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# 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.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

L O N D O N:

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TO THE FARMERS OF ENGLAND,

THIS TRANSLATION,

UNDERTAKEN CHIEFLY WITH A VIEW OF SETTING THE SUPERIOR USE AND ADVANTAGES OF AGRICULTURE TO THEIR COUNTRY IN A CLEAR LIGHT,

AS THE ORIGINAL WAS TO PROVE THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF IT TO FRANCE,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE TRANSLATOR.



# PREFACE

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## TRANSLATOR.

BYTHE

F all the studies purfued by mankind, history is generally allowed to be the most useful and entertaining, especially that of internal commotions, as ufually difplaying the greatest exertion of the mental faculties. Yet what, after all, is even this branch of history, as handled by most writers, chiefly made up of, but the struggles between knaves and madmen, followed by a difciplined rabble of flaves and fools, for the wretched prerogative of trampling on the necks of their equals? How much more interesting must be the relation and discuffion of those means, by which both nations and individuals may improve their happinefs, A 3



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nefs, not only without interfering with each other's interefts, but to the great and univerfal benefit of all. And this, indeed, feems, now at laft, to be pretty much the fenfe of the most thinking part of mankind, witnefs the good reception given to the works of BERKLEY, and fome other modern writers on that fubject, who have handled it with a profoundnefs becoming philosophers, and a spirit worthy of citizens of the world.

Bur, with all their profoundness and spirit, it does not appear, that any of those writers have, at least demonstratively, pointed out the primitive fource of happiness to. states, according to the nature, extent, and fituation of their respective territories. For, though agriculture, manufactures, and commerce are, all, allowed to be highly ufeful, and the two former, particularly the first, abfolutely requisite to the well-being of mankind in general, it has not, I think, been as yet demonstrated, that they are not all equally objects of attention to every state in particular. It has not been mathematically proved, that it would be 25

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as preposterous in the Dutch to encourage agriculture above traffick, and in the Poles traffick above agriculture, and in the people of Geneva either above manufactures, as it would be in our government, for example, to offer premiums for raifing the greatest quantity of corn within the bills of mortality, or for instructing the greatest number of country boys in navigation and accompts, or for promoting agriculture and traffick within the liberties of fuch a place as Manchester, too small, and too remote from the channels of communication between other places, to yield employment to any of her hands in either one or the other of these branches of business, and, therefore, fit only for acting that part in the body politic, which the actually does, with fo much advantage to herfelf, and to every other fellow-member.

BUT I must here take notice, that by the word, *traffick*, I do not mean the buying from strangers to fell to fellow-subjects, or from fellow-subjects to fell to strangers; a branch of business in all places useful, and in many absolutely effential to their A 4 existence.



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existence. What I mean by traffick, to adopt my author's meaning of that word, is the buying from ftrangers to fell to ftrangers; that bufinefs, in fhort, which is at prefent chiefly carried on by the Dutch, as it was formerly by the Hanfe-towns, the Venetians, and the Genoefe; but without which, thank God, Great Britain can fubfift better on her tillage and her manufactures, than it was ever poffible for these states to do on their extensive traffick. Accordingly, though fome writers of eminence have affected to confider her as one of the greatest trafficking nations in the world, she is, if we confider thing's rightly, very far from being fo, at least proportionably to her extent. She confumes herfelf almost all her own imports, and of course exports little elfe but her own produce: fuper-eminently happy in thus having within herfelf almost all the materials of her happiness, at least fuch a redundancy of fome, as eafily to obtain in exchange what fhe wants of others; fuch an abundance of the most useful things, as to afford plentiful roots of that internal. ftrength fo neceffary to keep out an enemy; fuch a defect of fome others, as cannot

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be supplied but by those means, which, to islanders especially, are requisite to keep him at a distance, and withal maintain that correspondence with the rest of mankind, without which the most civilized nations could not but in time relapse into their primitive barbarism. She is both mistress and servant. Her own hands and lands supply her with all the necessaries, and almost all the conveniencies of life. She is, as a state, in the same condition, that the prophet wished to be as an individual. She is neither poor, like fome petty trading states, obliged to slave for others, and often tempted to oppress them; nor extravagantly opulent, like Mexico or Peru, which, by having it in their power to procure every thing by the labour of flaves, are enervated beyond the poffibility of refifting any power that should feriously attempt to enflave themfelves; fuppofing them to be actually free, which, by the bye, is very far from being the cafe.

BUT, to return. Some perfons may think, that fuch obvious truths did not require to be demonstrated; but those, who think so, must.



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must, furely, have read very few of our reputedly best authors upon trade and commerce, most of whom, confidering only the flourishing condition of some confined, tho' well fituated, trading state, as more within their track, hold it forth as an universal example, and propose traffick as the only fource of happiness in every other, and confequently the only object worth the legiflature's attention in all. But these examples of theirs, upon which they shape all their flimfy arguments, not to fpeak of the arguments themselves, are refuted in the following sheets by other examples. We shall there find by the pictures of France at different periods, that, even making allowances for the ravages of war, fhe could, in the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV. when she had no traffick, and very little commercial communication, at least in her own bottoms, with other nations, boast, in confequence of the fuperior attention paid to agriculture, or rather the fuperior eafe her farmers were permitted to enjoy in point of taxes and military fervice, 'a greater number of inhabitants, and a greater proportion of them happy, than when that

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that monarch, at the inftigation of Monfieur Colbert, endeavoured to make France another Holland, or rather the only feat of commerce and manufactures to the exclution of all the other nations of Europe; as though it were not, in a manner, impoffible to render any very extensive country, like France, as populous as Holland, by any other means than agriculture, which, in this wild project, was, however, totally overlooked, or rather facrificed to fupport it. And unlefs fuch a country was equally populous, how is it poffible, that fhe fhould be proportionably ftrong in trade and manufactures?

IT is this error, chiefly, with regard to France, that the author of the following economical table, and the FRIEND OF MANKIND, who has taken upon him to explain that table, endeavour to refute. How they have acquitted themfelves of this tafk, we may guefs by the encomiums beftowed on their work by the foreign Journalifts and Reviewers, and judge for ourfelves by examining it. But, though the reafonings employed for this purpofe have, as I have



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have already intimated, an eye chiefly, if not altogether, to France, they may be eafily applied, affirmatively to every country of an extensive and fruitful foil, and negatively to every other, fo as to conftitute an universal rule of conduct for all.

THIS rule, however, the Marquis, I must own, has left open to fome objections, especially from those who love the fine arts, as every man must to be allowed any pretenfions to thought and feeling. He infifts, that agriculture cannot poffibly flourish in a country like France, unless the bulk of the inhabitants prefer the luxuries of fubfiftence to those of decoration, commonly deemed the only support of these arts. As, therefore, fome readers may not be more tender in judging of his meaning, than he has been guarded in expreffing it, I must beg leave to remark, that he is by no means for having the rich fpend all their money in the purchase of the luxuries of fubfistence, as at first fight one might be apt to conclude, instead of bestowing part of it on the poor for the luxuries of decoration; fince, the poor having mouths as well

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well as the rich, the demand in both cafes must be the fame on the farmer. He does not require that the confumption of the first products should be confined to any particular set of men; all he requires is, that they should be confumed. But confumed, he apprehends, they never would, were a superior taste for the luxuries of decoration univerfally to prevail, even in towns and cities, fince by fuch numbers of people, in that cafe, confining themselves to the purchase of manufactures, it would be impossible for the farmer to fell the produce of his labours, and of course to pay his rent, the confequence of which must naturally be an almost total ceffation of agriculture, the destruction of the landed interest; and, to go a step farther than my authors perhaps intended, an end of every sublunary enjoyment worthy the wish of a rational being.

For, not to speak of that super-eminently useful and entertaining employment which agriculture affords the mind of man, and which it ever affords in proportion as it is cultivated, what fine art is there, that can

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can yield the fenses half the fatisfaction which they derive from agriculture? Can any ornaments, within the narrow bounds of our tenements, compare with those diffufible by agriculture over the immense face of nature? Nay, it is a question, if these ornaments could so much as subfift without it; for where, without agriculture, could the fine arts find either objects or patterns to work upon, fince, if all were wildnefs, wildnefs would have no charms? Befides, it is not to be expected, that a taste, however strong, for the luxuries of decoration alone, should ever occasion those tempefts in the human breaft, those buftles in fociety, those struggles between nature and art, which afford the nobleft fubjects to the pencil, the chiffel, and even the pen itfelf, to rank poetry and oratory among the fine arts? It may, therefore, be affirmed, that even good eating and drinking is but the last scene of a long feries of pleafures of a much higher order neceffary to furnish it; but for which, were it not for the fake of the last, the generality of mankind would not, it may be prefumed, think it worth their while to take any pains.

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pains. In what age, or country, for inftance, have those most pleasing arts of planting and plowing, of grazing cattle and feeding poultry, with all the other amufing details of a country-life, been practifed to any degree, merely to enliven the creation, perfume the air, and give fresh and blooming looks, and an ever-youthful countenance, to the earth? No! in this respect, mankind is always a child. For, as it is often neceffary to inflict fome fmall evils on children to make them avoid great ones; fo is it neceffary to hold out fome coarfe enjoyments to mankind, to make it attend to those of a refined nature.

But, allowing uncultivated nature alone fufficient to fupply the arts of decoration with fubjects and patterns, what would it fignify, were the human fancy unable to operate properly upon them. And that this would be the cafe, without mankind's enjoying the luxuries, and confequently cultivating the arts, of fubfiftence, is plain both from our own feelings and the example and authority even of those, who have fucceeded best in cultivating the arts of decoration.

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decoration. Not to fpeak of all that philanthropy of fentiment, that hilarity of thought, that gaiety of countenance, that freedom of conversation, almost inseparable from a plentiful table, and those fo happily expressed libera vina of Horace, as conftituting in themfelves, in the opinion of the fame poet, one of the most pleafing fubjects of verse, what other subjects of verse could be properly celebrated without it? According to Juvenal, Horace himfelf required to be brim-full to call upon the Mufes to any purpofe; and all Virgil's fire would have produced nothing but fmoke, had he not enjoyed his share of the conveniencies of life. Nay, the Royal Pfalmift himfelf, though he declares, that, to fee the glory of the Most Highest, he found it requifite to appear before him as in a dry, barren, wild, and defart land; yet a little lower in the fame Pfalm he fays, that, in praifing and exalting even that glory, he found fomething operate on his foul like marrow and fatnefs; emphatically alluding to that material fatiety fo requifite duly to describe and celebrate all material subjects.

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LET us go a step farther, and grant, that, without cultivating the arts of fubfiftence, the arts of decoration, and, if we may continue to confider them as arts, those transcendent ones of oratory and poetry, could fubfift, to what purpofe would it be. if mankind itself, for want of cultivating the arts of fubfiftence, should decline by degrees, and at last fet never to rife again? To what purpofe would colours be, if there were no eyes; or mufic, if there were no ears; or odours, if there were no organs of fmell? Now, nothing can be plainer, than it is from obfervation, that farmers are the only clafs of people, who not only keep up their own numbers, but make amends for the ravages that happen in all the other claffes of mankind, particularly those employed in the arts of decoration. Hence it is, that fo few families in the inland and fecond-rate towns, even of England, can trace their pedigrees three or four generations back, without finding themfelves in the fields. Hence it is, that, the arts of decoration being fo much cultivated in England, the cultivation of those of subfistence, though very great, is fearcely able

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able to keep up our numbers; whereas in our North-American colonies, where few arts are known but those of fubfistence, the inhabitants, double, even independent of any acceffions from abroad, every five and twenty or thirty years. Nor is it the number of mankind alone, that would thus dwindle without the cultivation of the arts of subfistence; its powers and its beauties both mental and corporeal would infallibly fuffer a proportionable decay. Farming is the only kind of life, in which every thing concurs, not only to encrease, but to improve the species, or at least keep it up to its original ftandard; open air; exercife of body and mind without exhauftion; plenty without excess; a conftant prospect of the unceafing operations of nature, the Almighty's handmaid, fo well adapted to illustrate, and keep up the remembrance of, His own immediate operations in the grand works of creation and renovation, and thereby fill the mind with fentiments of respect, love, and gratitude towards that all-perfect Being, and confequently of benevolence to all those, whom, from equal motives of goodness, he has chosen to be equally

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equally sharers of the same bleffings; advantages, which, however great in themselves, must, in England, be greatly improved by the farmers confcioufness of their enjoying a free intercourse with all the other claffes of the community; and it is, no doubt, to this free intercourse between the farming and the other claffes of her inhabitants, that this happy country is indebted for those superior excellencies of body and of mind, by which her children of all ranks are so eafily distinguishable from the children of every other, even those bleffed, if any fuch there are, with the fame happy combination of fun and foil, liberty and law, on the face of this terrestrial globe.

HOWEVER neceffary, therefore, agriculture may be to France, it is vaftly more ufeful to England, fince, though England, on account of the fuperior number of her ports in proportion to her extent, can do better without agriculture than France, fhe, on account of her happy conftitution, receives many more advantages from it. Agriculture, if, in fome degree, more meat and



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and drink to France than to England, is to England, in an almost infinite degree, more than to France, health and ftrength, beauty and comeliness, thought and spirit, industry and æconomy, bravery and benevolence, every ingredient, in fhort, fittest to form the manufacturer and the artift, the mechanic and the merchant, the man of bufiness and the man of letters, the philosopher and the legislator, the friend as well as the mafter of mankind. Wherefore, O Englishmen, (I was going to fay, at your peril, but I cannot help faying) as ye tender your own happiness, that of your posterity, and even that of mankind, look with an eye of fuperlative complacency upon farming, and countenance and encourage by every poffible allowance of eafe, profit, and honor, all those concerned in fo greatly and fo univerfally beneficial a profession.

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This excellent work is the Ne plus ultra of the œconomical fcience, the moft important of all the fciences. It, therefore, fhould be read and diligently ftudied by all thofe, who are defirous of acquiring juft ideas concerning the real and imaginary riches of a ftate; of thoroughly underftanding the nature of circulation; of diftinguifhing expence from luxury; of knowing what rank nominal values deferve in political fpeculations; and of deciding with juftnefs concerning the propriety of the feveral laws, cuftoms, and regulations of a country. It is, in a manner, impoffible to give any abfract of a work, that is, itfelf, an abfract of principles and demonftrations, which, handled as fully as they ought to be, would alone fuffice to fill volumes.

Journal des Sçavans for February 1761.

THE

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#### THE

### OECONOMICAL TABLE.

### INTRODUCTION.

H Confifts in the knowledge of human within our reach, and the fimpleft notions concerning them are the neareft to truth; but our underftanding is weak, and too apt, when obliged to compare and combine its ideas, to give way under the burthen, and warp from its creft pofture.

ART should never interfere in our search after truth, but as an index to point her out, B or



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or as a light to direct our notions in the purfuit of her, whenever the croud of relations between interests, remote from each other, happens to dazzle and distract our understanding. But now become an instrument of illufion, it fills us with borrowed and erroneous opinions: it builds in the air, like the architects of NECTANEBO, and not only robs us of our direct feelings, and of our natural ideas, but likewife, by a necessary confequence, of the great advantages we might expect from a more regular conduct, and from that affistance, which nature never refuses to those, who allow things to follow her direction.

It is chiefly in the œconomical fcience, that never-failing fource of our fubfiftence, of our manners, and, in fhort, of every thing that can with any propriety be called the object of that fundamental fcience, the fcience of governing well, that this fatal inconvenience is most feverely felt. Man, who learns nothing but like a child, who never fees in religion any prefent and immediate retribution of virtue and vice; who never attributes obedience

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obedience to any thing but habit or interest; never confiders manners but as the fruits of a good education; who, in a word, never looks deeper than the furface in moral matters; man, I fay, guilty of all these mistakes in affairs of fuch importance, commits the fame in those, which are purely physical. The art of over-reaching he dignifies with the name of policy; a heap of counters with that of riches; civil piracy, with that of finance; the knack of bartering to advantage, with that of commerce. And behold ! he has no fooner crammed these notions into his brain, in confused and ill-forted bundles, but he fets out to perplex himfelf and his cotemporaries; and felf-love and interest find it fo much the eafier to usurp the reins of his understanding in matters relating to his peculiar fphere of life, as the crude notions, upon which these partial systems are built, have no manner of foundation in judgment or truth.

For inftance. Of all the writers upon commerce, who fwarmed in fuch numbers when that fubject happened to be in B 2 vogue,



vogue, how many began by untying the bundle marked with that grand word, COMMERCE; by diffinguishing properly between the trade carried on in the first neceffaries of life, the trade carried on in the immediate fruits of the earth, and the trade carried on in manufactures; between that trade, which confifts in carrying for foreigners, and that, which confifts in buying in one foreign country to fell in another; between the trade carried on by means of metals, and that carried on by means of paper; between the trade carried on by individuals, and the trade carried on by companies, &c. Has any of them taken the leaft trouble to diftinguish between the profits, which those, who carry on a foreign trade, make upon their fellow-fubjects, and those they make upon foreigners, and then afcertain the amount of these several profits? Has any of them been at the pains of calculating, how far the nation is benefitted by the first; and of forming a judgment of the visible or hidden state of these different gains, though abfolutely neceffary to make a just repartition of taxes? No! we are as yet unacquainted

INTRODUCTION. quainted with all these details. We are perpetually confounding the produce of the earth with the produce of trade; nay, we think the former beneath our notice, and, every thing at the hands of the merchant THE fame may be faid of all the other Is it not furprifing, or rather shocking, B 3 men,

inftead of relying on the hufbandman, expect , and manufacturer, though by no means fo nearly related to us. Every thing goes under the name of trade, the fupport of states, the fource of fplendor, and the like rhetorical amplifications. Not one author has as yet confidered the origin and tendency of all these things. Hence mistakes in the principles, and ruin in the confequences, of our conduct. parts of our present theory of human affairs, which, as well as trade, are but fo many branches of that great physical science of this earthly globe, the æconomical science. to think, that this fcience of fciences is as yet without professions, or adepts, or genuine principles! I do not wonder that primitive

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men, this moment obedient to the laws of nature, the next flaves to the first fallies of human pride, should have taken it into their heads, that the primary notions of fubfistence could not fail of being perpetuated in all their purity, by the mere empire of neceffity; that the Egyptians, who all at once became fo powerful and fo wife a nation, in confequence of their feeking for profperity in the arts from which it originally fprings, namely, those of agriculture, have left us no traces of their refearches this way, involved in hieroglyphics, agreeable to the genius of the eastern people; that the Greeks, born to cultivate those arts which are the daughters of the imagination, and scattered over a barren soil, should have despised the fundamental science in the government of nations, and should have cherished no more of it than fuited their love of liberty and of pleasure; that the Romans, first warriors, next conquerors, then plunderers, and at last a prey to plunderers, should have regarded nothing in the æconomical fcience but its independency, and should have left us nothing concerning it, but a few inftructions

