank; iii-vii Avertissement, viii Table; 1-336 text

In Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy (1910), II, 777, Dupont de Nemours is quoted as stating in 1769 that 'this sublime work has to my knowledge been multiplied by eighteen editions.' One might almost have expected more editions, given the great reputation of the author as a result of his *L'ami des hommes* and also his imprisonment for this book. Carpenter has not been able to distinguish 18 editions, but at least 10.

This work was a production of Quesnay's workshop; see Théré, Christine and Loïc Charles, 'The workshop of François Quesnay', *History of Political Economy* 40, 2008, pp. 1- 42.

XLI. HANS KASPAR HIRZEL, 1761

1725 Kappel am Albis, Affoltern, Zürich - 1803 Zürich

Die Wirthschaft eines philosophischen Bauers entworfen von H. K. Hirzel, M.D. und Stadtarzt

in Abhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich, Vol. 1, Zürich, Heidegger und Compagnie, 1761, pp. 371-496

This book – first published in a journal, later as a separate publication – is better known under its French title *Le Socrate rustique* (Zürich 1762):

'Le Socrate rustique, ou description de la conduite economique et morale d'un paysan philosophe. Traduit de l'allemand de M. Hirzel, premier médecin de la république de Zurich, par un officier suisse au service de France: et dédié à l'Ami des hommes'.

Several French editions of *Le Socrate rustique* were published in the 1760s, and in 1770 Hirzel's book was published with Arthur Young's *Rural Economy* (to which is added, *The Rural Socrates: being memoirs of a country philosopher'*).

We have found a total of 18 editions, including translations also into Italian (the first one probably published in 1782) and Russian (1789).

Literature:

Wikipedia entry in English and Swedish, very brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Caspar_Hirzel

Hirzel, Hans Caspar, *Die Wirtschaft eines philosophischen Bauers*, Neudruck der neuen vermehrten Auflage, Zürich 1774. Mit einem Nachwort von Holger Böning, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, frohmannholzboog, 1998.

Neue Deutsche Biographie: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd119020890.html#ndbcontent

XLII. GABRIEL BONNOT DE MABLY, 1763

1709 Grenoble - 1785 Paris

Entretiens de Phocion : sur le rapport de la morale avec la politique : Avec des remarques

Amsterdam [but Paris]

The volume pretends to be a translation from Greek, but is written by Mably. It went through a very large number of editions, including translations into Italian and German (both 1764), Dutch (1765), English (1769), Polish (1771), Russian (1772), and Spanish (1781).

Mably's whole economic and social philosophy stands in sharp contrast to the 'natural order' of the physiocrats. In 1768 he directly criticized Mercier de la Rivière's *L'ordre naturel et essential des sociétés politiques*, in a volume entitled *Doutes proposés aux philosophes et aux économistes sur l'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques*⁴¹. As noted in the introduction, at the last moment before going online we found that this volume, being vol. XI, in Mably's collected works, also appears to qualify as being published in 10 editions before 1850.

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Bonnot_de_Mably
- Deleplace, Marc, L'anarchie de Mably à Proudhon, 1750-1850. Histoire d'une appropriation polémique, Lyon, ENS-LSH Éditions, 2002.
- Friedemann, Peter, *Die Politische Philosophie des Gabriel Bonnot de Mably* (1709-1785). Eine Studie zur Geschichte des republikanischen und des sozialen Freiheitsbegriffs, Berlin, LIT-Verlag, 2014.
- Guerrier, Vladimir Ivanovich, L'Abbé de Mably, moraliste et politique, Paris, Vieweg, 1886.
- Wright, Johnson Kent, *A Classical Republican in Eighteenth-Century France: The Political Thought of Mably*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1997.

⁴¹ La Haye, et se trouve à Paris, chez Nyon et Veuve Durand.

XLIII. LUIS BEAUSOBRE, 1764

1730 Berlin - 1783 Berlin

Introduction générale à l'étude de la politique, des finances, et du commerce, par M. de Beausobre

A Berlin, Chez Chretien Frederic Voss. 1764, 2 volumes

vi, [2], 478 p.

i half-title; ii blank; I title; II blank; III-VI Avant-propos, dated at end at Berlion, Sept. 30, 1764; 1-472 text; 473-478 Table des matieres

Louis Isaac de Beausobre was born in Berlin, the son of the French Protestant churchman and ecclesiastical historian Isaac de Beausobre. He was educated at the Collège Français in Berlin, and went on to study philosophy at Frankfurt an der Oder, and later in Paris. On his return to Berlin he was received as a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1755.

Like Bielfeld (XXXIX), the other German economist on the list who wrote in French, Beausobre was close to the Court of Frederick the Great. Out of esteem for Isaac de Beausobre, Frederick adopted Louis as his son and supported him in his studies.

In addition to the Berlin editions, there are also French editions in Amsterdam (1765) and Brussels (1791). A German translation was published in Riga (1773-75), and Italian translations appeared in Venice (1773 and 1783).

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, in English, very brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis de Beausobre

J.C.L., 'Beausobre, Louis Isaac de (1730-83)', in Klemme, Heiner F. and Manfred Kuehn, *The Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century German Philosophers*, 1, London, Continuum, 2010, pp. 75-77.

XLIV. ANTONIO GENOVESI, 1765-67

1712 Castiglione (now Castiglione del Genovesi), Salerno, Campania – 1769 Naples

Delle lezioni di commercio o sia d'economia civile da leggersi nella Cattedra Interiana dell'ab. Genovesi regio cattedratico 2 volumes. Naples, Fratelli Simone, 1765/1767

⁴² 'Interiana' refers to the university chair being financed by Bartolomeo Intieri (Florence 1678-Naples 1757).

About 20 editions of this voluminous work testify to Genovesi's success as an economist. There are translations into German (1776) and Spanish (1785-86).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, in multiple languages, informative. https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antonio Genovesi
- Alessandra, Davide, *Antonio Genovesi: uno dei padri dell'illuminismo meridionale*, historiaiuris.com, 2016.
- Galasso, Giuseppe, 'Il pensiero religioso di Antonio Genovesi', *Rivista storica italiana*, 1970, pp. 800-823.
- Genovese, Gianluca, 'Tra Vico e Rousseau: le autobiografie di Antonio Genovesi', *L'acropoli*, 2004, No. 4, p. 5.
- Ippolito, Dario, 'Antonio Genovesi lettore di Beccaria', in *Materiali per una storia della cultura giuridica*, 2007, Vol. XXXVII, No.1, pp. 3-20.
- Passetti, Cristina, 'Una fragile armonia: felicità e sapere nel pensiero di Antonio Genovesi', *Rivista storica italiana*, 2009, No. 2, p. 121.
- Perna, Maria Luisa, 'Genovesi, Antonio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 53, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000.
- Rao, A.M., 'Etica e commercio: i Dialoghi di Antonio Genovesi nell'edizione di Eluggero Pii', *Il pensiero politico: rivista di storia delle idee politiche e sociali*, 2010, No.1, p. 73.
- Rother, Wolfgang: Antonio Genovesi, in Rohbeck, Johannes and Wolfgang Rother (eds.), *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, Die Philosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts, Vol. 3: Italien*, Basel, Schwabe, 2011, pp. 374-390.
- Villari, Rosario, 'Antonio Genovesi e la ricerca delle forze motrici dello sviluppo sociale', *Studi Storici*, 11, 1970, pp. 26-52.
- Zagari, Eugenio, Il metodo, il progetto e il contributo analitico di Antonio Genovesi, *Studi economici*, 2007, No. 92, pp. 5-32.

XLV. JOSEF SONNENFELS, 1765-76

1732 Nikolsburg, Moravia (now Mikulov, Czech Republic) – 1817 Vienna

Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft

Wien, Kurzbeck, 1769-76

Sonnenfels' three volume work became the economic and administrative textbook for the Austrian Empire under Maria Theresia and Joseph II, which is reflected in the translations and cities of publication. There were several Italian translations (1784) published in Milan and Venice, Latin, published in Bratislava (Posonii) in present-day Slovakia in 1807-08 and

in Buda(pest) in 1808. Presumably the Russian translation in 1787 would cater to the Eastern part of the Empire, present-day Ukraine.

Sonnenfels, a converted Jew, was among the leaders of the Illuminati movement in Austria. He was also a novelist and a close friend and patron of Mozart. Sonnenfels is the dedicatee of Ludwig van Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 15, Op. 28, which was published in 1801.

Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (XVIII), a protestant who had converted to Catholisism, was appointed Professor of Cameral Sciences at the Theresanium in Vienna in 1750 and worked there until 1753, laying the foundations for Sonnenfels' work.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, in multiple languages, informative.

(www) http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13921-sonnenfels Arneth, Alfred von, *Beaumarchais und Sonnenfels*, Vienna, W. Braumüller, 1868.

Karstens, Simon, 'Joseph von Sonnenfels (1733–1817): Seine Karriere und sein Beitrag zur Reformpolitik in der Habsburgermonarchie', in Schmale, Wolfgang (ed.), *Multiple kulturelle Referenzen in der Habsburgermonarchie des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Bochum, Winkler, 2010, pp. 295-304.

(Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon) http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl 12/422.pdf

(Neue Deutsche Biographie) https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118615610.html#ndbcontent

XLVI. JAMES STEUART, 1767

1713 Edinburgh, Scotland - 1780 Coltness, Scotland

An inquiry into the principles of political oeconomy, 2 vols.

London, Printed for A. Millar, and T. Cadell

This work had partly been written while Steuart lived in Tübingen (where Friedrich List was born in 1789). In a sense Steuart represented the highest point of mercantilism, and discusses issues that later tended to disappear with liberalism, like technology and technological unemployment. There were two almost immediate translations of this voluminous work into German, in Tübingen (1766-72) and in Hamburg (1769-70). There was also a French translation (1789-90).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, in few languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James Steuart (economist)
- Chamley, Paul, *Economie politique et philosophie chez Steuart et Hegel*, Paris, Dalloz, 1963.
- Sen, Samar Ranjan, *The Economics of Sir James Steuart*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Steuart, James Denham, The Works, Political, Metaphysical and Chronological, of the late Sir James Steuart of Coltness, Bart., now first collected, with Anecdotes of the Author, by his Son, General Sir James Denham Steuart, London, Cadell and Davies, 1805. 6 vols.
- Steuart, James, *An inquiry into the principles of political oeconomy*, edited and with an Introduction by Andrew S. Skinner, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd for the Scottish Economic Society, 1966. 2 vols. (entries in dictionaries) http://www.hetwebsite.net/het/profiles/steuart.htm

XLVII. GABRIEL-FRANCOIS COYER, 1768, his 2nd entry on this list

1707 Baume-les-Dames, Burgundy (now Bourgogne-Franche-Comté) – 1782 Paris

Chinki, histoire cochinchinoise, qui peut servir à d'autres pays

A Londres. M. DCC. LXVIII 96 p.

Physiocracy coincided with a great and positive interest in China. Turgot's *Réflexions* (XLVI) was ostensibly written for the benefit of two young Chinese students. Coyer carries this a step further and tells the story of the misadventures of a laborious Chinese whose activities are hamstrung because of absurd regulations. There were several translations of this work, German and Italian (both 1770), Croatian (1771), Swedish (1772), and Spanish (1776).

- Wikipedia entry, only in French, brief. https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel-Francois Coyer
- Adams, Leonard, *Coyer and the Enlightenment*, Banbury, Voltaire Foundation, Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century, Vol. 123, 1974.
- Cheminade, Christian, L'Abbé Gabriel-François Coyer, 1707-1782: un 'philosophe' républicain et réformateur au XVIIIe siècle, Bordeaux, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, 1989.
- Gordon, L.S., 'Gabriel-François Coyer et son œuvre en Russie,' *Revue des études slaves*, vol. 42, no 1, 1963, pp. 67-82. Full text http://www.persee.fr/doc/slave_0080-2557_1963_num_42_1_1808

XLVIII. PIERRE POIVRE, 1768

1719 Lyon – 1786 Saint-Romain-au-Mont-d'Or, Rhône-Alpes (now Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes)

Voyages d'un philosophe ou IXObservtions sur les mœurs & les arts des peuples de l'Afrique, de l'Asie et de l'Amerique

A Yverdon: [F. B. de Félice] M.DCC.LXVIII 142 p.

The English 1769 edition gives away more of the background of the author: Travels of a philosopher: or, Observations on the manners and arts of various nations in Africa and Asia. Translated from the French of M. Le Poivre, late envoy to the king of Cochin-China, and now intendant of the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius.

This, as well as previous volumes above, shows a shift in the general interest towards China. There were translations into English (1769) and German (1769). The geographical spread of cities of publications is unusual. French editions were published in Switzerland (Yverdon) and the Netherlands (Maastricht). English editions were published in London, Dublin, Glasgow, Philadelphia PA, Baltimore MD, and Augusta ME. German editions were published also in Danzig, Poland and Salzburg, Austria.

A review of the book in *Ephemérides du citoyen*, 1768, vol. 6, pp. [166]-217 states that a great many manuscript copies had circulated in Paris and Lyon.

- Wikipedia entry, in few languages, informative. https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre Poivre
- Piat, Denis, *Mémoires d'un botaniste et explorateur*, La Rochelle, La Découvrance, 2006.
- Malleret, Louis, *Pierre Poivre*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1974.
- Pierre Poivre (1719-1786): intendant du Roi pour les lles de France et de Bourbon, Mauritius, Précigraph, 1994.
- Fillet-Phan Van Song, Hélène, L'interprète de Poivre: de la Chine à l'Indochine, rencontre avec Pierre Poivre dans l'Asie du XVIIIe, Bordeaux, Elytis, 2005.
- (movie) La Folle Histoire de Monsieur Poivre, Film de Jean-Daniel Becache (52 minutes) Lithops-Films et France Ô. With Mario Hacquard et Gloria Mapack (2014).

XLIX. FERDINANDO GALIANI, 1770

1728 Chieti, Kingdom of Naples - 1787 Naples

Dialogues sur le Commerce des bleds

Londres, M.DCC.LXX

Galiani was a student of Genovesi (XLIV) in Naples, and between 1759 and 1769 he was employed as secretary to the Neapolitan Embassy in Paris. His *Dialogues sur le commerce des bleds* – 'Dialogues on the commerce in wheat' – with its vivacious wit, delighted Voltaire who described it as a cross between Plato and Molière. Galiani also wrote a play, La Bagarre, which was a stinging indictment of physiocracy.

There are translations into Spanish (1775), Russian (1776), and German (1777, 1778, 1802). The was also a French edition published in Berlin (1795).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, several languages, brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Ferdinando Galiani
- (Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani) http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-galiani (Dizionario-Biografico)/
- Charles, Loïc, L'Abbé Ferdinando Galiani et le commerce des blés, Paris, 1993.
- Deloche, Régis, *En Marge d'un bicentenaire: Galiani et l'apologue*, Besançon, Université de Franche-Comté, 1987.
- Dessein, Édouard, *Galiani et la question de la monnaie au xviiie siècle*, Langres, Imprimerie Champenoise, 1902.
- Gaudemet, Eugène, L'Abbé Galiani et la question du commerce des blés à la fin du règne de Louis XV, Paris, A. Rousseau, 1899, New York, B. Franklin 1972.
- Howland, Edward, 'The Abbé Galiani', *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art and Politics*, March 1873, pp. 299-308.
- Tabarelli, Werner, *Ferdinando Galiani Über das Geld*, Düsseldorf, Verlag Wirtschaft und Finanzen, 1999.
- Tallentyre, S.G. [Hall, Evelyn Beatrice], 'The Fellow-Workers of Voltaire Galiani', *Macmillan's Magazine*, May 1905, pp. 68-80.