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in practical agriculture, without ever confidering this fource of riches, in its effential relations to the conflituent form of flates: I eafily conceive how all this has happened. But that, fince arts and fciences have civilized the western world, fince Europe, divided into nations well known to each other, governed by equitable laws, made fifters by trade, and refcued from tyranny and flavery by a religion powerful to conquer and fubdue the most attrocious passions; fince every corner of Europe, I fay, can boaft of men greedy of praife, and expecting it only in proportion to their endeavours to ferve mankind; fince the sciences compose a kind of universe, and the republic of letters is an expression in every mouth ; that within this period, I fay, the learned and the wife, convinced that a man may make himfelf useful by his studies, should notwithstanding have applied themfelves to every thing, except what ought to be the first and chief concern of us mortals; this it is that I am utterly at a loss to account for. Let fuch, as imagine that illiterate and rote-taught rustics, are equal to this science, but cast B 4 an



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an eye on our table, and they will foon fee their mistake. As to the notion of this fcience belonging to none but men feated at the helm of affairs, I dare affirm, that thofe, who govern, have no time to do any thing else. They must have a chain of principles ready formed to their hands. The maxims and details, fo necessary to form the statesman, depend on the general connection and order of natural effects, which carry along with them the whole political mass, by the indiffoluble concatenation of all the moral and phyfical concerns of this our fublunary world. It is the investigation of these principles, that the philosophers, engaged in the study of nature, should make the object of their meditations. It is the refult of fuch investigation, demonstrated in the clearest manner, that composes the fcience of government. This study confists in a practical and decifive knowledge of feveral things, which ought to be examined, founded, and developed by the learned, whom fuch useful labours would entitle to the efteem and thanks of mankind. May not the man, who has facrificed immenfe calculations

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calculations to the ambition of refolving the Catenarian problem, while we are left in the dark concerning the means of procuring our daily bread, concerning the concurrence of all those æconomical functions fittest to fecure subfistence and power to a nation; may not, I fay, fuch an idle genius be compared to the father of a family, who aimed at nothing, studied nothing, ambitioned nothing, but to become an able chefs-player. O ye, whom Providence has diftinguished by her richest gifts, confider, I befeech you, that it could by no means be her intention in fo doing, to confine you to the poor fatisfaction of making a figure in the eyes of a lazy and curious people. All the hours you throw away on fuch idle fpeculations, is fo much time stolen from the ftudy of a patriot, and the duty of a citizen. The fcience now before us is the province of the learned, for a man must be learned indeed, to dive to the bottom of it. Yes, the æconomical fcience is of fuch extent, her objects are fo numerous, her relations fo intricate, that her interpreters, to fucceed in the development and combination of fo many branches



branches of knowledge, cannot be too well practifed in the fludy of the abstruce fciences; and yet you leave me, me whofe negligence of ftyle, and exuberance of ideas, you fo justly condemn; you leave me, I fay, to wander alone in this new and ftrange road. For shame, awake! awake, I fay, from that profound lethargy, in which you thus ignobly fuffer yourfelf to be held by the charms of fome more agreeable occupation. Awake! arife! fhew yourfelves in the employment most worthy of your superior talents; or, when you fee princes degenerate into tyrants, power abufed to ferve the worft of purposes, men blind to every thing but their own intereft, the poor oppreffed and ftarving on the dunghill, fubfiftence refufed to beings like yourfelves, and the race of Japhet juftly branded with the appellation of a cruel and mercilefs brood; ceafe to attribute to guilt, that which proceeds merely from ignorance; cease to accuse human nature, it is yourfelves alone you are to accufe. Yes, prefent your heads to the vengeful thunderbolt, and fay, what the mother of a tyrant formerly faid; It is here you should ftrike.

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ftrike. Say; "Had we pointed out to "mankind the road of phyfical profit and "moral good, united and combined toge-"ther, they would have purfued them; at "leaft we should not be answerable for "their mistakes."

BUT things are not quite fo bad; this science begins to gain notice. I have met not only fellow-labourers, as hinted elfewhere, but even guides in the pursuit of it: a man of genius, who has analized and minutely examined all the principles of it, and by this study has discovered the source of all those evils, with which nations often find themselves overwhelmed, when they think themselves wifest, has laboured, by a close and obstinate application fuitable to his talents, to acquire just and folid ideas of the fource, progrefs, and employment of riches. But on marshalling in his head the refult of these ideas, he faw plainly that it was impossible to communicate them properly by the mere invention of letters, without making out a map or drawing to affift them; and it is to this conviction of his we

we owe the following œconomical table. But though I perfectly agree with him in the principles upon which he has conftructed it, I could not, with all the application I was mafter of, comprehend these principles in their full extent, till I had made out a map myself, and withal drawn up some explanations of that map for my own use. It is these explanations, fuited to my own, and confequently to the weakest capacity, which I now offer to the public, for whose use I received the ingenious performance that is the object of them.

I MUST however, before I go any further, beg leave to obferve, that fuch, as do not chufe to beftow a little clofe and patient thinking on this performance, had as good never look into it, fince otherwife, in all probability, they would foon lofe the thread of the writers arguments, and reap nothing but error for their trouble. As for my part, I could not explain myfelf more fully, without diluting too much this mafs of principles, which, though capable of furnifhing matter for a thoufand volumes, cannot

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cannot at first be kept too close together. I must, above all things, caution the reader against flattering himself that he understands the table, till he has read the explanations of it, in all the different lights and points of view, in which he will here find it difplayed.

BUT before we fet out, we would do well to lay down to ourfelves a few fundamental axioms, viz.

THE earth is the mother of all our goods.

OF these goods, whatever is confumed by him, who cultivates the earth, is subfistence, and nothing riches, but what he can dispose of.

THE man, who cultivates the earth with his hands, can expect no more from it than barely fubfiftence for himfelf and his family, and that too of the pooreft kind. He must therefore look out for fuch affiftants, as may procure him a greater produce, and at the fame time require lefs to maintain them.

THIS



THIS affiftance confifts in machines, in cattle, in manures, &c. These things are not to be had without money, and the amount of what they cost is what we shall call the husbandman's primitive advances.

As of these things, some, viz. the cattle, must have grass, corn, &c. and all in general are subject to wear and tear, proper allowances must be made to support, repair, and recruit them. Now this allowance, added to the husbandman's substistence, conftitutes what we shall call the husbandman's annual advances, since he must every year feed and recruit his live stock, and till and fow his land, &c. before he can expect any crop from it.

A good crop, fuch as may be expected from a good cultivation, fhould yield, 1 ft, A reimburfement of the annual advances, in order to enable the hufbandman to prepare in time for, and lay the foundations, as it were, of the next year's crop. 2dly, The intereft of his primitive and annual advances, that is, a decent profit on the funds employed by

#### INTRODUCTION. 15

by him in machines, cattle, manures, &c. 3dly, A further return which the hufbandman may fell or barter.

IT is this last portion of the annual produce, which we call income : it is the only portion that can be called riches, the rest being indispensably requisite to keep agoing the æconomical machine.

IT is upon this portion, thus proved to be *riches*, and which we fhall call *income*, that all the œconomical contexture of fociety depends. It is this portion that yields, 1ft, Tithes, confecrated to the fupport of the altar; 2dly, The public revenue, fet apart for the government and defence of the community; 3dly, The landlord's rent, being what the hufbandman pays him for his land, free from all the charges of cultivating it.

OF these three portions, the first affords directly a livelihood to all those engaged in the service of religion; the second, a livelihood to all those inlisted in the service of the public; the third, a livelihood to the landlord,



landlord, and all those employed in his fervice.

THE three together, and each of them feparately, maintain indirectly, and by the tribute of neceffity, all the working part of the nation, as well hufbandmen as manufacturers; fo that this working part of the nation, which before harveft had nothing to live upon but their advances, live afterwards upon the *income*, which flows back to them to purchafe their fuperfluities, and affords them the means of pouring it back in their turn upon others that have any thing to fpare, which they, the working part of the nation, want, and have not reaped from the earth, or manufactured.

SUCH is the machine of circulation in all its parts, here reprefented by money; which, in itfelf, is no fubfiftence, but merely an inftrument of barter univerfally adopted by all nations.

THIS is the circulation represented by the table, which I am now going to lay before

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#### INTRODUCTION.

the reader, and the explanations of which he will do well to attend to in the order I shall give them.

THIS table fnews, that, by means of the circulation between the three claffes, viz. the proprietary clafs, confifting of the church, the ftate, and the landlord; the productive clafs, confifting of those employed in tilling the earth; and the manufacturing clafs; the circulating mass appears double the real mass laid out in advances.

BUT we must carefully diftinguish the physical point of riches, which is reproduction, without which there would be no holding out above one year.

THUS, then, it appears, that riches have but one root, and that this root is the productive clafs, which vivifies all the other claffes, giving them forces that return back to itfelf, doubled by the favourable impulse of a brifk, equable, and in every other respect well regulated circulation.

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Now, it is this circulation we are to confider in the table, whofe fourteen fubdivisions, though they appear gradual, are, in fact, merely distributive; for it is in one and the fame year, that all this repartition amongst all the numberless ramifications of fociety is performed.

But it was by no means the Author's intention to make an algebraical affair of this repartition, and confider it in all the afpects of which it is capable. This would be rather a geometrical amufement, foreign to his object. He has exhibited it in a table, under no other afpects than fuch as he thought indifpenfably requifite. By doing more he might have rendered it too intricate.

By underftanding the table, the Reader will readily come to underftand the depredations into which it is fuppofed the circulation may fall; he may be fure, befides, of feeing his trouble, to make himfelf thorough mafter of the principles flowing from this æconomical fludy, amply rewarded not only by the certainty

#### INTRODUCTION. 19

certainty of the conclusions afforded by them; but by a facility of forefight concerning the nature and effects of every kind of political operations.

In regard to the calculations, it is well known, that fuch things have always an errors excepted tacked to them. The truths, contained in the table, depend not on the quantum of those hieroglyphs called cyphers. They have been made use of in the table, which, at first fight, will appear the most intricate part of the work, merely to facilitate the comprehension of it. The eyes must be spoke to in support of the language fuited to the mind, which is fubject to distraction, but may be called back by mechanical objects. In fhort, the demonstrator, when not understood any where elfe, will own the fault to be entirely his; but, if not understood here, must attribute it entirely to the want of attention in the Reader.

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TOTAL REPRODUCTION 30%. rent, befides the proportional annual advances of 30% and the proportional intereft of the hufbandman's primitive advances and annual advances, amounting to 17% 55.8 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , which the earth reftores. Thus, the reproduction amounts to 77% 55.8 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , including the rent of 30% which is the bafis of this calculation, but exclusive of the land-tax of 15% the tithes of 7% 105. the annual advances requifite for the annual reproduction of the faid land-tax and tithes, and the intereft of thefe and the proportional primitive advances. All thefe fums put together form an annual reproduction of 135% 55. which is half the produce of a plough in a ftate of high cultivation, as fhall be hereafter explained.



For this purpole the Author makes ule of three columns. The right hand column comprehends the productive expences, that is to fay, those of the husbandman; the left hand column, the barren expences, that is to fay, those of the manufacturer; the middle column is that of the income, whose reflux upon the right and left hand columns fets and keeps the whole machine of circulation a-going, and affords all the juices requifite for the fublistence and encrease of the body politic.

THE Author here affumes, by way of example, an annual rent of 30*l*. which he confiders independently of the land-tax and tithes to avoid perplexity from too many figures; but we may, if we pleafe, look upon thefe thirty pounds as fo many millions.

HE has likewife affumed a kingdom in a flourishing state of cultivation, where the reproductive expences yield the fame income from year to year, that is to fay, where agriculture affords to the landlord, the king, and the church, in all kinds of produce, combined

#### Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. combined one with another, one hun per cent. profit on the annual advances stowed upon it, besides an interest of ter cent. on these and the primitive advances where the acre of land yields, on an aver 10 s. a year rent to the landlord, 5 s. fo land-tax, and 2s. 6d. for tithes, in all 17s and likewife an equal fum for the reimb ment of the annual advances, befides 10. for the interest of the primitive and an advances; fo that the whole annual of the acre must be at least 21. 5s. taking one year with another, and one of crop with another kind. For the should produce double that fum the y is fown with wheat, in order to amends for the preceeding year that fallow, fo that a crop of wheat takes in years. Thus therefore in the hypothe a neat produce of cent. per cent. with ten per cent. interest on the primitive annual expences, this crop of wheat fl amount to 41. 10s. 2d. and the crop of 1 corn to 21. 5s. 1 d. the acre. But wheat requires a great deal more charges in pr tion, and produces in proportion a grea 64

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24 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I. more than fpring corn; fo that the produce of an acre under wheat ought to be valued at 5l. 10s. 2d. and that of an acre under fpring corn at 1l. 5s. 1d. amounting to the fame thing on the whole, that is, 6l. 15s. 3d. the acre, for three years.

Our fystem excludes the petty kind of culture with oxen, &c. This kind of culture, to which hufbandmen are reduced for want of funds for the primitive advances required by a ftout culture, is carried on entirely at the expence of the land itfelf. The hay yielded by the meadows of a farm, is eat up by the oxen; a great part of the lands is employed in pasturage and other uses, suffered to be fallow, or quite idle, &c. under pretence of giving it time to recover itfelf; in a word, fwallowed up by the expences of cultivating it. This kind of culture, I fay, for want of fufficient primitive advances, requires exceffive annual advances to fubfift the great number of hands neceffary to carry it on, who run away with almost the whole produce. This ungrateful culture, which betrays the poverty and portends

#### Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 25

tends the ruin of those nations where it prevails, has no relation to the order of our table, which we suppose conformable to that state of things, in which the annual advances, employed on a suitable fund of primitive advances, yield cent. per cent. profit, besides ten per cent. interest on themselves, and the primitive advances.

WE moreover fuppose the venal value of corn what it ought to be kept up to by a freedom and facility of domestic and foreign commerce, that is to say, that wheat is worth 38s. the quarter. This condition must be every where understood; for without setting a value on the real price of the immediate fruits of the earth, it is impossible to form any idea of the state of expence, or produce, or income of any nation. Let us now explain more at large, what we here mean by these two expressions, primitive advances, and anmual advances.

By *primitive advances*, omitted in the table for fear of making it too intricate, we mean what the hufbandman must lay out,

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on his entering upon bufinefs, in the purchafe of cattle, inftruments, and in other extraordinary charges, which, in a state of high cultivation, fuch as the table fuppofes, cannot, with one year's rent, amount to lefs than 500% on a farm of 120 acres, and one plough to work fuch a farm with, during the two first years; for so long must the farmer be fatisfied to labour before he can expect a crop: and all this, exclusive of the ordinary annual advances of 105%.

PEOPLE are too ignorant in many places, and it is poverty that makes them fo, of the prodigious advantage there is in not being too frugal in these primitive advances. The earth is a most grateful parent. She repays with usury whatever we lend her, and that in an infinite progression in our favour.

IT is this fund of primitive advances, the neceflity and importance of which cannot but be fufficiently felt on the bare mention of them, that we must chiefly confider in an agricole state. Fools and knaves, I know, will cry out, Men have done nothing but complain

Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 27 complain of the badness of the times these twenty years past, and yet rents, tithes, and taxes, come in as usual. I allow, that the hufbandman, though obliged inftead of large horfes to make use of those of a middling fize, and from thence to defcend to hobbies, mules, affes, &c. may for some time longer make a shift to pay one way or another; but it will be by breaking in upon his ftock, by which means his ruin, from being certain, as it was at first, becomes absolutely irretrievable.

THE annual advances are the funds employed every year, and take in two objects, viz. the annual productive expences on the one hand, and the annual barren expences on the other.

THE annual productive expences are employed in tillage, meadows, pasture land, fisheries, mines, and in the subfistence of the hands belonging to this class, &c. in order to perpetuate our riches in corn, beverage, timber, cattle, and materials for the manufacturing class, &c.

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THE annual *barren expences* take in all the expences of the manufacturing class, as well domestic, as those requisite to carry on, or subservient to, their respective employments.

THE Author, by making the rent 30. and fuppofing it the produce, on the footing of a ftout culture, of cent. per cent. befides the interefts already fo often mentioned, allows, it is plain, 30. for the annual productive expences: in the fame hypothefis, by allowing an expence proportioned to the income in the manufacturing clafs, he fixes the annual advances for the annual barren expences at 15. Let us now examine the diffribution and circulation of the income, according to the rules juft laid down.

SECTION

## Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 29

### SECTION II.

#### The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Progress.

#### [See TABLE Nº I.]

THE annual advances of 30% committed to the earth by the husbandman, yield him a net produce of 30% for the landlord.

THIS will appear a very idle fuppolition to the many poor landlords, who think themfelves but too happy in meeting with fome wretched farmer willing to divide the fruits of every kind with them, and, miferable as these conditions are, they are too good for fo paltry a cultivation, fince on the least calamity the landlord must fupport his tenant, or expect to see his lands deferted by him. But this difmal kind of culture, the daughter of necessity, and

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the mother of mifery, has nothing common with a good culture, fuch as may be feen in fome countries, and fuch as we here fuppofe it; where the hufbandman, independent as to his food, receives nothing from the landlord but the canvafs of the produce, and has even his own private fund of primitive annual advances, for which the earth pays him at least ten per cent. interest. This portion of the hufbandman's annual reimburfements, as I have already faid, is not taken notice of in the table; but the Author, in the recapitulation at the bottom of the faid table, allows  $17l. 5s. 8d. \frac{1}{2}$  for the interest of the primitive and annual advances requifite to yield a rent of 301.

BUT to proceed. The annual advances of 15% fet down here for the barren expences, confift in the purchafe of raw materials for the manufacturer to work upon, and in his fubfiftence, till he has finished and fold his goods. But these advances reproduce nothing, as every one knows, and the table evinces. Trade and manufactures, I fay, produce nothing, but only give every thing

## Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

thing the greatest relative value. The met produce, which constitute the landlo rent, are expended by him, half among class of productive expences, for bread, we meat, &c. and the other half among class of barren expences, for cloaths, initure, and the like.

THE 15% of the rent, which, in order of the table, immediately paffes of to the clafs of productive expences, ar many *advances* returned in money, wh in the courfe of the year reproduce 15%and these 15% conflitute part of the reduction of the landlord's rent for the following; and by the remaining distrition of those sums, which return du the course of the same year to this so clafs, as it here appears from step to the total revenue is yearly reproduced.

THESE 151. I fay, which the landlord poured back into the class of productive pences, are expended by the farmer, half in the purchase of the product furnished by his own class, such as be

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wine, meat, &c. the other half in apparel, furniture, tools, and the like, fupplied by the class of barren expences.

THE 15% of the landlord's rent which paffed over to the class of barren expences, are expended by the manufacturer, &cc. half among the class of productive expences in bread, wine, and meat for his fublishence, and in the purchase of raw materials to work upon, or to carry on for foreign commerce. The other half remains in the class of barren expences for his maintenance, and the reimbursement of his advances, that is to fay, of the sum just now faid to be advanced by the manufacturer, till he can make up and dispose of his goods.

THIS circulation, and this reciprocal and annual diffribution, proceed in the fame order by new fubdivisions to the last farthing of the fums which pass reciprocally from one class to another. Let us now examine the reflux, and total amount, of all these funds.

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#### Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

IT appears, by adding together the funcarried to the clafs of barren expences, the the circulation carries 30% to that clafs. (1) thefe 30% we must immediately deduct 15 to replace the *annual advances*. There remain 15% for wages. Thus we find, that the 15% which immediately at first fetting on pass from the landlord's hands into the clar of barren expences, replace in the faid clar the 15% annual advances; and that the 'wages of the faid barren class issue from and ther quarter, being the 15% which this clar receives from the class of productive expences.

THE produce of the class of productive expences is 60% exclusive of the land-taand tithes, and the interest on the prime tive and annual advances; articles, which not to render the order of expences too is tricate, shall be taken notice of apart. The produce, I fay, is 60% to wit, 30% which we have paid already into the hands of the lanlord, and 30% more, which constitute the reimbursement of the annual advances. Is us now trace the employment of these 60%

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 $W_E$  faid, that the landlord bought 15l. worth of the land's produce, which is the fame thing as if he received half his income in faid produce; 15l. more pass over to the class of barren expences, viz. 71. 10s. which remain there of the first 301. poured into by the landlord (for it appears that the barren class, by means of what it pours back at every ftep to the productive class, retains but half of what it has received) and 71. 105. which it receives by the feveral returns made to it by the productive class. Of the remaining 301. one half is confumed or funk in the clafs of productive expences, by the men employed in raising the produce, and the amount of the other half goes to compleat the rent due to the landlord \*.

The advances of the productive class reproduce every year themfelves and the income; and in like manner the income and thefe.

\* THE maintenance of cattle, though fupplied by the produce of the earth, is not brought into this account, as the fale of them forms in itfelf part of the income. Nor are the reproductions of the 30% advances taken. any notice of, as they must be again bestowed on the earth, to have a crop the next year.

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 35 these advances are every year confumed and reproduced : the advances likewife are confumed every year at the hufbandman's; for they are nothing but the charges or expences which he is obliged to be at to reproduce them and the income, which is the net produce of the cultivation, after deducting all the charges attending it. If the advances, by being too weak, reproduced nothing but themfelves, none but the hufbandmen, and the members of the barren clafs, whole wares the hufbandmen purchased, could fubfift on the produce of the earth. In fuch circumstances, neither the state, nor the . landlord, nor the church, could expect any thing without breaking in upon the fubfiftence of the hufbandman, and those of the barren class, who supplied the husbandman with neceffaries; without deftroying the advances which are the means of reproducing the faid fubfiftence; in fhort, without making a defart of the land. And then farewel to all hufbandry, manufactures, and commerce ! IT is therefore necessary, in order to maintain the opulence, populoufness, and power D 2 of

of a nation, that the husbandman's advances should be fufficient to obtain from the earth the greatest net produce, or greatest income poffible; that is, that the productions fhould be in the greatest quantity, and of the greateft venal value poffible. Befides, it imports every nation to maintain herfelf, by the venal value of the commodities of her own growth, in the most advantageous degree of opulence, relatively to the riches of the nations about her, and relatively to the reciprocal commerce which fhe carries on with them; for fhe would lofe greatly by felling cheap, and buying dear, in her dealings with them. Such a commerce would redound entirely to their advantage, and would difturb the order of relative riches between her and her neighbours: a thing, which may eafily happen by means of a bad police, by taxes, or, in a word, by any abfurd regulations inverting the natural order of the nation's commerce.

BUT, to return to the 15% allotted in the fuppolition of a net produce of cent. per cent. to the clafs of barren expences, to carry on that

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 37 that part of foreign commerce, which procures the vent of fuch immediate fruits of the earth, as an agricole nation cannot confume. OF these 15% one half, or 7% 10s. are fpent in purchasing subfistence for the class itfelf; the other half is carried off by foreign commerce, which we refer to this fame class. Thus an eighth of the whole amount of the productions enters foreign commerce in exportation, in raw materials, and in food for the manufacturers of the country, whole wares are exported to other nations. The trade, called reciprocal foreign commerce, confifts in the fales of the merchant ballancing exactly the purchafes made by him of the gold, filver, and other commodities, of the nation he deals with. SUCH is the diffributive order, in which the immediate productions of the earth are confumed by the feveral claffes, into which the inhabitants of an agricole country may be divided, and fuch is the idea we should form

The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I. 28: form to ourfelves of the use and extent of foreign commerce in a flourishing agricole nation, whofe government no way obstructs the fale of the immediate fruits of the earth. Thus in a nation, whofe territory produces annually one hundred and twenty millions, the annual exportations would amount to fifteen millions. This may be confidered as the genuine commerce of a well governed agricole nation, carried on in the immediate produce of its lands. This is the commerce which keeps up the vent and venal value of the immediate fruits of the earth, which makes agriculture flourish, renders all the lands of value, fecures his revenue to the fovereign, and his rent to the landlord, and is, at the fame time, a certain fource of wages for the hands employed in the class of barren expences.

SECTION

Sect. 3. THE OECONOMICAL TABLE. 39

### SECTION III.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered relatively to Populousness.

[See TABLE Nº I.]

HE reciprocal vents, made by one class of expence to another, diftributes on both fides the income of 30*l*. giving 15*l*. to each.

THE landlord fubfilts by the 30l. which he expends. The 15l which he diffributes to each clafs, added to the produce of the land-tax, the tithes,  $\mathfrak{S}c$ . annexed thereto, may fubfilt a man in each of the two other claffes. Thus a rent of 30l and its dependencies, may yield fubfiltence to three house-keepers.

On this footing a rent of thirty millions is fufficient to yield fubfiftence to three millions of families, of four heads each.

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WE faid, that the annual advances of the productive class, being nothing elfe but the difburfements made for the reproductions, were repaid by the earth every year; we faid likewife, that half of these annual advances, viz. 151. went to pay the wages of the hands employed by the farmer in the work of reproduction. Now thefe 151. maintain another family; and as they stand for fifteen millions, we may reckon another million of families.

THUS then thefe forty-five millions, which, exclusive of the land-tax, tithes, interest of all the advances, both primitive and annual, would iffue from year to year from the earth, would be fufficient to yield fubfistence to fixteen millions of fouls of every age, agreeable to this order of the circulation and diftribution of the annual products and rents.

By circulation, nothing more is meant here but the purchases made at the first hand, and paid for with the income which is divided between all the feveral claffes of men, exclusive of commerce, which multiplies

nation.

Sect 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 41 plies fales and purchases, without multiplying things, and is but a further increase of barren expences. Thus it appears, on the bare infpection of the Table, that the pecuniary amount of the annual rents is fufficient for circulation in the commerce of an agricole HERE then are fixteen millions of fouls fubfisted in a state, in which the landlord's rents amount to thirty millions. But we have not as yet confidered either the land-tax or the tithes, which, added to the landlord's rents, cannot fail of rendering very eafy the circumstances of those fixteen millions of fouls, provided the population ftops at this number, the best proportion to make a flourishing people; for the richer the agriculture of a nation, the fewer hands she employs in raifing corn, and the more she stands in need of exportation to maintain plenty, and keep up the venal value of her productions. A flourishing nation, to enjoy her own annual riches, must buy from foreigners fuch goods as her own lands don't produce. It is therefore requifite that fhe

fhe fhould ballance thefe purchafes from foreigners by her fales to them of the fuperfluous part of her own produce. Without fuch reciprocal commerce, her riches would in time dwindle to nothing; her productions would come to have no fixed or conftant price; the annual returns of the hufbandman would become precarious; the incomes of the fovereign, the landlord, and the church, would decreafe, and the populoufnefs, kept up by thefe incomes, would be diminifhed.

MANUFACTURES are very far from being, by the exportation of them, an infallible fource of populoufnefs; they may be eftablished any where; they are itinerary, and inconstant, in proportion to the force, with which neceffity, or a prospect of greater advantage, attracts them. A nation cannot reckon upon any riches as abfolutely her own, but the extent and fruitfulness of her lands. An agricole kingdom can build on nothing but a population maintained in easy circumfrances by the riches it draws from its own territory; and such a population will be fufficient to answer all the purposes that can be

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#### Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 43

expected from it, conformably to the flate of the kingdom's riches.

In calculating, how many inhabitants may be maintained in reafonably easy circumftances, by this or any other amount of annual rents, we do not mean to limit or calculate the infinite number of flies who are always to be found about a rich hive; and which, without any infallible means of fubfistence, are however maintained by the voluntary parfimony of the bees, and their own cconomy and refignation to put up with the leavings of others. A ftranger, who on entering my houfe, fees a fcullion attended by two fhoe-blacks at a time, must not from thence conclude, that in rating the wages and perquifites of this fcullion, I have allowed fo much for this his vanity? By no means. I give myfelf no concern about it. No doubt he has his own reafons, fuch as they are, for acting in this manner; and thefe reasons, combined with an infinite number of fimilar reasons in the minds of others, yield a livelihood to fwarms of these officious and frugal flies called Savoyards. It is thus, that

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befides the number of inhabitants fecure of fubfiftence in a great state, there cannot but be a great number of others, who, attracted by the fmell, croud about the pot, to suck up the fcum of it. This portion of the inhabitants, however, will ever be relative to the produce, and as often as the produce falls short, it is, as it ought to be, the first portion that difappears.

WE shall fee by e and by how and why the land-tax must be reckoned half the landlord's income. Thus therefore, where the landlord's income amount to thirty millions, the land-tax must amount to fifteen millions\*, and the tithes to feven millions five hundred thousand pounds. These two additions from a stock of twenty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds; and this fum, being an annual income distributed in the same direction with the income of the land-owners, must be divided into substitutes, and the means

\* THESE fifteen millions, by being paid by the land, are raifed without charges, and without any taxes upon perfons or goods. France, well cultivated, could thus afford a land tax or impost of twenty-two millions and a half, and upwards, without hurting the national revenues, trade, or manufactures. 'Tis the only kind of impost that does not prove destructive in an agricole kingdom.

## Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

means of making their circumstances m easy, for a proportionable number of inbitants.

THE reimbursement of the annual vances, required by these two new portions income, treated according to the rule here fore deduced for the annual advances rela to the income of the land-owners, forms other stock of eleven millions, two hund and fifty-thousand pounds, which reur with the distribution that extends to all classes of inhabitants.

IF I have deviated from the hypoth by which I confined myfelf to the confidtion of the landlord's income, excluof the land-tax and tithes, it was merel compleat and purfue to the end the calction of the ftate's populoufnefs, all the w tacitly underftanding thefe additions of futence. All to this, I flick to my first bour

THERE are therefore a million of l owners, whofe expences are rated, one another, at 30*l*. a head, and three mil of houfe-keepers, who fubfift by labour lucrative employments. This makes,

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the additions just now mentioned, 23*l*. IIS. for every head of a family of this class, as will appear hereafter by the total of the annual produce, which, in the prefent hypothesis, yields, for the expences of the inhabitants, one hundred and fix millions five hundred thousand pounds, from which the perfonal expences of the land-owners must be deducted; the remainder belongs to the class fubfisting by labour or lucrative employments.

THE thirty millions income may be divided amongst a smaller number of inhabitants. In this cafe, the fewer the land-owners, the more would the expence of their income exceed the confumption which each of them could perfonally make; but then they would diftribute a great deal in liberalities, or gather tother other men to help them to confume, what their income allowed them to expend : Thus these expences would be distributed pretty much in the fame manner, as if there was a greater number of land-owners, each confined to a finaller expence. The fame holds good of the inequality in the profits of those belonging to the other classes, within which the advances, the interests, and the profits of

## Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 47

of the farmers, merchants, and maftermanufacturers, pais into the hands of the perfons employed under them. Thefe objects, by fucceffive and reciprocal diffributions, afford, in due gradation, profits or falaries, in their turn, to all the members of the lucrative profeffions. Hence the expences, even of the rich, are no more than a diffributive transfer of expences, which extends to all the other inhabitants of a country, in proportion to their falaries.

SECTION



#### [To face Page 49.]

#### OECONOMICAL TABLE. THE

#### NUMBER II.

Belonging to the fourth, fifth, fixth and feventh Sections of the fift Part of the Explanation ; in which Sections are confidered, 1/1, three different Kinds of Expence; 2dly, their Diftribution; 3dly, their Effects ; 4thly, their Reproduction ; 5thly, their Relations one to another; 6thly, their Relations to Population; 7thly, to Agriculture; 8thly, to Manufactures; 9thly, to Commerce; and 10thly, to the total Amount of National Riches.



# SECTION IV.

Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 49

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered relatively to the amount of the impost and titbes.

[See TABLE, Nº II.]

NCE upon a time, in a certain nation, which as yet could barely bleat, but was very defirous of being able to articulate, there ftarted up a wifeacre, who propofed to his countrymen a most wonderful project; this was, that every fubject should give a halfpenny a day to the government, a contribution, which could not, he faid, bear heavy upon any, even the pooreft, member of the community, confidering that there was not one amongst them, who did not already pay a great deal more upon what he confumed, &c. But, if this country was not, in matter of financial knowledge, the kingdom of the blind, at least it did not lie in a very distant latitude. Every

THE OECONOMI

#### NUMBER II.

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Belonging to the fourth, fifth, fixth and feventh Sections of the fift Part of the Explanation; in which Sections are confidered, 1/*t*, three different Kinds of Expence; 2*dly*, their Diffribution; 3*dly*, their Effects; 4*thly*, their Reproduction; 5*thly*, their Relations one to another; 6*thly*, their Relations to Population; 7*thly*, to Agriculture; 8*thly*, to Manufactures; 9*thly*, to Commerce; and 10*thly*, to thy total Amount of National Riches.







TOTAL REPRODUCTION 52% 105. income, befides the annual advances of 52% 105. and the interest of these annual and the primitive advances, amounting to 30% 55. which the earth restores. Thus the reproduction amounts to 135% including the income of 52% 105. which is the basis of the calculation of half the total annual produce of a plough in a state of high cultivation. Thus, then, it appears, that the entire annual produce of a plough, in a state of high cultivation, may, on a average, be valued at 270% 105.



Every thing, or almost every thing there, went in imposition; and nothing, or almost nothing, in impost.

But let me, before I go any farther, take notice of the fignification I here attribute to these two words. By imposition then, I mean the whole batch intended for the prince; and by impose, that portion of it which comes into his hands, clear of all the expences which attend the kneading of it.

To proceed. The above project was univerfally approved, in virtue of that general influence, which even the bare shadow of fimplicity has over the minds of men. But it is an eafy matter to fee by our Table, that the calculation, in confequence of which people may be fupposed then to have faid, "The " king has twenty millions of fubjects, for " example, men, women and children, and " a halfpenny a day for every one of them, " that is to fay, two-pence a day for every " father of a family, poor or rich, makes " 41,6661. 13s. 4d. a day, and 15,235,8671. "6s. 8d. a year." It is an eafy matter, I fay, to fee, that this calculation supposed, as a cer-

## Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 51

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a certain fact, that it rained money upon the inhabitants, while they lay fnoring in their beds, as it did manna upon the Ifraelites in the defart; for otherwife, all to the landlord, the fubject, who earns nothing, can have nothing; and he who earns has nothing, but what he receives, as an agent or fervant in the barren, or the productive class. If he is an agent in the productive class, he is, no doubt, confidered as a proprietor, as far as his advances go; but by breaking in upon the interest of these advances, destined to make up the inevitable loss in hufbandry, you'll foon break in upon the ftock itfelf. Now leffening the ftock, is leffening the reproduction, and of course the income; and leffening the income, is leffening the circulation of the whole state. If, on the contrary, he is only a fervant or labourer, his falary, as being but just sufficient to afford him the neceffaries of life, must be increased to the total amount of what is taken from him. Thus the blow given him re-acts upon the employer, from the employer on the advances, the reproductions, the incomes, and fo makes the fame round as in the first cafe.

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IF,



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#### 52 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part I.

IF, on the other hand, the contributor is agent or mafter in the barren clafs, the impoft breaks in upon his advances, and he muft, to reimburfe himfelf, raife the price of his commodities. Now, as he is paid for them by the landlord, on the one hand, and by the productive clafs on the other, this throws fo much fubftance over to the barren clafs, as leffens the reproduction in the fame ratio, and difturbs the march of the whole Table. If he is but fervant in this fame clafs, he is paid by, and is, as it were, a member of the employer, upon whom his overload bears, as in the productive clafs, and thence on the commodity, &c.

W E fhall discuss this kind of waste in the Second Part, where we shall treat of the disorder, which the Table may suffer by various physical and moral causes; what I nowfay of it, is merely to shew, at one glance, that, whatever shape the impost appears in, it is impossible it should arise from any thing but the produce of the land; and that, unless it is immediately raised upon the net produce which constitutes the income, it loses all stability and steadines. It loses of its strength

# Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 53

ftrength by the number of its rebounds; of its amount by the difficulty of levying it, a circumftance fo favourable to monopoly; and of its certainty, by the fmallnefs of the objects. There is, befides, every moment, the greateft danger of its degenerating into fpoliation, and thus drying up its own fources.

ACCORDINGLY, it is directly upon the income, or the net produce, that the author lays both impost and tithes. He omits them in his table, for fear of rendering it too complicate; though, after all, it is in appearance only that he omits them; for he makes thirty millions rent carry along with it fifteen millions impost, amounting, in the whole, to forty-five millions.

THE annual net produce of the land is confidered apart from the annual reimburfements of the farmer. This net produce has three proprietors; the fovereign, the landlord, and the church. The landlord can claim no more of the net produce, than the fhare which he ufually receives, fince it is according to the value of fuch fhare that he pays for the land. The other fhares are un-E 3 alienable.



alienable. So that it is not the landlord, who pays either the tithes, or the ufual regular impoft. Thefe portions of the fubftance do not belong to him. Thus, in fhort, the regular impoft is paid by nobody, but is fupplied by the income of that part of the eftate, which is the real patrimony of the public. Therefore the land-owner has no right to fay, that it is his eftate which pays the impoft, when the impoft is regular. Therefore the three proprietors juft now mentioned have a common and lawful intereft in the profperity of agriculture, fince they partake proportionably of the opulence it may create.

THIS proportion of the impost to the total net produce, will appear excessive to those, who have never turned their thoughts this way. But, if they will just confider the burthen of arbitrary impositions, whether such as are perfonal, or such as are deemed territorial; of the taxes on every kind of business, whether mercantile business, or law business, &cc. especially the excises on consumption, on the transit of goods from one province to another, and on exportation and importation, &cc. If they will read enough

## Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 5

of hiftory to know, that there are fome countries, not very near Monomotapa, where in certain diffricts, an acre under vines found to yield 72l to the fovereign, by the various taxes on the produce in all its involutions, and but 1l. 10s. clear of all charg to the owner. If, I fay, fuch perfors we but weigh all these exactions in a kingdo already ruined by them, and reflect that the tend to ruin the impost itself, it is impossible they should not see, that the landlords would be very happy to purchase, at the expeneven of half their income, an exemption from such a complication of cankers.

In the main, all the pretended rich arifing from fuch exactions, are no better th an empty fmoke; and, while from year year they abforb the fund, they gradue leften the produce, and annihilate all the fources; they even come to nothing the felves, as to the ufe to be made of them the indifpenfable rife they caufe in the p of all the fervices they are to purchafe, fhall demonstrate, when I come to confi the table in a confumptive flate. But do not bear the lefs upon the landlord's E 4

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come, the enjoyment of which they annually deprive him of, and which they intercept at its very fource, inftead of waiting a little, till it has acquired fome ftrength in its progrefs; a miftake by which the landlord is doubly a lofer.