L. PIETRO VERRI, 1771

1728 Milan - 1797 Milan

Meditazioni sulla politica economia

Livorno 1771. Nella Stamperia dell'Enciclopedia. Con approvazione. (an even earlier edition exists, without the title page page and without the name of the printer)

Schumpeter states about Verri that he would have to be 'included in any list of the greatest economists'. There were three Italian editions in the first year alone, also in Naples and Genova. There are about 30 editions in total before 1850, including translations into French (1772), German (1774), Russian (1798 partial + 1810), Dutch (1801), and Spanish (1820). A French translation was also published in London in 1776 [under the pseudonym of D. Browne Dignan].

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, several languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pietro Verri
- Bouvy, Eugéne, *Le Comte Verri (1728-1797). Ses Idées et son Temps*, Paris, Hachette, 1889.
- Reinert, Sophus A., *Enlightenment Socialism: Political Economy and Commercial Society in Eighteenth-Century Italy*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, forthcoming 2017.
- Verri, Pietro, *Reflections on Political Economy*, Fairfield, NJ, Kelley, 1986 (English translation) [1771].

LI. JACQUES NECKER, 1773

1732 Geneva - 1804 Coppet, Vaud

Éloge de Colbert

Paris: Chez J.B. Brunet, & Demonville, 1773 Subtitle for the first edition: discours qui a remporté le prix de l'Académie Française en 1773.

Necker was an important opponent to the physiocratic system, and fittingly his first volume to qualify is an *éloge* to a man who represented a different system, and for a long time – in many languages – used to be referred to as *the great Colbert*.

Most editions were published in Paris. There was a Geneva edition in the same year, a German translation in 1781, and a Spanish translation in 1834.

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacques Necker
- Bredin, Jean-Denis, *Une singulière famille: Jacques Necker, Suzanne Necker et Germaine de Staël*, Paris, Fayard, 1999.
- Burnand, Léonard, *Necker et l'opinion publique*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2004.

- Burnand, Léonard, Les Pamphlets contre Necker. Médias et imaginaire politique au XVIIIe siècle, Paris, Éditions Classiques Garnier, 2009.
- Diesbach, Ghislain de, *Necker ou la faillite de la vertu*, Paris, Perrin, 2004. Egret, Jean, *Necker, ministre de Louis XVI*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1975.
- Grange, Henri, Les Idées de Necker, Paris, C. Klincksieck, 1973.
- Harris, Robert Dalton, *Necker and the Revolution of 1789*, Lanham MD, University Press of America, 1986.
- Swanson, Donald F, and Andrew P. Trout. 'Alexander Hamilton, "the Celebrated Mr. Neckar", and Public Credit', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 1990, 47#3, pp. 422-430.
- Taylor, George, Review of Harris, Robert D., 'Jacques Necker: Reform Statesman of the Ancien Regime,' *Journal of Economic History*, 40, no. 4, 1980, pp. 877-879.

LII. JACQUES NECKER, 1775, his 2nd entry on this list

1732 Geneva – 1804 Coppet, Vaud

Sur la législation et le commerce des grains

Paris, Pissot, 1775

There are supposed to be some 20 editions in French during the first 10 years. Translations (German 1777), Italian (1780), and Spanish (1783).

This work was opposed to the Physiocratic doctrine of free trade in grain. Instead, Necker favored retention of the old prohibition against the export of grain. He claims that those who would benefit from free trade are the large proprietors, for they would then be able to dispose of their surplus most advantageously. Thus, in Necker's view free trade in grain favored property rights – the rights of the landowners – rather than the common good.

LIII. ADAM SMITH, 1776

1723 Kirkcaldy, Scotland – 1790 Edinburgh

An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations

London, A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776. 2 vols.

The Vanderblue collection at Kress Library records books and other publications regarding Adam Smith. Vanderblue records 23 English editions published in England between 1776 and 1847, 29 in Scotland between 1805 and 1850, 6 in the United States (3 in Philadelphia, 3 in Hartford) between 1789 and 1818, 4 in Ireland between 1776 and 1801, and 2 in Switzerland (Basel) in 1791 and 1801.

Translations before 1850 include German (1776-78), French (1778-79), Danish (1779-80), Japanese (1884-88), Italian (1790-91), Spanish (1794), Dutch (1796), and Russian (1802-1806). The Swedish translation was serialized in the journal *Läsning i blandade ämnen* (*Readings on diverse matters*) 1799-1800.

For an interesting contemporary criticism by a fellow Scot, see Lauderdale below.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam Smith
- Bullock, Charles J., The Vanderblue Memorial Collection of Smithiana, and a Catalogue of the Collection Presented to the Harvard Business School by Homer B. Vanderblue, Ph.D. in Memory of his Father, Frank J. Vanderblue, Boston, Harvard Business School, 1939.
- Fry, Michael (ed.), Adam Smith's Legacy; his Place in the Development of Modern Economics, London, Routledge, 1992.
- Haakonssen, Knud (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Haakonssen, Knud and Andrew S. Skinner (eds.), *Index to the Works of Adam Smith*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2001.
- Hollander, Samuel, *The Economics of Adam Smith*, London, Heinemann Educational Books, 1973, (Studies in Classical Political Economy, 1).
- Lauderdale, James Maitland, Lord, *An Inquiry into The Nature and Origin of Public Wealth, and into the Means and Causes of its Increase*, Edinburgh, Constable, 1804.
- Muller, Jerry Z., Adam Smith in His Time and Ours: Designing the Decent Society, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Phillipson, Nicholas, *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life*, New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 2010.
- Rae, John, Life of Adam Smith, London, Macmillan, 1895.
- Wood, John Cunningham (ed.), *Adam Smith: Critical Assessments*, London, Routledge, 1993.

LIV. GAETANO FILANGIERI, 1780

1752 San Sebastiano al Vesuvio, Naples – 1788 Vico Equence, Naples La scienza della legislazione

Naples, Raimondi 1780-1785

'Filangieri was one of the most important writers on economics in the latter part of the [18th] century...... [he] is a connecting link between mercantilism and free trade.' (Palgrave, 1900, Vol. 2, p. 59.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, several languages, brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Gaetano Filangieri
- Ferrone, Vincenzo, *The Politics of the Enlightenment. Constitutionalism, Republicanism, and the Rights of Man in Gaetano Filangeri*, translated by Sophus A. Reinert, London, Anthem, 2012.
- Ruggiero, Gerardo, *Gaetano Filangieri. Un uomo, una famiglia, un amore nella Napoli del Settecento*, Naples, Alfredo Guida Editore, 1999.
- Salfi, Francesco Savero, *Elogio di Filangieri*, Crispini, Franco and Valentina Zaffino (eds.), Cosenza, Pellegrini, 2012 [1822].
- Simon, Fabrizio, 'An economic approach to the study of law in the eighteenth century: Gaetano Filangieri and La scienza della legislazione', *Journal of the history of economic thought*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 2011, pp. 223-248.

LV. JACQUES NECKER, 1781, his 3rd entry on this list

1732 Geneva - 1804 Coppet, Vaud

Compte rendu au roi, par M. Necker, Directeur général des finances

Au mois de janvier 1781. Imprimé par ordre de Sa Majesté A Paris, De l'Imprimerie du Cabinet du Roi. M. D CCLXXXI

David Pottinger, in *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 105, states that Necker's *Compte rendu*, printed at the Imprimerie Royale, sold at the rate of 3,000 copies a day and that total sales exceeded 40,000. In addition to the copies printed by the *Imprimerie Royale*, there are many other editions.

It is believed that copies with the imprint of 'Imprimerie du Cabinet du Roi' were for members of the court and were not for sale, that the first copies for sale have the imprint of Imprimerie Royale.