\*A wORD therefore to the landlord. Your estate yields 1500% of which you receive but 12501. the remainder being kept by the farmer for the arbitrary taille, with which he is charged; and which both ruins him, and impairs your lands. Befides this, you pay, in expending these 1250%. your share of the impofition laid upon mens wages, and upon commodities. Your farmer likewise labours under the fame imposition, which is again levied on the produce of your lands. All these impositions put together rob you of above 1000% of the produce of your eftate; and this produce, on account of the uncertain and unhappy condition of your farmer, does not amount to the fourth part of what it otherwife would.

BUT let us fuppofe all the chords broke, which hitherto entangled your farmer, and

all

Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 57 all the barriers levelled, which hindered his commodities from reaching, in all their immunity, the universal market in quest of a venal value. The net produce of your lands would then be fourfold, at least, what it is at prefent. The 15001. would amount to 45001. which, after paying a territorial impost of 20001. instead of 2501. would turn out for your share 4000l. instead of 1000l. Your lands would be no longer exposed to those degradations, which continually threaten you with the total loss of your income; befides, you would get rid of the impolition, which, in your expences, fwallows up one third of your income. Would you not have reason to think yourfelf very happy to give up forty to obtain a fecure possession of eighty, instead of a very precarious possession of thirteen? This you think impossible; but have a little patience, and you shall see other details, which will remove all your doubts. Again; if, after calculating your profits arising from the productive class, you chuse to confider them with regard to the barren class, you will see, that on account of the great ease manufacturers must acquire

acquire by an exemption from taxes, a rent of 4000% would be equal to 7500% as things now go, fince you could afford to confume three times as much. It is true, indeed, that you must confume; for it is confumption alone that can keep up a brifk circulation, according to the order of my table. But furely this cannot be called a grievance. Man feeks only to enjoy, and the only use he can make of riches is to enjoy them. We are defirous to enjoy, I fay, as foon as the natural order of things ceafes to be inverted by any kind of injuffice that may interfere with our enjoyment; and to be able to confume a great deal, is to be rich : for, in this fense, confumption and income are fynonimous terms.

LET us suppose, in fine, that the progreffive contribution of one third of the income appears exorbitant; it cannot, however, be called fpoliation \*. And this is all the

\* This progression cannot be called exorbitant, as long. as it is confined to its legal proportion, being the rightful patrimony of the Sovereign, whole income should be proportionable to the opulence of his dominions. Befides, no other perfon can claim a right to this third, when once Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 59

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the Author means; for he does not take upon him to judge of the political wants of a state.

In regard to tithes, the Author makes them amount to feven millions and an half, that is to fay, one feventh of the total net income. It will perhaps be thought, that he has swelled this article too high, confidering that no tithes are levied at this rate, or even that of one tenth ; and that in many places they are but one twentieth or one thirtieth part of the produce, There are, befides, feveral kinds of produce not fubject to tithes, as woods, most meadows, &c. But then it must be confidered, that tithes are now levied, not on the net produce, but on

fet apart for his use. Moreover, as this encrease of opulence must depend on the goodneis of the government, the benefits of it should reach the throne. A community of interests herein between the Sovereign and subjects constitutes the fecurity of fociety. Sovereigns, as well as other men, are greedy of riches: befides, they have more calls for riches than other men; and, therefore, should be excited thereby to co-operate with their fubjects for the common good. It would be bad policy to difpute with them their share in the encrease of riches to which they contribute. On the contrary, we should this way awaken their attention, and endeavour to make them more watchful to fecure both themselves and us against domestic plunderers and foreign invaders.

on the total produce. Now, to measure the tithes by the total produce, we must have recourse again to the rule laid down in our table.

WE have demonstrated by the table, that the total produce amounts to 135%. 5s. to which, relatively to the tithes, must be added the very grain neceffary for feed, calculated at 181. 18s. All these fums taken together conftitute a titheable mass of 1541. 3s. on half the produce of one plough; fo that the tithe of 71. 10s. is but the twentieth part of this total produce. This is nearly the proportion on an average, at which the tithe must be valued, in regard to corn, wine, cattle, &c. allowing for the other parts of the income, that are exempt from tithes; and it amounts to one fifteenth, or thereabouts, of the titheable produce. Now, if the tithe is found burdenfome on that footing, how much more burdenfome must it be, when levied on the total produce of a wretched cultivation, which hardly ever pays charges, nay often falls short of them.

## Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 61

## SECTION V.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered relatively to the National Cash.

#### [See TABLE, Nº II.]

MONEY, the idol of nations unac-quainted with the genuine principles of political æconomy; money, which, when it has once gained an ascendant, commits fuch havock in both the moral and phyfical concerns of fociety, is fubject to the fame rules with all other commodities; with this difference, that, as it fcarcely has any usual value of its own, it derives, more directly than any thing elfe, its venal value from the brickness of commerce, which alone can bestow upon it the quality of riches.

THE cash of an agricole state is nearly equal to the net produce, which it draws from its lands by means of commerce. Some perfons,

SECTION

fons, defirous of forming to themfelves ideas of the cafh conftantly remaining and circulating in the kingdom, tells us, with a great air of certainty: By examining the books of the mint, the cafh coined fince fuch a period was found to amount to 1700 millions; of this fo much was carried out of the kingdom by fuch a war, and fo much more by the prefent; in time of peace, we lost fo much a year by our commerce, which in fo many years amounts to fo much; therefore only fo much remains. Fine fuppofitions! We may as well pretend to calculate in this manner the number of fwallows in fpring.

WHEN we coin a great deal of money, it is a fign that a great deal of our money finds its way out, and that it is of a jufter ftandard than that coined elfewhere; or that foreign coin is allowed no currency among us, and that ours is allowed a currency in foreign countries, owing to the extraordinary goodnefs of it. But there is no more real coin in a kingdom than what circulates. What remains idle, is no better than a marcaffite in a collection of natural curiofities,

## Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

as to its quality of an agent, which it the renounces. In regard to its quality of riche it is a commodity like any other commodit all to this, that it takes up lefs room, and not liable to corruption. It is, I fay, a conmodity which waits for a purchafer.

Now, this commodity is not to be acquir by the state, but by giving some other cor modity in barter for it; and, as the ftan being poor, has no other commodity to give (for if it was not poor, it would have occafion for money) it cannot obtain the money but in another way, called borrow ing; that is to fay, making a promise to turn, giving fecurity for the performance this promife, and facrificing, from time time, till the principle is paid, fmall fur of money to obtain the creditor's indulgen This burdensome bargain between the ft and private perfons, is fo far from defervi the name of refource or finance, that ought to be confidered as the reverfe both; fince nothing deferves the name resource, but what encreases the streng of a state; whereas this measure fer

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only to encreafe its weaknefs; nothing deferving the name of finance but the contribution of private perfons to the fervice of the public; whereas this is a charge upon the public in favour of private perfons. This onerous bargain, I fay, is fo far from being a fervice performed by an inhabitant and a fubject, that as long as the state continues to have any credit, that is to fay, as long as people look upon the ftate as able to perform its engagements, ftrangers, and even enemies, will often lend it money on better terms than its usurious citizens; and when the credit of the flate begins to totter, it is always the domestic creditor that gives notice of it to the foreign creditor.

THE money, therefore, that does not circulate, is of no manner of fervice to the flate. With refpect to that which circulates, and which alone deferves the name of money in a flate, as it is but an intercalary equivalent between buyer and feller, it can only be in proportion to what it is to reprefent: the quantity, therefore, of money in any country will ever be proportionable to the

# Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 65

the quantity of production and confumption, in the fame, and no more.

IT appears by the table, that the 30% paid the land-owner in money, are enough to keep up the circulation in the two claffes of expences, between which these 30% are distributed. Thus, in the given hypothefis, the total amount of the money is fixed at fifty millions; and it has been observed, that the national cash of England continues nearly at that proportion, which, in the present state of her riches, makes about 26,000,0001. sterling \*. If England, therefore, has been obliged by her wars to contract immense debts, it is not because her subjects wanted money, but because her annual public expences exceeded, in time of war, her annual public revenues.

BUT tho' the fubjects had money enough to fupply the loans, the revenues would, never-F thelefs,

\* The English themselves do not make it fo much. One of their most celebrated writers upon trade has calculated, that the numerary value of the cash, necessary for circulation, is equal to one third of the yearly income of the lands. No doubt, he means the total income, which would bring it to a par, nearly, with the total net produce, or to about 25,000,000%.



thelefs, be, in time, overloaded with debts, and the nation undone, if the fources of her revenues fuffered fuch a progreflive wafte, as tended to leffen the annual reproduction of riches.

IT is in this point of view that we are to confider the ftate of nations, because money will be always springing up astress in a nation, whose riches are always springing up without any decay or interruption.

For about an age, that is to fay, from 1450 to 1550, there was a great diminution in the quantity of money in Europe, as may be inferred from the price of commodities during that period ; but this decrease of money fignified nothing to the different nations of Europe, becaufe the venal value of this kind of riches was every where the fame; and becaufe, with regard to money, their condition was the fame, relatively to the income of their lands, which was every where equally measured by the uniform value of filver or money. In this cafe, it is much better, for the conveniency of mankind, that value should supply the place of quantity,

# Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 67

tity, than quantity the place of value; at the fame time that it is indifferent with refpect to the riches of a nation, becaufe money in a nation forms but a fmall object relatively to the total mafs of national riches, and is to be confidered as riches, merely in proportion to its venal value, compared with the venal value of every other kind of riches.

PEOPLE are apt to think, that it is to the difcovery of America Europe is indebted for her greater abundance of gold and filver; yet the value of money was fallen comparatively with that of other things, nearly to the foot at which we now fee it, before the arrival of any American gold or filver in Europe. But these general truths make no alteration in the state of the national cash of any particular country, which will ever be proportionable to the income of the immovable estates, and the profits of foreign commerce.

IN the laft age, under Lewis XIV. the ounce of coined filver was worth about  $3 s. 1 d.\frac{1}{2}$ , Thus 95,400,000 ounces were then worth about 15,000,000 l. fterling. F 2 THIS



THIS was nearly the flate of the coin in France, at a time that fhe was much richer than about the end of that monarch's reign.

THE general recoinage of 1716, did not amount to one fifth of that fum. The ounce of coined filver went at that time for about 4s. 9d. 1. This recoinage, therefore, fcarce amounted to 50,000,000 ounces, which was more than one half lefs than the general recoinages of 1683 and 1693. Now, this flock of money cannot have increased by the annual coinages, fince that period, but in proportion as the incomes of the nation have increased. How confiderable soever these coinages may have been, they ferved lefs to increase our stock of coined filver, than to replace what is annually carried out by contraband trade, by feveral branches of our paffive commerce, and other uses made of our money in foreign countries; for, by a fair calculation, these annual exports of coin, for the last forty-three years, might be shewn to amount to a very confiderable fum.

THE

# Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 69.

THE augmentation of the nominal value of filver, which has for a long time flood at 5s. 9 d. is no proof that the quantity of the national cash has much increased. On the contrary, we may infer from thence, that it has leffened, fince the nominal value was increased, merely to supply the place of reality with appearances.

THESE estimates agree but little with the vulgar notions concerning the quantity of a country's national cash. The common people make the riches of a state confist in money; but money, like all other productions, is riches, as has been already observed, merely in proportion to its venal value, and may be as eafily acquired than any other commodity, by paying for it with fome other kind of riches. Its quantity in every state is in proportion to the use made of it, which use is greater or lefs, according to the amount of the annual fales and purchases in faid state; and the amount of these sand purchases will be greater or lefs, according to the amount of the state's incomes. Moreover, money is not to be purchased, but by other kinds of riches; and, therefore, a nation must



be rich to purchafe it; fo that the acquifition of money does not add to the riches of him who pays for it; and he cannot enjoy the ufe of this kind of riches, but by felling it, in his turn, for fome other kind of commodity.

THE coin of a nation, therefore, fhould ever be in proportion to the amount of its incomes. A greater flock would be ufelefs. The nation would foon exchange its fuperfluity with other nations, for fome other kind of riches more beneficial, or more agreeable; for monied men, even the moft faving, are always upon the watch to make fome advantage of their pelf. Their finding opportunities to lend it in a country at a high intereft, is a fure fign, that in fuch country it is, at moft, in the proportion we have obferved, fince the inhabitants pay fo dear for the ufe of it,

SECTION

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 71

# SECTION VI.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in the estimation of the produce, and capital stock of every kind of riches.

# [See TABLE, Nº II.]

AM now going to make an estimate of an agricole, or landed nation's riches of every kind, in that state of its incomes here affumed by us. This effimate is very far from being imaginary, and I thought it neceffary to give my readers a detail of it, the better to remove those prejudices, which make all the riches of a nation confift in money. Here we may see the real amount of the nominal value necessary to realize, in point of bargain-making, and put in motion, by means of barter, the general mass of riches; and it will appear to make but the fiftyfifth part of fuch general mass. Of this a fingle F 4



fingle glance at the table might have been fufficient to convince the reader; but it is impoffible to difplay, in too many lights, fuch fundamental principles, as tend to contradict and deftroy common prejudices.

THOSE, who hate figures, will be fcared by this article; and of those, who do not hate them, such as would gladly lose themfelves in the supposed immensity of the funds and resources of a great state, the merely to make, on every occasion, a bad use of such a supposition, and love to buoy themselves up with the chimerical multiplicity of the incomes, squandered by the lazy and luxurious members of an usurious state, will be apt to think, that it is confining their ideas to take from them their gilded prospect of infinity.

OTHERS (and they are the greatest number) accustomed to the petty calculations of the riches about them, will think they see billions drop out of the clouds. But all this is nothing to the calculator. It is for the use of men of sense alone, that he has undertaken the task. Those, who apply themselves to the study of such series as are most useful to mankind,

are

## Sect 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE: 73

are not fo few as people generally imagine; and they never fail, in the end, to bring over the reft of mankind to their own way of thinking.

## Riches of the class of productive expences.

I SAID, that lands yielding an income of 30,000,000 l. to the land-owner, yielded, befides, an impost of 15,000,000 l. and tithes to the amount of 7,500,000 l. amounting in the whole to 52,500,000 l. To this let us add the reproduction of the annual advances, amounting to 52,500,000 l. and interest, at ten per cent. for these advances, the whole making

110,250,000% IN

IN a country full of vineyards, meadows, woods, &c. but about two-thirds of faid fum would be the produce of the plough. This portion, in a thriving state of great culture, performed by stout horses, would require 333,334 ploughs, at 120 acres to a plough, an equal number of men to drive them, and 40,000,000 of acres.

IN France, 275 millions sterling, invested in advances, would be sufficient to extend this kind of culture to 60 millions of acres.

WE faid before, (p. 25.) that the primitive advances, requifite to fet a plough completely agoing in the great culture, or the first expence to stock the land with cattle, instruments, feed, subsistence, wages, &c. in the course of two years labour before the first crop, might be valued at 500%. Thus the primitive advances, requisite for 333,334 ploughs, make - - 166,667,000%.

To this fum muft be added the intereft of these advances, which ought to yield 10 per cent. at the lowess, confidering that the fruits of the earth are liable to accidents, which every ten years run away with one year's crop at leass. Besides, the machines, &c. purchased by these advances, must be frequently repaired and recruited : on this foot, therefore, the interest of the primitive advances, requisite for the establishment of the farmers, must amount to 16,666,7001.

MEADOWS,

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 7

MEADOWS, vineyards, gardens, and wood coft the farmer but few primitive advance The value, therefore, of these primitive advances vances, along with those of the land-owner plantations, and other works usually per formed by him, may be reduced to 50,000,000

It is true, indeed, that vineyards and gathers require very great annual advance however, confidered relatively to the annual advances requisite for the other branches country-bufines, they may, on a media be comprehended in the total of the nual expences already laid down.

THUS, the total annual reproduction net produce, in annual advances, and reft on them and the primitive advan valued according to the order of the t make - 126,916,

GREAT as this fum may appear, the of France might, by means of proper vances and free markets, be made to duce a much greater.

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OF this fum of 126,916,700%. we are to allow 26,250,000% being half the reproduction of the annual advances, for the maintenance of cattle, fo that there remains (allowing that the whole impost returns into the circulation, and does not eat in upon the hufbandman's advances) 100,666,7001. for the annual expences of the men.

#### Estimate of the stock of productive riches.

WE are first to put down the primitive advances requifite to fet the ploughs agoing, which advances have been already rated at 166,667,000%

THE primitive advances for meadows, fish-ponds, woods, vineyards, gardens, &c. already rated at 50,000,000*l*.

I make no separate estimate of the value and produce of cattle, as I included them in the advances of the farmers, and in the total of the annual products. But I shall effimate the lands, becaufe, relatively to their venal value, they may, in fome fort,

be

## Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 77

be confidered as moveable riches, in as much as their price is affected by the variations in the price of the other kinds of riches neceffary to cultivate them. In fact, lands are fubject to decay, and the owners cannot but fuffer in the venal value of them, in proportion to the loss of the farmers by fuch decay.

THE lands, which annually produce for man's immediate benefit, 100,666,7001. of which 52,500,000l. are net produce, valued at thirty years purchase, constitute, in this point of view, a treasure amounting to 1,575,000,0001.

Total of the funds of the productive class, 1,791,667,000/.

By adding to this fum the 126,916,700l. arifing from the annual produce, as deduced in the preceeding cafe, it will appear, that the total amount, charges included, of the riches of the productive class is 1,918,583,700%.



Estimate of the riches of the barren class.

THIS clafs, it is known, produces nothing; confequently, we are to estimate nothing but what it may be actually possessed of.

Now the riches this class is actually possessed of, according to the proportions laid down in the table, are,

1st, The fund of annual advances 26,250,000/.

2dly, The primitive advances for the eftablifhment of manufactures, conftruction of inftruments, machines, mills, forges, &c. - - - 100,000,000*l*.

3dly, The coin or money computed by us at \_\_\_\_\_\_ 50,000,000*l*.

4thly, The value of four millions of houses, or lodgings, for four millions of families, reckoning each house, one with another, at 3l. 15s. a year \* - 300,000,000l. 5thly,

\* He values them at twenty years purchase. The houses in France are generally stronger than those in England.

## Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 7

5thly, The value of the common furnitur of the faid houses, computed, one wit another, at a year's income or gain four millions of heads of families, 100,000,000

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6thly, The value of the gold and filver plat toys, precious stones, looking - glass pictures, books, and other lasting wor of the handicrastssman, which descen from one generation to another; this, the state of opulence, in which we he suppose a nation, may amount to 100,000,000

7thly, The value of the fhips of w merchant-fhips, arfenals, &c. fuppoli it to be a maritime state; likewife, th of artillery and other durable warl stores, and of durable buildings for or ornament, which are riches mer in proportion to the riches they co all these objects may be rated together 150,000,000

I omit the neceffaries of life, and of commodities, ftored up in fhops and m ch

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chants warehouses for annual use or confumption, whether produced or made up at home, or imported from abroad; and likewise such goods as are intended for exportation, because they are all contained in the state of annual productions and expences, conformably to the order exhibited in the table.