LVI. JOHN BAKER HOLROYD, LORD SHEFFIELD, 1783

1735 Sheffield - 1821 (Sheffield?)

Observations on the commerce of the America states with Europe and the West Indies: including the several articles of import and export; and on the tendency of a bill now depending in Parliament

London, J. Debrett, 1783

Touching upon the interest of the moment, this volume achieved great popularity and grew considerably in number of pages over a period of only a few years. A London edition in 1783, describing itself as 'the second edition' contains 122 pages plus 18 folding tables in an appendix. In a 'new' edition of 1884 the number of pages has grown to 287, but the annexed tables are fewer. There were, not surprisingly, also editions in the US. The author was a member of Parliament for more than 20 years, and was a great authority on farming. In 1783 Lord Sheffield was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1803 he was appointed President of the Board of Agriculture.

While travelling on the continent, the later Lord Sheffield became a close friend of writer and historian Edward Gibbon, later the author of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Sheffield is said to be remembered chiefly as the close friend and literary executor of Gibbon, whose *Memoirs* and other miscellaneous works he subsequently edited and published.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, only in English, brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ John_Baker_Holroyd,_1st_Earl_of_Sheffield

(www) http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/baker-holroyd-john-1735-1821

LVII. JACQUES NECKER, 1784, his 4th entry on this list

1732 Geneva - 1804 Coppet, Vaud

De l'administration des finances de la France

[n.p.] [n.p] 1784

Necker – the great anti-Physiocrat – went from success to success on the eve of the French Revolution, and is the only author to have produced 4 bestsellers. This work, despite being in three volumes (smallness is conducive to a wide market) is said, in Coquelin and Guillaumin, *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* (1854), II, p. 272, to have sold 80,000 copies. Kress Library has 6 copies of the 1784 edition, all from the same setting of type, but all different in pagination, the number of errata, and the extent to which they are corrected.

There were also pirated French editions, plus translations into English and German. Translations of part 1 appeared in Danish and Russian.

Necker's dismissal as a Minister of Finance on 11 July 1789, and the news about this reaching Paris, became part of the chain of events provoking the storming of the Bastille on 14 July.

LVIII. THOMAS PAINE, 1786

1737 Thetford, England - 1809 New York

The decline and fall of the English system of finance. By Thomas Paine, author of Common Sense, Rights of Man, Age of Reason, &c.

Paris, Printed by Hartley, Adlard and Son, Rue Neuve de Berry, No. 5, aux Champs Elysees. And sold by Desenne, bookseller, Palais Egalité, No. 3, 1796. 32 p.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas Paine
- Aldridge, Alfred Owen, *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine*, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1959.
- Bernstein, Richard B., 'Review Essay: Rediscovering Thomas Paine', *New York Law School Law Review*, 9, 39, 1994, pp. 873-929.
- Keane, John, Tom Paine: A Political Life, London, Bloomsbury, 1995.
- Powell, David, *Tom Paine, The Greatest Exile*, London, Hutchinson, 1985.
- Russell, Bertrand, 'The Fate of Thomas Paine', in his Why I am not a Christian: and Other Essays on Religion and Related Subjects, London, Routledge, 1934.
- (documentary) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = 1Gu2c2iNoOU (documentary) The BBC documentary Rights of Man: Thomas Paine, by Melvyn Bragg.

LIX. JEREMY BENTHAM, 1787

1748 London - 1832 London

Defence of usury; shewing the impolicy of the present legal restraints on the terms of pecuniary bargains. In a series of letters to a friend. To which is added, a letter to Adam Smith, Esq; LL.D. on the discouragements opposed by the above restraints to the progress of inventive industry. By Jeremy Bentham, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq.

London: Printed for T. Payne, and Son, at the Mews Gate. MDCCCLXXXVII [6], 206 p.

The great philosoper, jurist and social reformer Jeremy Bentham is regarded as the founder of modern utilitarianism. According to Bentham 'Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain

and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do'. These principles contrast sharply with those of 'natural law' found in earlier writers on the list, like Pufendorf (XIII). To Bentham the idea of 'natural law and natural rights' was nonsense upon stilts.

As a result of his correspondence with Mirabeau and other leaders of the French Revolution, Bentham was declared an honorary citizen of France. He was, however, an outspoken critic of the revolutionary discourse of 'natural rights' and of the violence that later arose.

As is clear from the title of his bestselling book, Bentham maintained a correspondence with Adam Smith, but he did not manage to convince Smith that interest rates should be allowed to float freely. The idea of usury is of course closely tied to religion, and Bentham extensively criticized religion, the catechism, the use of religious oaths, and the Bible.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeremy Bentham

Stark, Werner (ed.), *Jeremy Bentham's Economic Writings*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1952-54. 3 vols.

For an extensivce list of references http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/bentham/

www http://www.iep.utm.edu/bentham/

LXI. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, 1791

1755(57) Charlestown, Nevis, British West Indies (now Federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis) – 1804 New York

Report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States on the subject of manufactures: Presented to the House of Representatives, December 5, 1791

[Philadelphia], Printed by Childs and Swaine

This important theoretical work reached at least 15 editions before 1850. The first Dublin edition appeared already in 1791, which is impressive given the date of December in the original publication, a second followed in 1792.

There was a Russian translation in 1807, the year after the translation of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* had been completed in Russian.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander Hamilton
- Chernow, Ronald, Alexander Hamilton, New York, Penguin Press, 2004.
- Cooke, Jacob Ernest, (ed.), *Alexander Hamilton: A Profile*, New York, Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Flexer, James Thomas, *The Young Hamilton: A Biography*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1978.
- Knott, Stephen F., Alexander Hamilton and the Persistence of Myth, Lawrence KS, University Press of Kansas, 2002.
- McDonald, Forrest, Alexander Hamilton: A Biography, New York, Norton, 1979.

LXII. FRANCESCO MENGOTTI, 1792

1749 Fonzaso, Veneto - 1830 Milan

Ragionamento del sig. Francesco Mengotti dell'Accademia di Padova, presentato alla Real Società economica fiorentina per concorso al problema del 1791 e da essa premiato nella sessione del dì 13. giugno 1792

Firenze Presso Anton-Giuseppe Pagani e compagni stampatori della detta Real Società. MDCCXCII con approvazione

Later editions in Italian were published under the title *II Colbertismo*. This treatise won the prize of the Royal Economic Society in Florence for the best answer to the question: In order for a state to increase its population and the products of its territory, is it better to favor its manufactures through imposing obstacles to free trade or by permitting perfect free trade? The work is often published with his *Del commercio dei Romani*.

The first German translation was in 1794. A curious bilingual edition – German-Italian – published in 1833 by Brockhaus in Leipzig is complete with grammar explications and a glossary translating Italian words into German 'for school and private use'. The editor G.B. Ghezzi was a language teacher at the commercial college in Leipzig.

- Wikipedia entry, French and Italian, brief. https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Francesco Mengotti
- Nuccio, Oscar, Economisti italiani del XVIII secolo: Ferdinando Galiani, Antonio Genovesi, Pietro Verri, Francesco Mengotti, Rome, Bizzarri, 1974.
- Nuccio, Oscar, 'Francesco Mengotti', in *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica*, parte moderna, Vol. 33, Rome, 1967.

Dizionario biografico degli italiani http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ francesco-mengotti (Dizionario-Biografico)/

LXIII. ARTHUR YOUNG, 1792

1741 London - 1820 London

Travels during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789. Undertaken more particularly with a view of ascertaining the cultivation, wealth, resources, and national prosperity, of the kingdom of France.

Bury St. Edmund's, Printed by J. Rackham; for W. Richardson, London Vol. 1 1792, Vol. 2 1794

This extensive work, containing detailed analysis of the general economic situation in France, appeared in many editions from 1792 to about 1810. French translations were published in 1793, 1794, and 1796 (all in Paris), and German translations in 1793 (Berlin) and 1794 (Münster).

The work is not found on the list because of Young's fame as an agricultural economist, but rather because of his many observations on the economy of France. Later Young's *Travels* were found in the many editions of John Pinkerton's *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world* which appeared between 1808 and 1819.