TOTAL amount of the riches belonging to the class of barren expences 826,250,000*l*.

By adding to which the TOTAL amount of the riches belonging to the class of productive expences 1,918,583,700*l*.

THE general mass of riches, belonging to a flourishing landed nation, will, in the given hypothesis, appear to amount to about 2,744,833,700/.

WE here fpeak of an opulent nation, poffeffed of a territory and of advances, which yield annually, and without decay, a net produce

## Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 81

produce of 52,500,000*l*. for its annual confumption. But thefe riches, efpecially the value of lands, being upheld from year to year by nothing but the annual produce, may utterly perifh, or, at leaft, come to lofe great part of their value, in an ill governed agricole ftate; and this declenfion may in a very fhort time be very confiderable, through the want of freedom of commerce in the immediate fruits of the earth, and through the annihilation of the advances upon which the reproduction of them depends.

Noli me tangere! is the motto of these advances.





Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 8

## SECTION VII.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in the conditions necessary to the free play and prosperity of the political machine.

[See TABLE, Nº II.]

IT appears by the foregoing Table, the in a regular and uninterrupted circulation of an annual income of 52,500,000 l. a equal fum, which returns into the circulation, reftores yearly to the productive clathe advances requifite for the reproduction of the fame income; and the fame advances wherefore, the continuation of this reproduction fuppofes,

Ift, THAT every farthing of the fa 52,500,000*l* income, enters the annual ci culation, and runs through it in its who extent; that no money is hoarded up, of at leaft, that as much money is returned in  $G_2$ 

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to the circulation by fome hands, as is taken from it by others; otherwife the pecuniary fortunes thus amaffed, would prove fo many obstructions in the course of part of these annual incomes of the nation, keep back the national cash, and thereby impede the return of the hufbandman's advances, the payment of the handicraft's wages, and the confumption by the different claffes of men who belong to the lucrative professions. This obstruction of the national cash would leffen the reproduction of the income, and the impost.

2dly, THAT no part of the income is exported without an adequate return in money or goods.

3dly, THAT the nation lofes nothing by its foreign commerce, which may very well happen, notwithstanding the great profits made by private traders, in felling the goods imported by them to their fellow-fubjects. Nay, every profit of this kind is fo much taken from the circulation of the net produce of the land, and fuch a defalcation cannot but

# but be extremely prejudicial to both diffribu-

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE: 85 tion and reproduction. 4thly, THAT the ballance of the gold and filver paffing and repaffing between the nation and foreigners, is not made the standard of their commerce, without examining what profit arifes from the goods themfelves, which have been bought or fold; for it often happens, that the nation, which receives a furplus in money, is the lofer; and this lofs affects the reproduction and distribution of the incomes. In a foreign trade, where the immediate fruits of the earth are exchanged for handicraft works, the difadvantage is generally on the fide of the nation that purchases the first, because there is a great deal more profit to be had in felling them, than in felling the latter. 5thly, THAT the land-owners, and fuch as belong to the lucrative professions, do not fuffer themselves to be betrayed by any uneafiness, which the government might not foresee, time enough to prevent it, into a barren parfimony, capable of hindering any. G 3 part

part of their incomes, or gains, from being properly circulated and diffributed.

6thly, THAT the administration of the finances affords no opportunity to those concerned in the receipt or difbursement of them, to amass pecuniary fortunes, and thereby divert a portion of the public revenues, from the grand operations of circulation, distribution, and reproduction.

7thly, THAT the impost is neither destructive of, or disproportioned to, the mass of the national incomes; that the augmentations of it keep pace with the augmentations of the faid mass; that it bears directly on the net produce of the earth, and by no means on commodities of any kind; as, in the latter cafe, the charges of perception would be multiplied, commerce injured, and part of the national riches annually destroyed. Likewife, that the impost is not levied on the advances of the farmer; for these advances Thould be confidered as fo many immoveable goods, which ought to be most scrupuloufly preferved for the production of both impost

# Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 87

impose and income. Without this precaution, the impose becomes spoliation, and causes a decay, which must, sooner or later infallibly end in the destruction of the state

8thly, THAT the primitive and annual advances of the farmer, are fufficient to make the earth yearly reproduce, at the leaf double the latter, and 10 per cent. upon both. Where either of the two kinds advance are lefs than they ought to be, the expences of agriculture will not only affor a fmaller net produce, but be much heaving in proportion to it.

9thly, THAT the children of the farmer by fettling in the country, perpetuate a raof hufbandmen; for when any vexation oblige them to defert their fields, and tafhelter in towns, they carry along we them the riches of their family, heretof employed in agriculture. It is not for mumen, as riches, that ought to be invited the country; for the more riches are of ployed in the production of corn, the fehands it requires, the better it thrives, G 4

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the more clear profit it yields. Such is the great culture of rich farmers compared with the petty culture of poor cottagers, who make use of cows or bullocks.

10thly, THAT care is taken to prevent the emigration of the inhabitants, who would employ their riches in other countries.

II thly, THAT the exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth is no way obftructed, for the reproduction of a thing will ever be as the demand for it.

12thly, THAT nothing is done, which may lower the price of the immediate fruits of the earth, or any other kind of commodities within the kingdom; for this would render the trade with foreigners prejudicial to the kingdom. WHATEVER THE VENAL VA-LUE IS, SUCH WILL THE INCOMES BE, PLENTY AND CHEAPNESS DO NOT CON-STITUTE RICHES. SCARCITY AND DEAR-NESS ARE THE PARENTS OF MISERY. PLENTY AND DEARNESS CONSTITUTE OPULENCE.

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## Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 8

13thly, THAT the cheapnels of neceffaries are not confidered as of any rea fervice to the inferior classes of people; i lowers their wages; renders their life lef comfortable, affords them lefs work, and lucrative employment; and reduces the ren of lands.

14thly, THAT the common people at not debarred the means of living at the eafe, for otherwife they could not fufficientl contribute to the confumption of fuch neceffar ries as must be confumed at home, by which of courfe, the reproduction and incomes of the nation would infallibly fuffer.

15thly, THAT the multiplication of catt is encouraged; for it is by cattle that the land is fupplied with the manures necessitat to yield rich crops.

16thly, THAT the luxury of decoration not folicited, becaufe this kind of luxury fu fifts entirely at the expence of the luxury fubfiftence, which is that kind of luxur that keeps up the price, and the dema for the immediate fruits of the earth, a upho

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upholds the reproduction of the nation's incomes.

17thly, THAT the government does not favour any thing but the productive expences, and the exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth, leaving the barren expences entirely to themfelves.

18thly, THAT, in the extraordinary exigencies of the flate, no refources are expected, but from the profperity of the fubjects; and, by no means, from the credit of the financiers; for pecuniary fortunes are clandestine fortunes, which know neither king nor country.

19thly, THAT the government avoids fuch loans, as encumber the public revenue with heavy debts and a heavy intereft; and are, confequently, attended with a trade in the finances, by means of transferrable papers, the intereft upon which is conftantly increafing the barren pecuniary fortunes. Thefe fortunes caufe a divorce, as it were, between the finances of the ftate and agriculture, and fo rob the latter of the riches requifite to improve and cultivate the earth.

## Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 91.

20thly, THAT the nation, which has a great extent of country to cultivate, and the means of carrying on a great foreign trade in the immediate fruits of its lands, does not apply too much money, and too many hands, to manufactures, and the commerce of luxuries, to the prejudice of her hufbandry works and expences; for fuch a kingdom ought, above all things, to be well flocked with rich hufbandmen.

21stly, THAT the lands employed in raifing corn, are united as much as poffible, fo as to form large farms carried on by rich hufbandmen; for large farms require less expence of every kind, and at the fame time yield a greater net produce, in proportion, than fmall ones. Small farms employ to no purpose, and at the expence of the land's produce, a greater number of poor families, who have too little land and ftock to carry on a rich culture. Such a multiplicity of farmers tends less to increase the number of inhabitants, than an augmentation of the incomes would do; for the most certain populoufnefs, and the most applicable to all the different occupations, by which mankind

20thly,

is divided into different claffes, is that, which is kept up by the net produce of the land. Every profitable faving in those works, which may be carried on by means of animals, machines, rivers, &c. tends to the increase of populousness, and the advantage of the state, because the greater the net produce of agriculture, the better wages and profits can be afforded for other services and works.

22dly, THAT every man is at liberty to employ his field in the production of whatever his intereft, his flock, and the quality of the ground points out to him, as capable of yielding the greatest profit. No favour should be shewn to monopoly in the cultivation of the earth; for it would prove detrimental to the general income of the nation. Those governments, which favour the production of commodities of the first want, more than the production of those of the fecond, to the leffening the venal value of both, act through narrow views, which do not take in the effects of foreign trade, that fupplies all deficiencies, and fettles the price of those goods, which every nation can raise

## Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 9

to the greatest advantage. The immediat produce of the earth, and the impost, ar in every state, the riches of the first nece fity to defend it against fearcity and invasion to maintain the glory and power of the fov vereign, and promote the prosperity of the fubjects.

23dly, THAT the government thinks le of faving money, than of forwarding the operations effential to the kingdom's profperity; for the heavieft expences may be redered light by a proportionable increase riches. But profusion must not be cofounded with expence. Practices, that coferve the name of profusion, might fofwallow up all the riches of both prinand people.

24thly, THAT lefs attention is befow on the multiplication of the people, the on the increase of their riches. A moder number of inhabitants, living in easy circus stances, created by plentiful incomes, is preferable to a greater number pinched the any deficiency in them. Besides, easy cumftances afford more resources in e gene

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gencies of the state, than great numbers, and, at all times, better means of making agriculture flourish.

WITHOUT these conditions agriculture, which the table supposes to yield the same produce, as in England, would be a mere bubble. But the principles of it are not the less certain, nor less the genuine principles of the science of æconomical government; by which we do not here mean that trivial fcience, which has no other object but the cash and finances of a kingdom, and the motion of its money, by a traffic of money, in which the charms of credit and interest, &c. produce merely, as at gaming, a barren circulation. It is only in a compleat knowledge of the true fources of riches, and of the means of multiplying and perpetuating them, that the fcience of the conomical government of a kingdom can be faid to confift.

An œconomical government unlocks the fources of riches; riches attract men; men and riches make agriculture flourish, extend commerce, give life to industry, increase

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## Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

and perpetuate riches. An œconomical g vernment guards against any decay in t opulence and strength of a nation. these plentiful resources depend the fucc of every other branch of the administrati of a kingdom. An œconomical governme confirms the power of a state, procures the confideration of other states, secures glory of the prince, and the happiness the people. The views of an æconomi government take in all the effential princip of a perfect government, in which author is ever ready to protect and do good; e watchful, and of course ever respectal It is incapable of committing miftakes cannot give any umbrage; it every wh supports the interests of the nation, go order, public right, the power and dou nion of the fovereign.

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#### [To face Page 97.] THE OECONOMICAL TABLE. NUMBER III. Belonging to the first Section of the fecond Part of the Explanation; in which Section are confidered, Private Depredations, Manners and Civil Cuftoms, Exceffes, Luxury. Annual Income, confift-Annual productive Ading of 30%. Rent, 15%. Annual barren Ad vances relative to Land-tax, and 71. 10s. vances relative to Agriculture, &c. Manufactures, &c. Tithes, in all l. s. d. l. s. d. l. s. d. 52 10 0 produce net 52 10 0 15 0 0 . KOND Sigh 1: Jo 5008 21297 there goes of it this way . 21 17 6 reproduce net 21 17 6 30 12 6 There goes this Way ..... hop Mer 12 15 $2\frac{1}{2}$ reproduce net 12 15 $2\frac{1}{2}$ 12 15 21 \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* reproduce net 5 8 101 $O_{4}^{\perp}$ reproduce net 3 3 2 $2 0^{\perp}_{4}$ 5 $10\frac{1}{4}$ reproduce net 1 1 $5 10^{1}$ 1 16 2 L'ABRARRE! O 15 I reproduce net O 15 15 I 0 3½ reproduce net o 8 9분 A. Maratt

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THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

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# PART II.

SECTION I. The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its private Depredations.

[See TABLE, Nº III.] Excels of LUXURY.

*Excefs of* LUXURY, ET us now fludy the Oeconomical Table in a flate of diforder. We fhall confider it in this refpect, but in feven diffinct points of view. 1ft. In its private depredations; that is to fay, in the diforders which H proceed

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#### NUMBER III.



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#### **PART** Iİ.

#### SECTION I.

- The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its private Depredations.

[See TABLE, Nº III.]

#### Excefs of LUXURY,

ET us now study the Oeconomical J Table in a state of diforder. We shall confider it in this refpect, but in feven diftinct points of view. Ift. In its private depredations; that is to fay, in the diforders which H proceed





TOTAL REPRODUCTION 45l. 15s. income, likewife the annual charges amounting to 45l. 15s. and the interest, on the husbandman's annual and primitive advances, amounting to 26l. 17s. 2d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , all which the earth reftores. Thus, the reproduction amounts but to 117l. 17s. instead of 135l. 5s. by which there is a deficiency of 17k. 8s. or about two fifths.

N. B. The produce, that is to answer the interest of the primitive advances, is made to fall short in the same ratio with the annual advances; for 52l, 10s, is to 30l, 5s, as 45l, 15s, is to 26l, 17s, 2d,  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The 30l, 5s, in this proportion is made up of the 25l, interest on 250l, primitive advances, and the 5l, 5s, interest on 52l, 10s, annual advances, being half the primitive and annual advances requisite to set and keep a plough a-going in a state of high cultivation. See the Second Table.



proceed from the immorality and ignorance of a nation. The fix other afpects are public depredations, viz. 2dly, Relatively to the fpoliation of the productive advances; 3dly, Relatively to population; 4thly, Relatively to the coin; 5thly, Relatively to the police; 6thly, Relatively to commerce; 7thly, in fine, Relatively to deftructive impofts.

To judge rightly, immorality and ignorance always proceed from fome public error. But though it is part of my bufinefs to trace to, and correct from, the very roots, phyfical mifcalculations, I am not bound to attack, in the fame fenfe, moral prejudices. When, therefore, I mention the word *Luxury*, it is not to be expected I fhould throw out against it that abundance of arguments naturally suggested by the bare mention of the word, to every patriot heart. In this place I only speak of physical luxury.

In the new plate now before us, the Table has loft its equilibrium. Our bufinefs is to difcover and explain the caufes and the effects of this diforder. By the first lines of our explanation of the Table, it appears, that the diftri-

#### Sect. i. The OECONOMICAL TABLE

diftribution of the church, king, and lord's income, is what puts in motio machine of circulation. It is obvious more of these expences may fall to fide than to the other, as he who re them indulges himself more or less is luxury of subfissence, or that of decore which last alone, properly speaking, de that appellation.

WE have heretofore assumed, in the nomical Table, a mean state of thing which the reproductive expences yield year to year the same income; but we easily form a judgment of the alter that would ensue in the annual reprodu according as the reproductive, or barre pences, get the start of each other; t say, we may easily form a judgment of the alterations that would ensue in the T

IT is in this flate of things that we exhibit it. We fuppofe, that the land-or &c.'s luxury of decoration has increase fixth; that is to fay; that they pay 7 s. 6 d. more, than they did before the class of barren expences, fo as to the whole of what they bestow up H 2

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30 l. 12 s. 6 d. and reduce what they bestow upon the class of reproductive expences to 211. 17s. 6 d. Such is the power of example, that manners foon circulate through all the claffes of fociety; the moral concatenation being every where the fame with the phyfical. This mifapplication of one fixth will be the fame with the handicraftfman and the hufbandman; and the confequence will be, that by carrying on the Table, according to this new arrangement, it will appear at bottom thereof, that the reproduction of the total income of 52 l. 10 s. which includes rent, tithes, and land-tax, is reduced to 451. 15s. and the reimburfements of the husbandman, amounting before to 82 l. 15s. are reduced to 72l. 2s. The total deficiency, therefore, amounts to 17 l. 8 s. fo that the lofs, on this occasion, is about two-fifths.

IF, on the contrary, the king, church, and land-owner, increase in the same degree their expence in the confumption or exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth, the reproduction of an income of 52l. 10s. would amount to 57l. 6s. and the husbandman's returns amounting before to 82l. 15s. would now

## Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

now amount to 90l. 6s. which is an ine of 7l. 11s. Thus the total increase v be 12l. 7s. or about one tenth, and v continue at this rate as long, as the land the labour of the husbandmen could co bute to it.

SUCH are the effects of a conftant uniform raifing of the price of common of the first necessity; and thus we see the wiseacres, who do all they can to these commodifies at a cheap rate, lat without knowing it, to destroy the inco and subfistence of a nation.

IT appears likewife, by this very fir demonstration, that an excess in the luxe of decoration may alone very speedily the most opulent nation. It further pears, of what importance it is to sup opulence in these different orders of a fir which, according to the common cuffe of society, may employ their superfluities the luxuries of subsistence; the obfcure is being, as it were, forced by the prejudices fociety to launch into the luxuries of deration, and kept from those of subsistenwhich, at present, would fit ill upon the and only ferve to render them ridiculous

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WE may likewife guess how little the economical science was understood in that country, wherein they confidered, as a tax upon luxury, a tax upon servants and upon horses, which confume so much corn, forage, and other commodities of the productive class.

IT is therefore false, that all kinds of expence are indifferent.

WHAT we have been just now observing, in regard to the capital expences in the immediate fruits of the earth, all of which yield plentiful returns in an agricole kingdom, is by no means applicable to little trafficking states that have no territory.

SUCH states cannot stint themselves too much in any kind of expence, as it is by means of parfimony alone, that they can hope to preferve and increase the stock of riches requistite for their commerce, and likewise afford to trade at less expence than other nations, so as to secure to themselves a preference at foreign markets. But as to the great landed powers, it is impossible they should thrive, as long as they indifcriminately attribute

#### Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 103

tribute their poverty to every kind of expence. It is not to expence itfelf, but to the peculiar nature of it, that their poverty is to be attributed, as we have already proved; it is to the inequality of the repayments, &c. and ftill more to the œconomical arrangements of police, finance, and commerce. This we fhall foon examine, after treating curforily of fome errors of detail concerning agriculture.

In what does the profperity of a landed nation confift? IN PLENTIFUL ADVANCES, TO PERPETUATE AND INCREASE THE NET PRODUCE OF THE EARTH; IN A FREE AND EASY DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN COMMERCE; IN THE ENJOYMENT OF THE ANNUAL RETURNS OF THE REAL ESTATES; IN PECUNIARY AND READY PAYMENTS OF LAND-RENTS AND THE LAND-TAX,

A PLENTY of productions is obtained by plentiful advances. Confumption and commerce keep up the demand for, and the venal value of the productions. The venal value is the measure of national riches. These riches are a standard for the tribute H 4. which

which
which is imposed upon them, and bring in the money which is to pay the faid tribute, and which ought to circulate in commerce, but never superabound in a country. Such fuperabundance would lessen the use and confumption of the annual productions, which are to perpetuate real genuine riches in the ftate, by reproduction, and a reciprocal commerce.