- Wikipedia entry, several languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur Young (agriculturist)
- Betham-Edwards, Matilda (ed), *Young's Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, London, G. Bell and Sons, 1924.
- Defries, Amelia, *Sheep and Turnips. Being the Life and Times of Arthur Young*, London, Methuen, 1938.
- Dyer, Colin, *La France revisitée: sur les traces d'Arthur Young*, Paris, Denoël, 1989.
- Gazley, John G., *The Life of Arthur Young, 1741-1820*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1973.
- Young, Arthur, *The Autobiography of Arthur Young with Selections from his Correspondence*, Betham-Edwards, Matilda (ed.), London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1898.
- Dictionary of National Biography https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Young,_ Arthur (1741-1820) (DNB00)

LXIV. GASPAR MELCHOR DE JOVELLANOS, 1795

1744 Gijón, Asturias – 1811 Vega de Navia, Asturias Informe de la Sociedad ecónomica en el expediente de ley agraria Madrid, en la Imprenta de Sancha

A French translation was published in St. Petersburg in 1806, and an Italian translation in Palermo in 1815.

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry in multiple languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaspar_Melchor_de_Jovellanos
- Caso, José, *Vida y obra de Jovellanos*, Oviedo, Ediciones Cajastur, 2004.
- Gonzales-Blanco, Edmundo, *Jovellanos, su vida y obra*, Madrid, Imprenta artística española,1911.
- Jovellanos, Gaspar Melchor, *Report of the Agrarian Law (1795) and other Writings*, Paquette, Gabriel and Álvaro Caso Bello (eds.), London, Anthem, 2016 (*Economic Ideas that Built Europe*).
- Polt, John Herman Richard, *Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, New York, Twayne Publishers, 1971.
- Sánchez Corredera, Silverio, *Jovellanos y el jovellanismo*, Oviedo, Pentalfa Ediciones, 2004.

LXV. THOMAS ROBERT MALTHUS, 1798

1766 Westcott, Surrey – 1834 Bath, Somerset

An essay on the principle of population

London, J. Johnson, 1798

There is a large number of English editions before 1850, plus translations into German (1807), French (1809), and Spanish (1826).

- Wikipedia entry in multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Robert_Malthus
- Bonar, James, Malthus and his Work, London, Macmillan, 1885.
- Hollander, Samuel, *The Economics of Thomas Robert Malthus*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Keynes, John Maynard, 'Robert Malthus: The First of the Cambridge Economists', in his *Essays in Biography*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1933, is charming and of great importance in the rehabilitation of Malthus as a major economic theorist.

- Mayhew, Robert J., *Malthus: The Life and Legacies of an Untimely Prophet*, Cambridge MA, Belknap Press, 2014.
- Petersen, William, *Malthus*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1979.

LXVI. JEAN BAPTISTE SAY, 1803

1767 Lyon - 1832 Paris

Traite d'economie politique ou simple exposition de la maniere dont se forment, se distribuent, et se consomment les richesses 2 vols.

A Paris: de l'Imprimerie de Crapelet: chez Deterville, libraire, rue du Battoir, n. 16, an XI - 1803

Say's two volume tract was a resounding success with translations into Spanish (1804-07), German (1807), Italian (1817), Danish (1818), English and Polish (1821), and Swedish (1823-24).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, several languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Baptiste Say
- Meunier, C.E., 'Essai sur la Loi des débouchés de JB Say', Thèse de Doctorat, Toulouse, 1942.
- Minart, Gérard, Jean-Baptiste Say, Maître et Pédagogue de l'École Française d'Économie Politique Libérale, Paris, Inst. Charles Coquelin, 2005.
- Palmer, Robert Roswell, *J.B. Say: An Economist in Troubled Times*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Hollander, Samuel, Jean-Baptiste Say and the Classical Canon in Economics: the British Connection in French Classicism, London, Routledge, 2005.
- Schoorl, Evert, *Jean-Baptiste Say: Revolutionary, Entrepreneur, Economist*, London, Routledge, 2012.
- Sowell, Thomas, *Say's law: an historical analysis*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972.
- https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclopædia_Britannica/Say,_ Jean_Baptiste

LXVI. ROBERT OWEN, 1813-14

1771 Newtown, Wales - 1858 Newtown, Wales

A new view of society; or, Essays on the principle of the formation of the human character, and the application of the principle to practice

London, Printed for Cadell and Davies by R. Taylor and Co. This work was issued in four parts

Owen sought a fundamental economic reorganization of society along cooperative lines, and the large number of editions both in the UK and in the US shows his wide influence. However, Owen's anti-religious views alienated many people.

We have found translations of this work into French (1821) and German (1840).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert Owen#Biographies
- Booth, Arthur John, *Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England*, London, Trübner, 1869.
- Davies, Robert Evan, *The Life of Robert Owen, philanthropist and social reformer, an appreciation*, London, Robert Sutton, 1907.
- Donnachie, Ian L., *Robert Owen. Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony*, East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000.
- Fabre, Auguste, *Un socialiste pratique, Robert Owen*, Nîmes, Bureaux de l'Émancipation, 1896.
- Harrison John Fletcher Clews, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America: Quest for the New Moral World*, New York, Scribner, 1969.
- Owen, Robert, *The Life of Owen, written by himself*, London, Wilson, 1857. Podmore, Frank, *Robert Owen: a biography*, London, Hutchinson & Co., 1906. 2 vols.
- Simon, Helene, Robert Owen: sein Leben und seine Bedeutung für die Gegenwart, Jena, Fischer, 1905.
- Simon, Helene (ed.), Robert Owen und der Sozialismus. Aus Owens Schriften ausgewählt und eingeleitet, Berlin, Cassirer, 1919.
- Wagner, Richard Robert, *Robert Owen. Lebensroman eines Menschengläubigen*, Zürich, Europa Verlag, 1942.

LXVIII. JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY 1815, his 2nd entry on this list

1767 Lyon - 1832 Paris

Catechisme d'economie politique, ou instruction familière qui montre de quelle facon les richesses sont produites, distribuées et consommées dans la societé

A Paris: De l'imprimerie de Crapelet (A Paris: chez l'Auteur, rue des Fosses-St.-Jacques, n. 13, pres l'Estrapade; et en depot chez Delaunay, libraire, au Palais-Royal, Galerie de Bois, n. 243)

This work appeared in about 40 editions before 1850, many of them translations Surprisingly many of the French editions were published outside

France, mostly in Belgium, but there was also a French edition published at the University of Coimbra – Portugal's oldest university – in 1837 (even though a Portuguese translation had been published as early as 1822).

We have found the following translations: Polish (1815), English, German, and Spanish (all 1816), Italian (1817), Swedish (1818), Portuguese (1822), Danish (1825), and Dutch and Greek (1828).

LXIX. JANE MARCET, 1816

1769 London - 1858 London

Conversations on political economy: in which the elements of that science are familiarly explained

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816

The many editions and the translations indicate that Jane Marcet found a niche in the market for economics books making the subject accessible, French (1817), German (1820), Dutch (1825), and Spanish (1835). Marcet had already published a successful popular book on chemistry.

- Wikipdia entry, several languages, informative. https://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Jane Marcet
- Armstrong, Eva V., 'Jane Marcet and her "Conversations on Chemistry"', *Journal of Chemical Education*, Vol. 15, No. 2, February 1938, pp. 53-57.
- Dimand, Robert W., Mary Ann Dimand and Evelyn L. Forget (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists*, Cheltenham, Elgar, 2000, 'Jane Haldiman Marcet (1769-1858)', pp. 281-285.
- Dufourt, Daniel, 'Une étude de cas d'épistémologie politique: la réception de l'œuvre de Jane Marcet, *Araben*, No. 3, 2006, pp. 64-97.
- http://asso.orfeo.free.fr/sociologie/araben-elsa-dorlin.pdf
- Golinski, Jan, 'Marcet, Jane Haldimand' in *Dictionary of Scientific Biog-raphy*, **23**, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981, pp. 20-22.
- Polkinghorn, Bette, 'Jane Marcet (1769-1858)' and 'Harriet Martineau (1802-1876)', in Gronert, Anka, *Frauen in der Ökonomie: Die Anfänge in England*, Marburg, Metropolis, 2001, pp. 39-57.
- (www) https://www.chemheritage.org/historical-profile/jane-marcet (www) http://www.fembio.org/biographie.php/frau/biographie/jane-marcet

LXX. DAVID RICARDO, 1817

1772 London - 1823 Gloucestershire, England

On the principles of political economy, and taxation

London, John Murray, 1817

There were only three separate English editions of Ricardo's work in the UK – in 1817, 1819 and 1821 – in addition the book is found in his *Works* (1846). There are US editions in 1819 and 1837, and translations into French (1819), German (1821), Polish (1826-27), Danish (1839), and Spanish (1848). French editions are also found in his *Ouvres Complètes* (1847) and in the *Collection des Principaux Économistes* (1847).

The French translations come 'avec des notes explicatives et critiques' by Jean-Baptiste Say. These comments by Say are also carried over into the German translation. In total there are 16 editions, of which only 4 were published in England (all in London).

Literature:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David Ricardo
- Amonn, Alfred, *Ricardo als Begründer der theoretischen Nationalökonomie*, Jena, Fischer, 1924.
- Blaug, Mark, *Ricardian Economics, a Historical Study*, New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 1958.
- Borchers, Hinrich, *Das Abstraktionsproblem bei David Ricardo*, Jena, Fischer, 1929.
- Franklin, Burt and Gershon Legman, *David Ricardo and Ricardian Theory,* a *Bibliographical Checklist*, New York, Burt Franklin, 1949.
- Henderson, John P. and John Bunnell Davis, *The Life and Economics of David Ricardo*, Samuels, Warren J. and Gilbert B. Davis (eds.), Boston, Kluwer, 1997.
- Hollander, Samuel, *The Economics of David Ricardo*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- Weatherall, David, *David Ricardo: A Biography*, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1976.

(www) https://eh.net/encyclopedia/david-ricardo/

LXX. JAMES MILL, 1821

1773 Northwater Bridge, Scotland – 1836 London

Elements of political economy

London, Printed for Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy. 47, Paternoster Row.

i title; <u>ii</u> blank; <u>iii</u>-iv Preface; v-viii Contents; <u>1</u>-235 text; <u>236</u> blank; <u>237</u>-240 publisher's advertisement: Works published by Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy

James Mill's was the first economic textbook with global printing history, including publication in Argentina and India. There are 15 editions before 1850, only 4 of them in English. There are Spanish editions in Madrid (1822 and 1831), Buenos Aires (1823), and Paris (!) (1823), German (1824), Italian (Naples 1826, Lugano 1830, Milan 1831), Portuguese (Olinda 1831) and Urdu (Delhi 1844).

From the preface: 'My object has been to compose a schoolbook of Political Economy; to detach the essential principles of the science from all extraneous topics, to state the propositions clearly and in their logical order, and to subjoin its demonstration to each. I am myself persuaded, that nothing more is necessary for understanding every part of the book, than to read it with attention—such a degree of attention as persons of either sex, of ordinary understanding, are capable of bestowing'

The textbook on the *Principles of Political Economy* written by James Mill's son – John Stuart Mill – only appeared in 1848 and therefore does not make it to 10 editions during the time period under consideration here.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James Mill

Bain, Alexander, *James Mill, a Biography*, London, Longman, Green & Co., 1882.

Bower, George Spencer, Hartley and James Mill, London, Low, 1881.

Demals, Thierry and Alexandra Hyard, 'James Mill et les «Économistes»', Revue Française d'Histoire des Idées Politiques, 2007/1.

Hamburger, Joseph, *James Mill and the Art of Revolution*, New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 1965.

Stephen, Leslie, 'James Mill', in his *The English Utilitarians*, London, Duckworth, 1900, Vol. II. 3 vols.

www http://fair-use.org/mind/1876/01/the-early-life-of-james-mill www https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/james-mill/

LXXI. JOHN RAMSAY MCCULLOCH, 1825

Whithorn, Wigtownshire, Scotland 1789 - London 1864

The principles of political economy

Edinburgh, Printed for William and Charles Tait: and Longman and Co. London x + 423 pp.

McCulloch was widely regarded as the leader of the Ricardian school of economists after the death of David Ricardo in 1823. He was appointed the first professor of political economy at University College London in 1828.

In Great Britain McCulloch's *Principles* was the college text of the day. However, compared to the texts of Say, Mill, and Droz, the geographical distribution of the around 12 editions of McCulloch's text was more limited. There are 4 in Edinburgh, 3 in English and 1 in Portuguese (1830, abridged) in London, 1 abridged English in Paris, and translations into German (1831), and French (1835 in Brussels and 1839 in Paris).

Literature:

Wikipedia, several languages, informative https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Ramsay_McCulloch Blaug, Mark, Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864), Nassau Senior (1790-1864), Robert Torrens (1780-1864), Aldershot, Edward Elgar, 1991.

LXXII. JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY, 1828-1829, his 3rd entry on this list

1767 Lyon - 1832 Paris

Cours complet d'economie politique pratique; ouvrage destiné à mettre sous les yeux des hommes d'état, des propriétaires fonciers et des capitalistes, des savans, des agriculteurs, des manufacturiers, des négocians, et en général de tous les citoyens, l'économie des sociétés; par Jean-Baptiste Say, auteur du Traité et du Catéchisme d'économie politique, membre de la plupart des académies de l'Europe [quote from Fénelon] Tome premier. [-second. -troisième. -quatrième. -cinquième. -sixième.]

A Paris, Chez Rapilly, libraire, Passage des Panoramas, nº 43. 1828. [vols. 1-3, 1828; vols. 4-6, 1829]

This 6-volume work appeared in 13 editions over the next 20 years. There were three editions in Italian (the first one 1833-35) and one in German (1845-46). 6 of the French editions appeared in Belgium and 3 in France.

LXXIII. JOSEPH DROZ, 1829

1773 Besançon, Franche-Comté, now Bourgogne-Franche-Comté – 1850 Paris

Économie politique, ou principes de la science des richesses

A Paris, Chez Jules Renouard, libfaire, rue de Tournon, nº. 6. M. DCCC. XXIX

Oeuvres de Joseph Droz. III.; title; blank; Préface; text 391 pp.

That Droz' book was used as a textbook – like the previous entries – is made clear in the introduction to the Italian and Spanish editions.

It is unusual that the first edition of this text is found in the author's collected works, it fills the 3rd and last volume of his *Oeuvres*. There were 12 editions of this work, including translations into German (1830), Greek (1833), Italian (1834), Spanish (1842), and Dutch (extract 1843, full translation 1849).

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, few languages, very brief. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Joseph Droz

Mignet, François-Auguste, 'Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Droz' in Droz, Joseph, *Essai sur l'art d'être heureux*, 7e édition, Paris, Renouard, 1853.

LXXIV. CHARLES BABBAGE, 1832

1791 London - 1871 London

On the economy of machinery and manufactures

London, Charles Knight, Pall Mall, Kent

Charles Babbage was a professor of mathematics in the University of Cambridge, and contributed to English economics subjects that were usually more emphasized in continental economics. In 1830 he had published a work on *The Decline of Science in England* and in 1832 this volume on technology, i.e. machinery.

About 16 editions of this work were published before 1850, including translations into French and German (1833), Italian (1834), and Spanish (1835). The first US edition appeared in Philadelphia with Carey & Lea, the same year as the first English edition.

Like Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716) – who also might have been included on this list due to his contributions to economics – Babbage was one of the precursors behind the principles of the computer.

Literature:

Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Babbage

Babbage, Charles, *Passages from the life of a Philosopher*, edited, with a new introduction, by Martin Campbell-Kelley, New Brunswick NJ, Rutgers University Press, 1994.