PEOPLE had better notions than we have, concerning the nature and fource of true riches, at that period, wherein hiftory has thought proper to celebrate the procession, with which the inhabitants of Goodman's-Chefter, in England, went to welcome their monarch. They drove one hundred and eighty ploughs to meet him. This was a retinue truly worthy of a king. The bees, fo faithful, fo obedient, and fo affectionate to their queen, never offer her any thing but their fweetest honey. To offer princes a voluntary tribute, and a free gift, is both the duty and the happiness of fubjects; but to present them with implements of hufbandry, as fructifying under their protection, is to lay before them, at once, the proofs of our gra-

titude,

RICH husbandmen, and rich country In the great culture, a fingle man drives fignificant,

Sect. 1, The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 105 titude, the buttreffes of their power, and the pledges of our love. It is acknowledging them for the true shepherds of mankind. merchants, are the pillars of landed and independent states. a plough drawn by two horfes, and this plough does as much work as three ploughs drawn by two bullocks each, and driven by fix men. In the last case, for want of the primitive advances requifite to establish the great culture, the annual expences are immenfe in proportion to the net produce, which is, in a manner, next to nothing. Besides, this petty culture requires ten or twelve times more land to yield the fame net produce. What is worfe, when the landowners cannot meet with farmers fubftantial enough to bear the expences of a good culture, the advances, fuch as they are, are made at the expence of the land itfelf. The produce of the meadows is devoured in winter by the bullocks employed in cultivating it, and a portion of the land must be given up to them to graze upon in fummer; the net produce of the crop is fo in-

fignificant, that the leaft increafe in the impoft is fufficient to make all the parties concerned renounce fuch poor remains of tillage; a thing, which has happened in many places, merely through the wretched indigence of the inhabitants.

THIS detail of agriculture will, I know, in many places, meet with opposition, from cuftom and local prejudices. The men of any fortune in the poor provinces, in which one third of the arable lands lyes uncultivated, and almost all the rest are reduced to the petty culture here complained of; thefe men, I fay, will affirm, that the great culture is not proper for their foil, as being too heavy, or too light, for fo impatient an animal as an horfe; that it cofts them little or nothing to feed their oxen all the fummer, by letting them run on the commons, and other open grounds; that oxen require neither oats nor barley, nor fhoes, nor expenfive harnefs; and a thousand other things. But these are only fo many arguments of a methodical wretchedness.

To be convinced of this, we need only confider a fubftantial farmer, fuch as may be found

## Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 107

found in fome provinces of the kingdom; and fee if this man, whole every thought, every step, every action, every finew, in fine, is continually bent upon fome decent profit, and confequently upon the improvement of his farm; if this man, I fay, is any way fparing in his primitive or annual advances? Are not his horfes the strongest and the dearest, and withal the best kept, of the whole country? Are not his fervants the best paid, and the best fed and cloathed, &c. This man, without ever feeing our Table, hits the mark by the mere dint of experience, and knows that his endeavours must prosper in proportion to the good order in which he keeps his fervants, his cattle, &c. agreeable to the proverb; Poor men, poor work, and to what our Table teaches; the more is laid out upon land, the more will it yield.

How comes it then, that fo many confider, as a piece of œconomy, every faving in point of forage, harnefs, &c. Why, becaufe neither they, nor thofe who were the first to purfue the fame method, ever had the stock necession of the stabilistic and other that required larger advances, and was of course capable of yielding larger returns; because the rich

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men among them knew fo little from whence they derived their riches, that they always found fome employment or another for their fuperfluity, befides that of contributing to the grand work of reproduction.

To prove that a more expensive method would be more profitable, fuppole your heaths, and other open grounds, converted into good meadows, yielding a double crop of hay, or well ploughed, and then fown with the moft beneficial kind of corn; fuppole the forage produced by this management confumed at night near your lay-ftalls, by your black cattle, or fheep, or by ftout horses, that would do three times as much work as the fame number of oxen, and who, besides, require no fubfistence but what is the produce of their own labour.

SUPPOSE, moreover, your lands never obliged to lie fallow to recover themfelves, but yielding every year the beft of corn and forage. This is no chimerical fuppofition; for this kind of agriculture flouriscant among your neighbours, in a less favourable climate. Nay, we may still find fome examples of it at home, in the neighbourhood of the

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Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

capital; and it is upon these examples, this table has been constructed. By fan ing ourselves in this flourishing country, looking a little about us, we may be abled to form some judgment of our preparsimony, or rather indigence.

THE rich farmer covers his fields w cattle, and by that means obtains those r nures which yield rich crops. This is a r species of riches, and the most profits of all riches.

THIS advantage is to be obtained by fale, the working up, and the wearing of own wool within the kingdom; by the gr confumption of meat, milk, butter, cheefe, a but, above all things, in an opulent nati by the confumption of the common peop who are the most numerous part of it; it is merely in proportion to fuch confuntion, that the demand for cattle can increaand cattle, of courfe, be multiplied; a cumstance upon which the obtaining of pl tiful crops effentially depends.

THIS plenty of corn and cattle preve all apprehensions of famine in a kingdom fer

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fertile in the primary means of fubfiftence. The food, yielded by cattle in fuch a kingdom, leffens the confumption of corn, and thereby enables the nation to fell a greater quantity of it to foreigners, and thus continually add to its riches by the commerce of fo precious a production. It is, therefore, plain, that the eafy circumstances of the common people, in this manner, effentially contribute to the profperity of the state.

No diffinction is made between the profits upon cattle and those upon corn, in stating the income of the landlord, because the rent of a farm is always regulated by what it can yield both in cattle and corn, in those countries where the farmer's advances are not liable to be abforbed by an arbitrary impoft; for where the impost is payable by the farmer, the income fuffers by it, the farmers dreading to make those advances, which confift in the purchase of cattle, for fear of bringing on themfelves a ruinous impofition; the confequence of which is, that tillage decays for want of a fufficient quantity of cattle to make manures; and the expence of cultivating lands, impoverished for want of proper manures, fwallows up the produce,

Sect. 1. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 111 duce, and leaves nothing for state, church, or landlord. THE profits upon cattle contribute fo much to increase the yearly value of land, that one may be effimated by the other; and these two branches must not be separated in computing the value of the produce in corn, by the income of the landlord; for the net produce, which yields both the rent, impost, and tithes, is to be obtained more eafily by means of cattle, than by the labour of men, which alone could fcarcely pay the charges of maintaining them. But great advances are neceffary to purchase cattle; for which reason the government should endeavour to invite riches rather than men, into the country. Men will never be wanting in fields, where riches are not wanting; whereas, take away riches, and you take away every thing; the lands lofe their value, and the kingdom its ftrength and refources. THIS leads us to speak of population, relatively to the order of the Table. But, as we are now speaking of a country, where things are going to rack, I shall confider po--

# II2 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

population in that cramped ftate, to which the petty culture reduces it, and exhibit the totality of circulation upon that footing. Now, to make out the transition from that flourishing ftate of cultivation and production, according to which we have hitherto directed our enquiries, to that wretched condition, into which we are going to fall, it is fit we should previously make a short calculation of the rapidity of the mischiefs occafioned by spoliation.

# SECTION



[To face Page 113.]

# THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

### NUMBER IV.

Exhibiting the rapid Effects of any Encroachment on the annual productive Advances, owing to Taxes, or any other Caufe. To do this, we fuppofe, that 2*l*. 10*s*. are every Year taken from the annual productive Advances of 52*l*. 10*s*. fo as to reduce them immediately to 50*l*.

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Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 1

## SECTION II.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidere relatively to a State of Spoliation.

### [See TABLE, Nº IV.]

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### THE OECONOMICA

### NUMBER IV.

Exhibiting the rapid Effects of any Encroachment on the annual productive Advances, owing to Taxes, or any other Caufe. To do this, we suppose, that 21. 10s. are every Year taken from the annual productive Advances of 521. 10s. so as to reduce them immediately to 501.



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[See TABLE, Nº IV.]

ION II.

**XY**E have been touching upon a kind of depredation, which has already done a great deal of mischief, and may do infinitely more, in proportion to the dominions and territory of a nation whofe manners have a turn that way. After all, however important this article may be, it is not by its physical effects alone that it can fo fpeedily ruin a nation, and reduce it to that degree of wretchedness, in which we are going to view it relatively to its produce. This it brings about much fooner by its moral effects, in as much as diforder infallibly introduces avidity, ever blind as to the means of attaining its ends. Spoliation is the real fource of that decay of husbandry, whose effects are much more rapid and mischievous, than any calculation can make them appear.





TOTAL REPRODUCTION 50% income, likewife the annual charges of 50% and the interest, of the farmer's annual and primitive advances, amounting to 28% 17s. which the earth restores. Thus, the reproduction amounts but to 128% 17s. instead of 135% 5s. fo that the farmer looses 2% 10s. of the net produce, 2% 10s. of his advances, and 1% 8s. of the interest of his faid advances, amounting to the faid deficiency of 6% 8s.

*N.B.* Here again the Author makes the produce, that is to answer the interest of the primitive advances, fall short, as in the preceding table, in the fame ratio with the annual advances; for 52/.10s. is to 30/.5s. as 50/. is to 28/.16s.  $2d.\frac{1}{4}$ .



By this word *fpoliation* I understand every furcharge whatever, occafioned by taxes or otherwife, that bears hard upon, and impairs, that flock, out of which the advances requisite for tillage are to be supplied.

To adapt the Table to this hypothefis, instead of fupposing, that the king's, the church's, and the land-owner's fhares of the net produce, are unequally divided between the productive and barren classes, we suppose that fome of the blunders or misfortunes already mentioned, steals annually 21. 10s. from the annual advances neceffary for production. This defalcation reduces them to sol. and it is on this footing that we have constructed the Table.

IT appears by the recapitulation of the faid Table, that the total reproduce confifts of, 1st, 50% for the king, the church, and the land-owner. 2dly, The annual advances amounting to as much more. 3dly, The intereft of the annual and primitive advances, which, taken in the fame progreffion with the reft, make 281. 17s. Thus the total reproduction is but 1281. 17s.

BY

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 115 By comparing this produce with that given heretofore by the Table, when quite free from any burthen, it will appear, that whereas, in that happy condition, it yielded 135%. 5s. it will now, after the first year, yield but 1281. 17s. which is a decrease of 61.8s. in the reproduction. In fact, there is a loss of 21. 10s. on the net produce, 21. 10 s. on the annual advances, and 11. 8s. on the interest of the annual and primitive advances, which makes in all a deficiency of 61. 8s. and all this deficiency is occafioned by the primitive defalcation of 21. 10 s. only from the fund of annual advances. That the reader may not think himfelf at a gaming table, I must put him. in mind, that our pounds stand for millions. Supposing that the fcourge, by which we have fo much fuffered, is of a nature to hold for any length of time, we must continue our progreffion; and then it will appear, that, at the end of the fecond year, the fpoliation, continued at the rate of 21. 10 s. will amount to 22 l. 15 s. at the end of the third I 2

116 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II. to 641. 13 s. and at the end of the fourth to 171 l. 18 s.

THIS lofs, therefore, must foon affect the primitive advances, fince the annual advances, amounting in the whole to but 521. 10s. would in a fhort time be entirely fwallowed up; here then is a lofs of 265l. 14s. in four years, on the flock of primitive advances requifite to fet a plough agoing. We faid, that, in a good state of culture, these advances might be rated at 5001. therefore a plough, in four years, might be faid to be cut in two, that is, entirely difabled, in the fame manner that when one horfe in a heavy loaded coach and pair founders, the other must stand still.

Now, to avoid fo great a misfortune, the husbandman has recourse to the wretched shift of stinting every branch of this advances, retrenching in point of manures, cattle, and fervants; he plows with oxen or hobbies, and gives his land fewer and flighter dreffings; but it is all one as to the produce; it is no matter in what part of the body a man receives

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 117 IF it fhould be afked, why a whole kingproportion 3

receives a wound, when the whole machine fuffers by it. Thus in agriculture, let the fault lie where it will, whether in the farmer, in his operations, or in the quality of the feed he makes use of, a proportionable failure will appear in the crop, to the loss of the hufbandman, the landlord, the church, and the fovereign. dom, in which agriculture declines in this manner, is not entirely wafte at the end of eight years? I answer, that the spoliation we are fpeaking of, is a diforder of arbitrary and fucceffive distribution, which does not ruin all the farmers at one ftroke; it may be compared to a multitude of worms, which eat one by one the roots of the plants in a garden, and in time destroy it entirely. I might likewife anfwer it by the following comparison. There never existed more cruel plunderers, at least among those who plunder openly, than the Huns; yet when the people of Europe, after repulsing these invaders, had the good fortune to force their ftrong-holds in Panonia, they found them full of treasure, which, though it bore no

### 118 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

proportion to what had been deftroyed by them all over Europe, was still immense in proportion to the little that had escaped their fury. In like manner, every fpoliation fuppofes fome holes, where the spoils of the plundered. are laid up. But, if these devastations happen to be fo far authorized as to render the enjoying the fruits of them in the place where the harpies refide, and if this place happens to be in the center of the plundered country, the confumption and expences of every kind of the inhabitants of fuch a place, cannot fail of keeping up life within its district, and supporting the great culture there for some time.

NAY the lands of fuch diffrict being employed in producing things of the first neceffity, the delicacy and luxury of the inhabitants would make them feek out for things of the fecond neceflity at a greater distance. The fun is not to be disturbed in his operations, like earthly agents; he would still produce oils in one province, exquifite wines in another, and in a third give a relish extraordinary to partridges and ortolans; and the demand for these things would carry

wife starved extremities.

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 119 carry fome fmall fparks of life to the other-THE fame fparks, whether iffuing directly from the capital, or from other ftore-houfes of bastard subsistence, would still enable fome fmall portions of land, furrounded with vast deserts, to yield a net produce of 20 per cent. on the annual advances of cultivation; while in the diffricts, employed in furnishing a more immediate fubfistence to the principal refidence, there still remained fome parcels of land in the great culture. ON the fuppolition, I fay, of a legal and gradual fpoliation, this principal refidence would be ftiled the capital. Now it appears, by the inductions already made, how mad it would be to think of reftoring things reduced to this defperate fituation, by overloading the capital with taxes, from a notion, that by fo doing the other parts of the kingdom would be eafed, and fupplied with hands, by the vaft numbers, whom want of fuftenance would then oblige to forfake, the capital. No, the wretches would fooner lie down and starve at the gates of it, than bury themfelves 14

themfelves in deferts. What can the indigent out-casts of a city expect from agriculture, in countries where the inhabitants themfelves can find no employment? Nay, the new burthens laid upon the capital would ferve only to wither its diffrict, and dry up all the little branches of vivification, fupplied by the expence of the inhabitants, and fpreading to fome diftance.

WORSE and worfe still would be the fystem of the man, who, feeing the ftate exhaufted, and without any refource but a fictitious and ftagnant kind of riches, should attempt to difcredit and annihilate fuch corrofive riches, before he had found out any other to replace it with: not unlike an ignorant phyfician, who should attempt to cure the pedicular difeafe, by killing the vermin as fast as they ifiued from the patient's body, inftead of endeavouring to reftore the mass of blood to its natural confistence and circulation, which alone would foon put an end to the complaint. Thus, when a state is poor and oppreffed with debts, the government fhould affift agriculture, break the numberlefs shackles with which the useful agents of

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 121 that respectable class are loaded, honour the profession, have an eye to its fucces, and, above all things, engage men of fenfe and understanding to apply their thoughts and their riches that way, by exempting their advances from taxes, by affording a profpect of great profits to rich establishments, and every other poffible method. But point out to those rich and now useless citizens, those petty retailers, those paper-blotters, brokers, and fecond rate financiers, with which our towns are now overftocked, and to the many others, who have taken refuge in them merely to fave their little fortunes from an arbitrary and devouring impost, with which the inhabitants of the country are eaten up; but point out, I fay, to thefe men, fo greedy of the least profit, the vast treasures locked up in the bowels of the earth; protect them in their undertakings, their expences, and their endeavours, and they will fly in fwarms to improve your lands. Befides, the landowners themfelves, especially the grandees of the kingdom, should lay themselves out to favour all attempts to cultivate that precious patrimony which is to fecure to them the

that

### 122, The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

the enjoyment of their rank and fortune, and free them from the necessity of looking out for other refources lefs worthy of their great names, and withal lefs advantageous to the state. By these methods, so certain and fo well combined, you may again procure to your fields that opulence from which alone the land-owner, the state, and the church, can expect a large income.

WE have been examining a very different conduct, in the rapid progress of the diforders of fpoliation, demonstrated in the Table. Behold how a ftate is reduced to the fad impoffibility of obtaining a greater produce than 20 per cent. on the advances of its agriculture; and that without any premeditated malice or evil defigns in its governors, but merely from fome capital miftake in the first principles. Nay, fuch a state may think itfelf happy in the moderation of its governors, which, the minute the outcry becomes general, makes them often fufpend the most necessary operations, though, at the fame time, no way disproportionable to the opinion which they have a right to entertain

Sect. 2. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 123 entertain of their primitive strength. But for this moderation, the most fertile country would foon become as barren as the fands of Lybia.

I AM now going to exhibit the confequences of fuch a degradation in agriculture, as, after yielding the hufbandman 10 per cent. on the primitive and annual advances, would leave but 20 per cent. on the annual advances for the ftate, church, and landowner.

SECTION

ч V



## [To face Page 125.]

# THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

### NUMBER V.

Belonging to the third, fourth, fifth and fixth Sections of the fecond Part of the Explanation; in which Sections are confidered the Decay of Husbandry, and the Effects of every Kind refulting from fuch Decay.



SECTION III.

Sect. 3.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE, in which the Decay of Husbandry, and the sad Effects of such Declension, relatively to Population, are difplayed.

[See TABLE, Nº. V.]

HIS is the chapter, which first convinced me that I was miftaken, and shewed me in what my mistake confisted. I had looked upon populoufnefs as a fource of incomes. An abler man contradicted me. It was my happiness to listen to him, and he has taught me, that, on the contrary, incomes were a fource of populoufnefs. If I have not altered my first work conformably to this notion, it is becaufe by the mere weight of truth I recovered myfelf without affiftance in the course of that very performance. It is likewife, becaufe I thought it of little importance in the main to endeavour to conceal my error. It is, in fine,

The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 125 becaule



TOTAL REPRODUCTION towards the income is but 61. befides the annual advances amounting to 301, and the interest of the hufbandman's annual and primitive advances amounting to 171. 5s.  $8d.\frac{1}{2}$  which the earth reftores. Thus, the total reproduction is but 531. 5s.  $8d.\frac{1}{2}$  inftead of 771. 5s.  $8d.\frac{1}{2}$  as in the first Table. Now, out of this 531. 5s.  $8d.\frac{1}{2}$  the poor farmer has his rent of 301. to pay, befides the tithes and an arbitrary fpoliative impost. He loses, therefore, 241 on his advances and annual reimburfements, receiving but 231. 5s.  $8d.\frac{1}{2}$  The next year he loses all his annual advances; the third year he must factifice his primitive advances to be able to do any bufines, and, after all, at the end of it, throw up his farm, and leave it without heart or feed. It then, of course, falls into petty culture, by which the landlord loses nine tenths of his rent. The land-tax, the earnings and the expences of the inhabitants, the cash of the nation, and the value of its lands, must all dwindle in the fame proportion.



because I knew opportunities could not but offer of doing homage to truth ; nor was it long before they did. I have already acquitted myself of this duty in a former difcourfe upon agriculture. I shall now reafon upon, and calculate, the lie given to my own trophies.