- Buxton, Harry Wilmot, *Memoir of the life and labours of the late Charles Babbage Esq. F.R.S.*, Cambridge MA, MIT Press, 1988.
- Campbell, Kelley Martin (ed.), *The Works of Charles Babbage*, New York, New York University Press, 1988.
- Collier, Bruce. *Charles Babbage and the Engines of Perfection*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Hyman, Anthony, *Charles Babbage, Pioneer of the Computer*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Moseley, Maboth, *Irascible Genius: A Life of Charles Babbage, Inventor*, London, Hutchinson, 1964.
- Swade, Doron, *The Difference Engine: Charles Babbage and the Quest to Build the First Computer*, New York, Viking, 2001.

LXXV. HARRIET MARTINEAU, 1832-34

1802 Norwich, England - 1876 Ambleside, England

Illustrations of political economy

London, C. Fox, 25v. (in 1834 bound in 9 volumes).

1: Life in the wilds; 2: The hill and the valley (of which Hitsobashi general has a 3d ed.); 3: Brooke and Brooke farm; 4: Demerara; 5: Ella or Garveloch; 6: Weal and woe in Garveloch; 7: A Manchester strike; 8: Cousin Marshall; 9: Ireland; 10: Homes abroad; 11: For each and for all; 12: French wines and politics; 13: The charmed sea; 14-15: Berkeley the banker; 16: Messrs. Vanderput and Snoek; 17-18: The loom and the lugger; 19: Sowers not reapers; 20: Cinnamon and pearls; 21: A tale of the Tyne; 22: Briery creek; 23: The three ages; 24: The farriers of budge-row; 25: The moral of many fables

Harriet Martineau's popularization of practical themes of political economy found a broad audience. We have found 18 editions, in addition to 4 editions in London there were 5 in the US, 3 in Boston and 2 in Philadelphia, and translations into French (1833-34), German (1834), Swedish (2 editions in 1834), Danish (1834-38), Spanish (1836), and Dutch (1847). Many of these translations are only partial.

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harriet Martineau
- Hoecker-Drysdale, Susan, *Harriet Martineau: First Woman Sociologist*, New York, Berg, 1992.
- Logan, Deborah Ann (ed.), *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*, London, Pickering and Chatto, 2007.
- Martineau, Harriet, *Autobiographie*, Peterson, Linda H. (ed.), Peterborough, Ont., Broadview Press, 2006.

Pichanick, Valerie Kossew, *Harriet Martineau: the Woman and Her Work,* 1802-76, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1980.

Romano, Mary Ann (ed.), *Lost Sociologists Rediscovered*, Lampeter, Wales, Edwin Mellen Press, 2002.

Sanders, Valerie, *Harriet Martineau: Selected Letters*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990.

www http://uudb.org/articles/harrietmartineau.html

LXXVI. PELLEGRINO ROSSI, 1836

1787 Carrara, Tuscany – 1848 Rome

Cours d'économie politique

Paris, Ebrard

Born in Carrara, in present-day Tuscany, Pellegrino Rossi lived an unusually eventful life which resulted in four different citizenships. Rossi succeeded Jean-Baptiste Say to the chair of economics at the *College du France*.

Pellegrino Rossi studied at the University of Pisa and University of Bologna, where he became a professor of law at the age of 25, in 1812. In 1815 he travelled to Switzerland, via France, and settled in Geneva where he taught law. His successful teaching brought him Swiss citizenship and a place in the Cantonal Assembly.

Rossi was called to France and the chair of political economy which had become vacant with the death of Jean-Baptiste Say in 1832. He received French citizenship in 1834 and a peerage in 1839. In 1845 King Louis Philippe sent him as ambassador to the Vatican, and when the King was dethroned in 1848, Rossi decided to remain in Rome. Pope Pius IX appointed him Chancellor of the Vatican, and he was given citizenship – his forth – of the Papal State.

On the morning of November 15th, 1848 Pellegrino Rossi was stabbed to death on the stairs of the Palace of the Chancellery.

Pellegrino Rossi's economic text, originating in his lectures at the College de France, was published in at least 13 editions, including 6 in Paris, 3 in Brussels, and translations into Spanish (Madrid 1840) and Italian (Naples 1843 and Ferrara 1849).

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LXXVII. LOUIS BLANC, 1839

1811 Madrid - 1882 Cannes

Organisation du travail

Offprint to Revue du Progrès Politique, Social et Litteraire

This important socialist booklet was publised in at least 13 editions. There are many pamphlets by Blanc around the subject, but the only translations of this work appear to have been into German (in 1847, 1848, and 1849) and English (1848).

Louis Blanc had founded the *Revue du Progrès Politique, Social et Litteraire* in Paris in January 1839. 24 issues where published between January 15 that year and January 1st 1840, but this publication is not contained in the journal itself.

Several works by Louis Blanc reflect his controversies with Adolph Thiers (LXXX).

Literature:

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LXXVIII. FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT, 1846

1801 Bayonne - 1850 Paris

Sophismes économiques

Paris, Guillaumin, 1846 166 p.

The first English translation, in the same year, is entitled *Popular fallacies regarding general interests*; being a translation of the 'Sophismes economiques', by M. Frederic Bastiat, member of the Institute of France. With notes by G. R. Porter, F.R.S., author of 'The Progress of the Nation.'

Bastiat is probably most famous for his fictitious argument against free trade, the candlemakers' petition for protection against sunlight.

We have found at least 12 editions during the period 1846-1849. There are translations into English (London 1846), Dutch, German, Italian and Spanish (all 1847) and Danish, published under the title *Falske Sætninger*

i Statshusholdningslæren (1848). An American edition was published in New York in 1848.

Literature:

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- Bruel, Louis, Bastiat et le libre-échange, Paris, Rousseau et Cie, 1931.
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- Leroux, Robert, *Lire Bastiat: Science sociale et libéralisme*, Paris, Hermann, 2008.
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- Minart, Gérard, *Frédéric Bastiat (1801 1850): le croisé du libre-échange*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2004.
- Roche, George Charles, *Frédéric Bastiat: A Man Alone*, Hillsdale MI, Hillsdale College Press, 1971.
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LXXIX. KARL MARX & FRIEDRICH ENGELS, 1848

Marx: 1818 Trier, Prussia – 1883 London

Engels: 1820 Barmen, Prussia – 1895 London

Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei

London, Gedruckt in der Office der 'Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter' von J.E. Burghard. 46 Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate

The *Manifest* was first published in January 1848, and translations into Danish, Dutch, Polish, and Swedish have been identified during the same year. There were several issues in London. The *Manifest* was also published in newspapers, which makes it difficult to have an exact count.

Literature:

- Andréas, Bert, *Le Manifeste communiste de Marx et Engels. Histoire et bibliographie. 1848-1918*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1963.
- Erikson, Elliot, *Karl Marx and the Communist Manifesto*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1954.
- Marx, Karl, Friedrich Engels and Thomas Kuzcinsky, *Das Kommunistische Manifest (Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei). Von der Erstausgabe zur Leseausgabe*, Trier, Karl-Marx-Haus, 1995.
- Sénik, André, *Le Manifeste du Parti communiste aux yeux de l'histoire*, Paris, Éditions Pierre-Guillaume de Roux, 2015.

Marx:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl Marx
- List of biographies https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biographies_of_Karl_Marx

Engels:

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich Engels
- Carlton, Grace, *Friedrich Engels: The Shadow Prophet*, London, Pall Mall Press, 1965.
- Carver, Terrell, *Friedrich Engels: His Life and Thought*, London, Macmillan, 1989.
- Charbonnat, Pascal, *Histoire des philosophies matérialistes*, Paris, Syllepse, 2007.
- De Aloisio, Francesco, Engels senza Marx, Naples, Liguori, 1979.
- Green, John, *Engels: A Revolutionary Life*, London, Artery Publications, 2008.
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LXXX. ADOLPHE THIERS, 1848

1797 Bouc-Bel-Air, Bouches-du-Rhône, Provence (now Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur) – 1877 Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Seine-et-Marne, Île-de-France (now Yvelines, Île-de-France)

De la propriété

Paris, [Plon frères] [4], 439 p.

The revolutionary year 1848 brought an avalanche of editions of Thiers' book including many translations, into Dutch, English, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. A Danish translation followed in 1849.

As co-author of the other 1848 bestseller, Karl Marx was the most virulent critic of Thiers. Marx had been forced to leave Paris when Thiers was head of the French government. In 1871 Marx described him as follows:

'Thiers, that monstrous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century, because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class corruption. ... Thiers was consistent only in his greed for wealth and his hatred of the men that produce it.'

Commenting on the great crowd that followed Thiers to his grave in 1877, Gustave Flaubert commented:

'This truly national demonstration greatly struck me. I did not like this king of the bourgeois, but it doesn't matter. Compared with the others who surrounded him, he was a giant, and in addition he had one great virtue; patriotism. No one summed up France better than he did. That was the reason for the huge effect of his death.'

- Wikipedia entry, multiple languages, extensive. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolphe Thiers
- Allison, John M. S., *Thiers and the French Monarchy*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1926.
- Bury, John Patrick Tuer and Robert P. Tombs, *Thiers, 1797–1877: A Political Life*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1986.
- Castries, René de La Croix, duc de, *Monsieur Thiers*, Paris, Librarie Academique Perrin, 1983.
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- Dreyfus, Robert, *Monsieur Thiers contre l'Empire, la Guerre, la Commune* 1869-1871, Paris, Grasset, 1928.
- Guiral, Pierre, *Adolphe Thiers ou De la nécessité en politique*, Paris, Fayard, 1986.

- Le Goff, François J., *The life of Louis Adolphe Thiers*, New York, Putnam's Sons, 1879.
- Pomaret, Charles Henri, *Monsieur Thiers et son siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1948.
- Valance, Georges, *Thiers bourgeoise et revolutionanaire*, Paris, Flammarion, 2007.
- Zevort, Edgar, Thiers, Paris, Lecène, 1892.

Appendix I: 80 bestselling economics books in alphabetical order

Anonymous, Het groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid, Amsterdam, 1720

Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, Strasbourg, 1469

Babbage, Charles, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, London, 1832

Bacon, Francis, An Essay on Innovations, London, 1625

Bastiat, Frédéric, Sophismes économiques, Paris, 1846

Beausobre, Louis, *Introduction...politique, des finances, et du commerce*, Berlin, 1764

Belloni, Girolamo, De Commercio dissertatio, Rome, 1750

Bentham, Jeremy, Defence of Usury, London, 1787

Bielfeld, Jakob Friedrich von, Institutions politiques, The Hague, 1760

Blanc, Louis, Organisation du travail, Paris, 1839

Boisguilbert, Pierre le Pesant, Le detail de la France..., n.p., 1695

Botero, Giovanni, *Tre Libri delle Cause della Grandezza, e Magnificenza delle Cittá*, Venice, 1591

Cary, John, An Essay on the State of England, Bristoll (sic), 1695

Child, Josiah, Brief Observations concerning Trade..., London, 1668.

Coyer, Gabriel François, Chinki, histoire cochinchinoise, London (Paris), 1768

Coyer, Gabriel François, La noblesse commerçante, London (Paris), 1756

Culpeper, Thomas, A Tract against Usury, London, 1621

Davanzati, Bernardo, Lezione delle Monete, Florence, 1638

de la Court, Pieter, Interest van Holland, Amsterdam, 1662

Droz, Joseph, Économie politique, ou principes de la science des richesses. Paris, 1829

Filangieri, Gaetano, La Scienza della Legislazione, Naples, 1780

Forbonnais, François de, Elemens du commerce, Leiden, 1754

Franklin, Benjamin, The Way to Wealth, Philadelphia, 1757

Galiani, Ferdinando, Commerce des bleds, London (Paris), 1770

Gee, Joshua, *The Trade and Navigation of Great-Britain considered*, London, 1729

Genovesi, Antonio, Delle Lezioni di Commercio, Naples, 1765-67

Hamilton, Alexander, *Report on the Subject of Manufactures*, Philadelphia, 1791

Herbert, Claude Jacques, *Essai sur la police générale des grains*, London, 1753

Hirzel, Hans Caspar, *Die Wirthschaft eines philosophischen Bauers*, Zürich, 1761

Holroyd, John, Lord Sheffield, *On the Commerce of the American States*, London, 1783

Hörnigk, Philipp Wilhelm von, Österreich über alles wann es nur will, [Nürnberg], 1684

Huet, Pierre Daniel, Commerce des anciens, Paris, 1716

Huet, Pierre Daniel, Commerce des hollandois, Rouen, 1712

Hume, David, Political Discourses, Edinburgh, 1752

Jovellanos, Gaspar, Informe...en el Expediente de Ley Agraria, Madrid, 1795

Justi, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von, Policeywissenschaft, from 1741.

Law, John, Money and Trade considered, Edinburgh, 1705

Luther, Martin, Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher, Wittenberg, 1524

Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de, Entretiens de Phocion, Amsterdam, 1763

Malthus, Thomas Robert, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, London, 1798

Mandeville, Fable of the Bees, London, 1714

Marcet, Jane, Conversations on Political Economy, London, 1816

Martineau, Harriet, Illustrations of Political Economy, London, 1832-34

Marx, Karl & Friedrich Engels, *Manifest der kommunistischen Partei*, London, 1848

McCulloch, John Ramsay, *Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1825

Melon, Jean François, Essai politique sur le commerce, n. p., 1734

Mengotti, Francesco, *Ragionamento...alla Real Societá Economica*, Florence, 1792

Mill, James, Elements of Political Economy, London, 1821

Mirabeau, Victor de Riquetti, L'ami des hommes, Avignon, 1756

Mirabeau, Victor de Riquetti, *Théorie de l'impôt*, n.p., 1760

Mun, Thomas, England's Treasure by forraign Trade, London, 1664

Muratori, Ludovico, Della pubblica Felicità, Lucca, 1749

Necker, Jacques, Administration des finances de la France, n.p., 1784

Necker, Jacques, Compte rendu au Roi, Paris, 1781

Necker, Jacques, *Eloge de Colbert*, Paris, 1773

Necker, Jacques, Sur la législation et le commerce des grains, Paris, 1775

Owen, Robert, A new View of Society, London, 1813-14

Paine, Thomas, English System of Finance, 1786

Petty, William, Political Arithmetick, London, 1683

Poivre, Pierre, Voyage d'un philosophe, Yverdon, 1768

Pufendorf, Samuel, De officio hominis, Lund, Sweden, 1673

Ricardo, David, *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, London, 1817

Rossi, Pellegrino, Cours d'économie politique, Paris, 1836.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Discours sur l'économie politique*, Amsterdam, 1758

Say, Jean Baptiste, Catechisme d'économie politique, Paris, 1815

Say, Jean Baptiste, Cours complet d'économie politique pratique, Paris, 1828-29

Say, Jean Baptiste, Traité d'économie politique, Paris, 1803

Seckendorff, Veit Ludwig von, *Teutscher Fürsten-Stat* (sic), Frankfurt, 1656

Smith, Adam, Wealth of Nations, London, 1776

Sonnenfels, Josef, *Grundsätze der Polizey-Handlung und Finanz*, Vienna, 1765-76

Steuart, James, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy*, London, 1767

Temple, William, *Observations upon the United Provinces*, London, 1673 Thiers, Adolphe, *De la propriété*, Paris, 1848

Tucker, Josiah, Advantages and Disadvantages...France and Great Britain, London, 1749

Uztàriz, Géronimo de, *Theorica (sic) y Practica de Comercio*, Madrid, 1724

Vauban, Sebastien de, *Projet d'une dixme royale*, Rouen(?), 1707

Verri, Pietro, Meditazioni sulla Economia Politica, Livorno, 1771

Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, Paris, 1506

Xenophon, Poroi, Basel, 1551

Young, Arthur, Travels in France, Bury St. Edmund's, 1792

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