I GREATLY doubt, if Tullus Hostilius, king of a country, in which, we are told, every family had an acre of land to fupply it with cabbages and turnips, whenever they could not make war, and procure better subfistence, by plundering their neighbours; I doubt much, I fay, if fuch a prince excelled in dignity an overfeer of negroes, who, exclusive of their own wretched pittance, raife for their owner a very precious kind of commodity.

IT appears by the Table, that nothing can stir without the income; that it is the income, which constitutes the life and foul of the whole circulation. But no income is to be expected without great advances; and the advances themfelves are not to be expected, -unless the produce reaches the column of incomes.

Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 127 IN fact, the multiplicity and diverfity of the different professions of mankind is not only an advantage relatively to the conveniencies of life, in procuring which each of these professions is separately employed, but likewife in as much as it confers the quality of riches upon products useles to one man, at the fame time that they are useful to another in a different fituation. Without ships we should have no occasion for ship-timber, nor without paint and foap for strong oils. WE must recollect, that the usual propriety of things gives them the quality of goods, but that it is their venal value alone, which gives them that of riches. Water, wood, game, the fruits of the earth, &c. are goods; but the furplus of what the owner of them can confume, is no riches, unless a demand for such furplus gives it a venal value. IT is this venal value which forms the relative state of riches between different kingdoms, and even different provinces of the fame kingdom; between all the branches of foreign and domestic commerce. Without a relative proportion between the prices of different

ferent productions, there is no order of riches, that can counterballance the effects of a reciprocal commerce, decide the relative power of nations, and regulate both the produce of real estates, and the quantity of it due to the fovereign. For this reason, the venal value of the immediate fruits of the earth should be the principal object of every landed government's attention. Such governments are not to confider the usual value of these fruits, for their alue never fails in rich nations; wher , ... want of a venal value, the advances, upon which the productions depend, fall to decay; the productions cease; indigence puts a ftop to all the lucrative profeffions of people living in towns and cities; and reduces the inhabitants of the country to the ungrateful labours of a petty culture, whofe pitiful produce is fcarce fufficient for their own fubfistence.

IT is the income that gives motion to every profession; it is, therefore, the income, that creates and excites the demands for every thing, and bestows the quality of riches on every kind of produce. It is

riches

Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 129 riches that reftore the advances necessary to procure a new product.

An author, who, in the beginning of this century, published fome observations on the agriculture of a great kingdom, takes notice, that the advances did not produce, on an average, above twenty per cent. for the king, the church, and the land-owner, exclusive of the husbandman's annual reimburfements, as usual. Here, then, is a deficiency of four-fifths in the net produce, not to fpeak of the impoverishment of the lands, obliged to bear themfelves all the expences of fuch wretched cultivation, and lie alternately fallow for feveral years together, to be again able to yield a pitiful crop. At this period, almost all the inhabitants lived in a most abject state of poverty, and were utterly loft to the state; for the net produce of the labour of men, employed in agriculture, will be as the net produce of the advances above their expences; and the net produce for the king, church, and land-owner, and all the other classes of men in a nation, will be as the net produce of the real estates. Thus, the



the more infufficient the advances, the lefs profitable will both men and lands be to the ftate. The most that can be expected from poor cottagers, who draw a wretched fubfistence from an ungrateful cultivation, is to keep up in the country, to no purpose, a populousness destitute of life and spirit.

IT is according to this state of cultivation, that the Table now before us is constructed. We may see by it, how so flender a produce makes the whole circulation of a state languish; and, as it is impossible for things to remain for ever in a languishing condition, it appears how near a nation, in such a condition, must be to its end, relatively to its quality of a landed nation. Commerce, indeed, may support it for some time, in appearance; but the master, who condescends to be a servant, may soon expect to see himfelf kicked out of the class of servants by those, who are born to fill it.

It is impoffible for population not to defcend through this fcale of degradation; for, as man does not grow to the earth, and to dig and plow is his pennance, and not his

### Sect.3. The Occonomical Table. 131

his employment, he is always looking out for fome other to live by. Intereft, however, will engage him to cultivate the earth, as long as he may do it by means of the animals created to ferve him. But you, who would have a numerous people, offer them other employments, and take care to procure yourfelf, by judicious and ftout cultivation, an income fufficient to reward their induftry.

THE ruling idea of war makes nations fancy, that ftrength confifts entirely in populoufnefs; but the military part of a nation cannot act, or even fublift, without the affiftance of the labouring part. As little is it to be fuppofed, that the riches of a flate depends on the number of its fubjects. No, it is only by means of riches that men can acquire and perpetuate riches, and that only as far, as there is a just proportion between men and riches.

NATIONS are too apt never to think themfelves populous enough; they never fo much as dream, that they want work or  $K_2$  wages

wages

wages to fupport a greater population; and that men of no fortune are ufelefs in a country, where they cannot find fuch certain wages as may enable them to live by their labour.

It is true, indeed, that the common people in the country, when not employed by others, may make a fhift to raife for their fubfiftence fome few things of little value, which require neither great expences, nor a labour of any continuance; and, befides, take up but little time to arrive at maturity; but these men, these productions, and the lands yielding them, are of no account in regard to the state.

For the earth to yield any income, it is requifite, that the labour of the hufbandman fhould give a net produce, after paying him for his trouble; for it is this net produce that fupports the other claffes of men neceffary in a ftate. Now there is no expecting this from poor peafants, who till the earth with their hands, or in any other infufficient manner. They have enough to do to procure a pitiful fubfiftence for themfelves

## Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 133

alone, without ever attempting wheat, which requires too much time, too much labour, and too great an expence, to be raifed by men, who have nothing but the labour of their hands to raife it with. It is not, therefore, to a fet of wretched peafants, that you should leave the cultivation of your lands. Beasts alone should till and sertilize your fields. Nothing but a plentiful consumption, a ready vent, and a free and easy commerce, both foreign and domestic, can secure that venal value which constitutes your income.

It is upon rich men alone that you ought to depend for the eftablishing of a cultivation, and rural commerce, capable of enriching you, of enriching the state, and of opening a never-failing source of riches, by means of which you may fecure to yourfelf a full enjoyment of all the fruits of both husbandry and handicraft labour, fortify your frontiers, and have always strong armies, and formidable fleets, at your disposal; carry on, in a grand manner, the public works necessary for use and ornament, and afford such wages

K 3

alone,

and

134 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II. and profits, as may tempt industrious foreigners to fettle in the kingdom.

THUS, on the police of agriculture, and the commerce of its productions, depends the management of the finances, and of all the other branches of administration, in a landed state.

NUMEROUS armies are not alone fufficient to form a ftrong defence. Without good pay, you are not to expect good foldiers.

A wAR by fea or by land employs other means, befides the ftrength of men, and requires other, and more confiderable expences, befides that of fubfifting them; fo that war is to be fupported much lefs by the dint of men, than that of riches; for as long as you have riches to pay men well, you will never want men to recruit your armies.

THE more riches a nation can employ in the annual reproduction of riches, the fewer men, in proportion, will fuch annual reproduction

## Sect. 3. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 13

duction require; and the greater the net produce of agriculture, the more men will be a the difpofal of the government for public works, and every other public fervice; the higher wages are, the more ufeful will thef men be to the ftate by their labour, and b their expences, which carry thefe wages back into circulation.

VICTORIES, in which you do your enemy r other mischief, but kill him men, can weake him but little, as long as he has wherewin to invite others into his fervice. An army 100,000 men may be as good as an arm of a million; for no army, where pay new fails, can ever be deftroyed. It then, to becomes the interest of the foldiers to fti to their colours, fince they cannot expe better pay in any other fervice. It is, then fore, riches that supports the honour arms, and recruits armies; and with h much more reason must riches be allow to support and extend every other kind population?

LET us again give a look at the Tal in order to be convinced of the fad conditi

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to which an unprofitable cultivation reduces both the proprietary and handicraft clafs, and judge what must be the state of populoufness, when the whole territory has no other subsistence to offer its inhabitants, but the few wretched and precarious necessaries, fuited to the meaneft class of labourers, required by a cultivation incapable of yielding any net produce,

LET us now examine, if money, which is fo much idolized, can, on this occasion, supply the place of real riches.

SECTION

## SECTION IV.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Disorders relative to Money.

[See TABLE, Nº V.]

Parvis componere magna folebam.

TE are wont to calculate the riches of states, as we do that of individuals; and, because a private man, who has money, has all, or almost all, manner of physical goods at his command, we imagine it must be the fame in regard to nations. But suppose this private man, transported with all his gold and filver, into the heart of fome defert. He would there infallibly perifh with cold and hunger, tho' feated upon this treasure, which he had purchased with other riches: (for money is bought, and no man can have it, but in proportion as he has other riches to pay for it) therefore, to acquire money, is not to acquire riches; it is only changing one kind of riches for another; which shews,

Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 137 that

that it is the neighbourhood of other goods, and the conveniency of exchanging money for them, that gives to money the quality of riches.

THOUGH the rich man, above mentioned, had millions at his difpofal, if, when preffed by neceflity, two perfons were to prefent themfelves before him, one with bread, and the other with water, and refufed him the leaft quantity of either, for lefs than his whole treafure, he would be obliged to come into their terms, and part with all for a day's fubfiftence.

Now, this individual is a true picture of the ftate which has loft its produce; with this difference, that the individual retains his gold and filver, whereas a nation, which has no ftock of riches left, cannot be fuppofed to have either, unlefs it can draw them directly from the earth.

MONEY, that fpecies of riches which is purchased with other riches, is nothing in a nation, but an intermediate pledge between buyers and fellers, which ceases to contribute

# Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 139

to the perpetuation of riches in a ftate, the moment it ceafes to circulate, or yield riches for riches. Nay, in this cafe, the more it is hoarded up, the more riches it coft, by putting a ftop to the renewal of riches, and, confequently, the more it impoverifhes a nation.

MONEY, therefore, is no better than an active kind of riches, which is of no real advantage to a ftate, but in proportion as it continually yields riches for riches. The fole ufe of it in a ftate, is to facilitate fales and purchafes, and the payment of the king's, the church's, and the land-owner's income, which again make it circulate; fo that the fame money ferves continually, and in rotation, for thefe payments, and the purpofes of commerce.

THUS the mass of money, in a landed state, is ever found to be nearly equal to the net produce, or annual income of its lands; for even in this proportion it is more than sufficient to answer all the purposes of the nation. A greater quantity of money would



be no riches to the ftate. For tho' the impost is paid in money, it is not money that yields it, but the riches which the lands are annually reproducing. It is in the amount of these perpetually renascent riches, and not in the amount of its money, as the vulgar think, that the prosperity and strength of a nation confist.

MONEY cannot indemnify a ftate for any deficiency in the fucceffive renovation of this kind of riches; whereas the place of money is eafily fupplied, in trade, by engagements in writing, fecured by the riches poffeffed in the country, and exportable to foreign markets:

THE love of money is a very ftrong paffion in individuals, who forget they were obliged to buy it, becaufe they are indifcreetly greedy of that which purchafes other riches. But this kind of greedinefs, exclufive of its object, ought not to be the paffion of the ftate.

A GREAT flock of money is no further defirable in a flate, than as it is proportioned to the income, and thereby indicates perpetual reproduction

### Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 144

reproduction of opulence, the employment of which is real, and perfectly fecure. Of this kind was that plenty of money, which, in the reign of our *Charles* V. firnamed *The Wife*, kept pace with the plenty of every other kind of riches in the kingdom. We may form fome idea of it, by the riches fpecified in the immenfe inventory of that prince, exclusive of a referve of 1,350,000 *l*. (equal to about 12,500,000 *l*. of our money at prefent) which was found in his coffers; thefe great riches are fo much the more remarkable, as one third of the kingdom of *France*, fuch as it then was, did not bring him in any thing.

MONEY, therefore, is not to be confidered as the riches of a ftate, as that riches which is continually confuming and fpringing up again; for money does not engender money. A crown well employed may, it is true, give birth to riches worth two crowns; but then it is the riches acquired by means of the money, and not the money itfelf, that has multiplied. It is only by yielding riches for riches, that money may be faid to give birth to new riches. Money, therefore, ought not to ftagnate in idle hands.



### 142 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

It is not, therefore, fuch matter of indifference to the ftate, into what hands money gets; for it is abfolutely neceffary, that it fhould not be wrefted from him, who employs it for the benefit of the ftate. But, ftrictly fpeaking, money thus employed in a nation, has no owner; it is to anfwer the demands of the ftate, which make it circulate for the reproduction of riches capable of yielding fubfiftence to the nation, and tribute to the fovereign.

WE are not to confound this money with that devouring wealth, whose owners do nothing with it but lend it out at interest, thus eluding that contribution, which every real income owes to the state.

THE money, of neceffity, has, I fay, with every individual, a defination to which it decifively belongs. That, which is defined to the actual payment of the impost, belongs to the impost; that, which is defined to make any neceffary purchafe, belongs to that purchafe; that, which gives life to agriculture, commerce, and industry, belongs to agriculture, commerce, and industry; that, which is to pay a debt, which is already,

## Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 143

or will foon be due, belongs to that debt, &c. and not to the perfon who has it. It is the nation's money. No individual has a right to lend it, becaufe it does not belong to any individual.

It is, neverthelefs, this money feattered here and there, which forms the principal mass of wealth of a truly opulent kingdom, in which it is constantly employed for the advantage of the state. Nay, people do not feruple to fell it for more than it has coss them; that is to fay, to export it to purchase foreign commodities, when they yield a fure profit; nor are foreigners unacquainted with the advantages of this trade, in which profit decides whether money shall be given for commodities, or commodities for money; for in all places money and commodities are riches, merely in proportion to their venal value.

MONEY, that lies idle, that cannot be reproduced, is an inconfiderable object, foon exhaufted by a fmall multiplication of loans. It is money, neverthelefs, that is perpetually dazzling the vulgar; it is this object alone, that they confider as the riches of a nation, and as a great refource in the exigencies of

a state,

a ftate, even a great ftate, which cannot be really rich, but by the net reproduce of those riches, which its lands annually afford. It is this produce, which, as it were, gives new birth to money, by renewing it, and constantly accelerating its circulation.

BESIDES, every kingdom, which the export of its productions has enriched, has, by means of the correspondence it keeps up with other kingdoms, a stock of riches in them, and may every where make money out of paper.

THE plenty and free fale of its productions fecure to it, therefore, the use of the money belonging to other countries; and, in a well cultivated kingdom, money is never wanting to pay the king, church, and landowner their share in the net produce of those commodities fit for trade, which the earth is constantly reproducing. But tho' money is never wanting to pay them, we must not mistake the matter, and imagine, that the tribute due to the king may be imposed upon money.

A GOVERNMENT, therefore, fhould never confine its views to money. It ought to look

## Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 145

look further, and beftow its chief attention on the plenty and venal value of the productions of the earth, in order to encreafe as much as poffible its net produce. It is in this portion of vifible and annual riches, that the power and opulence of the monarch, and the profperity of the nation, confift; it is what fixes the fubjects, and ties them down to their native foil.

MONEY, the labour of the handicraftsman, trade, and commerce, form but a baftard and independent domain, which, without the riches of the foil, can only conftitute a republican ftate. *Conftantinople* itfelf, though no republican government, by being reduced to the moveable riches of traffic, has, in the midft of defpotifm, the genius and independence of a republic, in regard to the loofe and unftable ftate of correfpondences, and commercial riches.

LET us, therefore, ftrip money of all the properties attributed to it by prejudice; for they are altogether imaginary. We may as well attribute to a whip the power of draw-

ing

ing a coach, becaufe it puts in motion the fix horfes that really draw it; place the whip between fix trees, and fee if it will make them ftir. In the fame manner, money works miracles in places, where there is a brifk barter of neceffaries. For example, a man at Paris, who to-day has nothing but gold, may to-morrow, if he pleafes, have plate, fervants, and a fumptuous table; but place him in fome of the provinces, and it will take him a month to prepare for an elegant entertainment.

MONEY, therefore, is riches merely in virtue of its permutability: nor can it have this value but in proportion to the demand for it, which demand will always be as the quantity of barter; therefore the quantity of money in a country will be as the circulation of riches and neceffaries: at leaft, one may fay of money that does not circulate, what is faid in the fable of the mifer's hidden treafure; Put a flone in its place, and it will be worth you as much.

THIS granted, let us return to our Table, and furvey it in the wretched condition to which

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which it has been reduced by a paltry cultivation, that yields but one-fifth of the annual advances, befides the faid annual advances, and 10 per cent. on them and the primitive advances; and let us examine how far the circulation now extends, and how much it is impaired; for then we may judge what quantity of money, in fuch a country, is really employed in the fervice of the public.

No doubt, a nation reduced to fo low an ebb, in regard to its ftock, may still afford a retreat in fome parts of its territories to those communities of merchants, whose industry borrows motion from foreign countries, and still imparts fome action to the neighbouring districts; and fome of those merchants may poffibly accumulate pecuniary fortunes to the prejudice of the annual reproduction of riches. The depredations committed, in levying the public revenue, may likewife produce fome ftores of money, the melancholy remains of the best blood of the nation; fortunes, which, however fhocking to those who only confider how ill they  $L_2$ be-



become their owners, are nothing in the main to the riches by them abforbed in a great state. They are indeed money; but then it is fo much money diverted from the purposes of reproduction, and which never would have been accumulated, had it found a place in circulation, which can only receive of it in proportion to the quantity of circulating and renafcent riches; fuch riches, in a word, as are to be represented, consumed, and reproduced : it cannot, I fay, re-enter this circulation, weakened at its fource, till all the money actually circulating shall have been pumped out of it, till it fails, in fine, and extreme neceffity obliges people to replace it by purchasing it back at a rate, that makes the remedy worfe than the difeafe.

THIS misfortune must quickly happen in a nation, which has lost its renascent riches, fo as to find itfelf much in the fame condition with the man we just now supposed in a defart, with nothing but money to eat and drink. On such occasions recours must be had to the money lying dead in private hands; but the state can only borrow it from

### Sect. 4. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 149

from week to week, and must, befides, give good fecurity for the loan of it. This is every day the cafe. But the hufbandman must not borrow; for borrowing would ruin him, or, at least, the interest of what he borrowed should be deducted from the net produce to the prejudice of the proprietary class, as otherwife it would eat up the hufbandman's annual re-imburfements and refources. Thus the farmer can trust to nothing but his own riches for a folid and certain establishment. Hence the ruin of the farmer is always attended with the ruin of agriculture, the ruin of the landlord, and the ruin of the state, how opulent soever the financier, the usurer, and the ftockbroker may be; and, after all, this opulence of theirs is no better than the poor remains of the immense riches, ravished by these harpies from the important purposes of reproduction.

SUCH is the point of view in which money is to be confidered in a ftate; and fuch is all its influence, every way incapable of regenerating a nation, which obstructs, or even neglects, the great business of reproduction. S E C T I O N



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# SECTION V.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidere in its Diforders relatively to the Police.

### [See TABLE, Nº V.]

WE ftill leave before our readers the Table in that ftate of declension, which a poor and infufficient cultivation he brought it, as we are going to enquire in the causes of that wretchedness to which fut a decay of agriculture is owing; a decay that is constantly accelerating in propotion to its continuance.

THE man, who has by this ever fo little acquired a facility of arguing in the mann adopted by us in the Table, must easily differ that moral as well as physical causes may fer to overturn the balance in the article of e pences, and by increasing the stare of t barren class, proportionably dry up the fource of the proprietary class, upon whose weak that of the barren class itself, in the end, t tally depend.

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IT is obvious, for example, that lawexpences ought to be placed in the class of barren expences, and that whatever tends to increase expences of that kind must, for that very reason, be a cause of decay. Hence it follows, that in a country where the laws are fo faulty, that every head landlord, or under landlord, is obliged to be in continual motion, to obtain justice or injustice, favour or advancement, &c. the expences created thereby are fo many weights taken from the fcale of productive expences, and thrown into the scale of barren expences, which must of course preponderate. If, moreover, diffolutenels and effeminacy happen to prevail to fuch a degree, as to extinguish all respect for domeftic hierarchy, and render unthinking youth the arbiter of family expences, it is probable that these expences will be double what they ought to be in the barren purchase of trifles and luxuries ; whereas provident age delights in what is folid and useful. And this evil, once become general, cannot, on account of the great number of co-operating causes, but be attended with a very confiderable decay.

## Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

WERE the laws to favour this evil by connivance, however, involuntary, of th charged with the interpretation of them; w the police, under the pretext of forefeet every thing, to free the child from all paren and the fervant from all magisterial restrain were it to provoke tafte for barren expendent under the notion of increasing the profit the retailers, and artificers of luxury; w it to abandon the honest peafant to c tempt, oppreffion, and poverty, and ther ruin husbandry; were it to favour the m tiplication of law-fuits, and multiply terrible tools of chicane, in order to incre the ftamp duties; were it to lower the p of the immediate fruits of the earth to port manufactures; were it to annihilate fale, venal value, and reproduction of co modities, by heavy imposts upon them, all these things might be justly confidere fo many diforders in manners, omens of r and excreffences of barren expences.

IT is thus, that by a fingle glance of understanding upon our Table, a man n in an instant, discover the real value

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# 154 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

every law, of every civil ordinance, even those which do not appear to have any other than a moral tendency. But the concifeness of this explanation will not permit us to enlarge further on this head; let us, therefore, return to the physical points of police, more immediately connected with the object of our prefent enquiry.

THERE is no absurdity, which a spirit of refinement, grafted upon wrong principles, is not capable of engendering. I would not take upon me to fwear, that with a little pains we might not discover some landed states, in which private views had so far led people aftray, as to make them believe, it was proper to reftrain the cultivation of vines to increase that of wheat; and that, too, at a time, when the exportation of corn was forbid, and even the domestic commerce of it between province and province obstructed; at a time, when most of the lands lay fallow, because the cultivation of corn was confined to the confumption of the province that produced it; at a time, in fhort, when the decay of vine-culture, and the impoft

Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 155 impost upon wine, increased the fallow lands from one year to another. IT is very poffible, that in these circumstances the provinces remote from the capital fhould have been obliged to make reprefentations against the increase of tillage, as their corn, for want of fale, became a drug upon their hands, to the utter ruin of both farmers and land-owners, and the annihilation of the impost the lands were charged with. Thus every thing confpired to wither the two principal branches of cultivation of the kingdom, and fink to nothing the value of real estates; some of the land-owners endeavouring to procure exclusive privileges of culture, to the prejudice of the reft; fatal effects of prohibitions and obstructions, affecting the commerce of the productions of landed eftates, especially in a kingdom, where there is fuch an eafy communication between the provinces by fea and by rivers, where the capital, and all the other cities, can be fo eafily supplied with provisions from every part of its territories, and where the facility of exportation fecures a ready fale for all its fuperfluities. THERE

THERE is no branch of country bufiness equal to the cultivation of vines; for, in general, the net produce of an acre under vines is, at least, double that of the best acre under corn. We are, befides, to take notice, that the charges required by the former are of a more beneficial nature, than those required by the latter; because the culture of vines affords, even with profit to the employer, much better wages to the hands employed in it, because the demand for poles and cafks creates a demand for timber; and, lastly; because the hands employed in the cultivation of vines are not taken up by it in harvest time, and are, therefore, a great refource to the husbandman, in getting in his corn.

BESIDES, this clafs of men, being paid for their labour in the produce of the land itfelf, and by growing very numerous, increafe the demand for both corn and wine, and keeps up the venal value of these articles, in proportion as the cultivation extends, and fuch increase of cultivation increases riches; for the increase of riches is attended with an increase of populousines in every rank

### Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 157

of the ftate, and this increase of populousness supports, on all hands, the venal value of the immediate productions of the earth, and, consequently, the income of the king, the church, and the land-owners.

It is to be noted, that a facility of exporting the immediate productions of the earth, free from heavy taxes and duties, is a great advantage to a nation bleffed with an extensive territory, in which the culture may be fo varied, as to make it yield a great variety of valuable commodities, fuch, especially, as cannot grow in the neighbouring countries.

UNRIVALLED, therefore, as we are in the production of wines and brandies, through the nature of our foil and climate, the exportation of them should be particularly favoured by the government, instead of being loaded, as it is, with heavy burthens, multiplied to the great loss of the revenue itself, and too prejudicial to the vent of productions, which form the object of a great foreign trade, a trade capable of supporting the opulence of a greatkingdom. The impost should be simple and unincumbered,

and

and laid on the foil, which produces thefe riches; and in the repartition of the general impoft, regard should be had to those commodities, whose fale inforeign markets depends upon the reasonableness of their price; for then the state is amply indemnified for the smallness of such impost, by the advantageous influence of this commerce upon all the kingdom's other sources of riches. But let us not anticipate the article of imposts.

I SHOULD be wanting to myfelf, as a man, if, fpeaking of the police in general, I omitted faying a word or two of that terrible fcourge, one of the three which God was pleafed to give the choice of to finful *David*, and to which this prince preferred the plague; I mean the *police of corn*. I fee only with the eyes of a calculator.

By putting a ftop to the exportation of corn, and other immediate productions of the earth, you confine your agriculture to your ftate of populoufnefs, inftead of making your agriculture a means of increasing your populoufnefs.

### Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 1

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THE exportation of the immediate fruits the earth increases the annual value of r eftates; this increase of their annual value increases the expense of the land-owner this increase of expense draws people is the kingdom; this increase of populous increases the confumption of the immediate fruits of the earth; this increase confumption, along with exportation, ac lerates on all fides the progress of agric ture, populous fields, and increases, in turn, the annual value of real eftates.

By means of a free and eafy exportant and importation, corn is always kept at equal price; for the most equal price is the which prevails most universally among the ing nations. Such a commerce ever compensates the casual inequalities in the cropdifferent nations, by bringing to that cotry, where any fearcity happens, the fufluity of that where plenty prevails; making the quantity of productions, and prices of them, always and every w equal.

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HENCE, trading nations, that have no lands to fupply them with corn, are, notwithstanding, as fecure of bread, as those which cultivate a large territory. Freedom of commerce, and the least advantage in point of price, must infallibly draw goods into a country, and by that means keep things constantly at, or very near, the same standard.

Now, it has been demonstrated, that, independently of exportation, and even the advantage of a better price, a conftant equality of price is alone fufficient to increase, by onefixth, the net produce of real estates; that it increases and secures the advances of cultivation; that it prevents exceffive dearths, which hurt populoufnefs, and that it hinders commodities from becoming a drug, to the prejudice of agriculture; whereas, a prohibition of foreign trade is often attended with a dearth of necessaries; a cultivation too nicely adjusted to the annual demands of a nation, reduces the price of provisions to the fame fluctuation, that is occafioned in the harvest by good or bad weather, and brings great part of the lands to yield little, and

Sect. 5. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 161 be worth little; the uncertainty of fale creates uneafinefs among the farmers, puts 2 ftop to the expences of cultivation, lowers the rent of land; and this decay increafes from day to day, in the fame proportion with the infidious precautions, taken to prevent it.

IF, by way of preventing a fearcity of corn, the government should not only forbid the exportation of it, but hinder dealers from filling their granaries with it in plentiful feafons, which ought to provide against bad ones, and likewife obstruct the multiplication of those free magazines, where the competition of dealers renders a monopoly impoffible; procures the hufbandman a market in times of plenty, and produces plenty in the midst of sterility: then, from the felf-fame principles of fuch a timorous administration, and fo ill adapted to a landed nation, which nothing but a ready fale of, and a good price for its productions, can enrich; from the felffame principles, I fay, we may as fairly conclude, that it would be equally proper to reftrain, as much as possible, the home-confumption of corn, by reducing the common people

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to the use of potatoes, black wheat, acorns, and the like; and even make it a crime to fend corn from the provinces where it abounded, into those which wanted it, and which had been robbed of it, by special or furtive licences.

WHAT abuses, what monopolies, must flow from such an arbitrary, and destructive police! What would then become of agriculture, of the proprietary and manufacturing class of men, of the strength of the kingdom ?

I SHALL not repeat in this place, what has been faid fo often, in anfwer to the miftaken apprehensions of fome people concerning the danger of corn's becoming too dear for the common people. If the fummary demonstrations, which refult from the explanation of the Table, are not found fufficient to remove them, the reader may confult what I have written more at large upon this fubject, in the discourse I had the honour of presenting to the fociety at *Berne*.

THIS naturally leads us to the article of commerce.

SECTION

Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 163

## SECTION VI.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Depredations relatively to Commerce.

[See TABLE, Nº. V.]

COMMERCE fo far refembles light, that, though it creates nothing, it gives life to all things.

WE should here recollect, what has been already faid concerning the difference between goods and riches. A diffinction ought to be made in every state between goods which have an ufual value, but no venal value, and riches which have both an ufual and a venal value. For example, the favages of Louifiana had great plenty of goods; fuch as water, wood, game, the fruits of the earth, &c. these, however, could not be called riches, as they had no venal value: but fince fome branches of trade have been opened betwen them and the French, the M 2 English,

English, and the Spaniards, &c. part of these goods have acquired a venal value, and of course the quality of riches.

THUS the government of every kingdom ought to aim at procuring to its fubjects the greatest plenty possible of productions, and to these productions the greatest venal value possible; because with great riches a nation, by means of commerce, may procure all manner of usual goods, besides gold and filver, in a proportion suitable to its riches.

WE are not to confider commerce as an increase of stock. It is true, indeed, that a reciprocal commerce with foreigners brings in commodities, but these commodities must one way or another be paid for by the nation. Commerce, therefore, is not to be confidered as a separate object in the detail of a kingdom's income. It is with commerce as with house-rent, and interest of money, which are, to those who pay them, expences that arise from another source. It is otherwise, indeed, with regard to landcharges, which are laid upon a productive fund; but then these land-charges are included

# Sect.6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

cluded in the net produce of the la The earth, and the farmer's advances the cultivation of it, are the only fource incomes in a landed nation; but these comes would vanish into smoke, were its for the value which commerce gives to fruits of the earth; nay, in a short t these fruits would be confined to the sse confumption of the master.

DoMESTIC commerce, is, properly fp ing, what we ftile circulation; and that culation is most beneficial which confis buying and felling at the first hand; for oftener the fame thing is bought and f though the buyers and fellers should subjects of the fame state, the more of domestic commerce become onerous them. And it is in this light we ought confider the merit of a tradesiman in the mestic commerce of a nation.

THE foreign trade, or that of exponention, may extend, as appears by the exponention of the Table, to about one-eighthe the total annual produce of the earth. The exportation may be termed actual, if for  $M_3$  eighting the total eight of the eight of

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eighth part is exported in kind; and virtual, if it is confumed at home by handicraftsmen, whofe works are exported. Such is the general idea of the commerce of a landed ftate, confidered in its rife, in its growth, and in its ufefulnefs.

COMMERCE, therefore, gives life and the quality of riches to the immediate productions of the earth, and of courfe existence to the incomes and power of a nation. But we are not to confound in the idea, which we form to ourfelves of this great political agent, all those subservient agents, which a landed nation can very well dispense with. By this means we should little by little deify the infects bread in the mud of this Nile, such as stocks, agio, &c.

Not to fpeak of thefe laft, which are no better than fo many evolutions of ufury, the others, which are ufeful to nations that have no territory, and even to landed ftates, which have more fubjects than the plough and fpade can employ, don't deferve the direct attention of the government. The head

## Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 1

of a great landed ftate, who fhould employ h power to render his fubjects a trading peopl to the exclusion of all others, might be compared to a man of fortune, who fhould talit into his head to drive his own coach, an cook his own victuals, to fave the wages a coachman and a cook.

How many wars might have been avoided in the laft century, and might ftill perhabe avoided, would people but confider the petty commercial ftates as the commercial agents of the great ones, and be perfuaded that it is more advantageous for the firft trade by means of the fecond, than to char, themfelves with the different branches commerce, which cannot fail of provinmore expensive, and less profitable to them than it would be to procure themfelves, their own doors, a great competitors foreign merchants, and thereby effectual prevent all monopolies by their own me chants.

ADURAM, comptroller-general of the finances of the late king Solomon, unfortunated

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nately dazzled by the commerce of the Tyrians, and the fplendor of luxurious manufactures, raifed fuch a ferment in the brains of all his countrymen, that they no longer fpoke of any thing but commerce and money, without ever fo much as dreaming of the true and genuine commerce of their country.

THIS minister, valuable in other respects for his good intentions, but too attached to his own way of thinking, fet about fqueezing riches from the work of the fingers, even to the prejudice of the true fource of riches, and for this purpose disturbed the whole æconomical conftitution of a landed nation. The exportation of corn was prohibited, to enable the manufacturer to live cheap. The corntrade at home was put into the hands of an arbitrary police, which interrupted the commerce between the provinces. The protectors of handicraft bufiness, the intendant of provinces, and the magistrates of cities, in order to procure themfelves corn at an eafy rate, ruined, in consequence of a mistaken calculation, both their towns and their provinces,

### Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 16

vinces, by infenfibly leffening the culture their lands. Every measure tended to the destruction of land-rents, handicraft-work manufactures; and even commerce, which, a landed state, can only be supported by t produce of the land; for it is this produ which fupplies commerce with fuperfluiti for exportation, and which pays the landlo his rent, the fovereign his tribute, the church her tithes, and the falaries of those employ in lucrative works. Various emigrations men and riches accelerated the progrefs this deftruction. Both men and money we diverted from agriculture, and applied manufactures of cotton, filk, and foreig wools, to the prejudice of the manufactur carried on with the wools of the country, and the multiplication of cattle. Great pains we taken to provoke the luxury of decoration and it accordingly made very hafty ftrid The administrators of the provinces, preffed the exigencies of the ftate, no longer perm ted the countryman to enjoy any fecurity the visible employment of the riches necessar to the annual reproduction of riches. A gro part of the lands were permitted to fall in pe

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petty culture, to lie fallow, to fink to nothing; land-rents were facrificed to no manner of purpose to a mercantile commerce, incapable of contributing to the impost. And as hurbandry, impaired and oppressed, could no longer give the state any assistance, the burthens of it were more and more laid upon men, upon provisions, and upon the commerce carried on in the immediate fruits of the earth; the expences and piracies attending the perception of fuch taxes, daily encreafed, and at length became the object of a fystem of finances, which enriched the capital with the spoils of the provinces. Money-lending became a trade from which people drew yearly incomes, founded on money, and drawn from money, which, with respect to the nation, constituted no better than an imaginary produce, that escaped the impost, and preyed upon the state. These incomes accruing from money, and a shew of opulence, supported by the magnificence of a ruinous luxury, imposed upon the vulgar, while, from day to day, they, in fact, leffened the reproduction of real riches, and the money of the nation.

#### Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 171

EVERY body knows what happened foon after Solomon's death. Had he lived longer, he would have died a bankrupt, and the Holy-Land, formerly fo fruitful, would have been long fince over-run with briars and brambles.

MANUFACTURES for home confumption are no better than an object of expence, and by no means a fource of income; nor can the exportation of them afford any net profit, but to countries where manual labour is cheap, in confequence of the cheapnefs of provisions neceffary for the fubfiftence of manufacturers; a very difadvantageous condition for the produce of real eftates: and accordingly fuch cheapness is to be carefully avoided in states which enjoy a free and foreign commerce, by which the demand for, and price of, the immediate fruits of the earth, is kept up; a circumstance, which deftroys to advantage the trifling net produce deriveable from the exportation of manufactures, as the profits of fuch an exportation can only refult from the under value of the immediate fruits of the earth.

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WE don't confound in this place the general net produce or income belonging to the nation, with the profits of merchants, and mafter-manufacturers. These profits are to be confidered as barren expences, with respect to the nation. For example, what would it fignify to have rich husbandmen, if the lands cultivated by them yielded for none but themselves.

THERE are fome poor nations, in which most of the manufactures of luxury, multiplied to too great a degree, are supported by exclusive privileges, by laying the nation under contribution, by means of prohibitions, which deprive them of the use of other handicraft commodities. It is not so with agriculture, and the commerce carried on in the immediate fruits of the earth, where the briskest competitors in multiplies the riches of nations blest with extensive territories.

PRINCES should encourage those manufactures alone, whose materials are found in the country, and can therefore be made up cheaper there than elsewhere; and they should

## Sect. 6. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 173

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fhould permit the purchafe from foreigners of fuch manufactures, as foreigners can afford for lefs than their fubjects can make them up. By this means they would provoke a reciprocal commerce ; whereas, by pretending to fell every thing, and buy nothing, they would foon put an end to all foreign commerce, and deprive their fubjects of the advantage of exporting the immediate fruits of their lands; an advantage infinitely preferable to that of exporting manufactures.

A LANDED nation should favour the exportation of the immediate fruits of the earth, by the importation of manufactures which she can turn to advantage from foreigners. Herein lies the whole mystery of commerce. Let us but act in this manner, and we need not be under any apprehensions of *becoming tributary to other nations*.

BUT enough of commerce. It appears, by the ill fuccess of *Aduram*'s schemes, how dear the most knowing, most upright, and most diligent ministers may, by mistaking the first principles, pay for a transfert eclat, and momentary enjoyment, so as to sap the foundations



foundations of a powerful state. Azmoth, on the contrary, minister of the warlike David, who had conquered his kingdom foot by foot, by applying himfelf to the encouragement of agriculture, and living upon good terms with the Tyrians, though he had neither a fleet at Afion Gaber, nor any manufactures at Jericho; Azmoth, I fay, had in a fhort time the happiness to see his fellow-fubjects a flourishing people, and left behind him a great treasure to build the temple.

BUT as we have mentioned king David, let us now touch the main string of the œconomical harp.

## SECTION

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## [To face Page 175.]

## THE OECONOMICAL TABLE.

#### NUMBER VI.

Belonging to the feventh Section of the fecond Part of the Explanation, and exhibiting the deftructive Effects of the Impoft, when overloaded and abforbed by the Charges of Administration and Perception. This Number is formed on the footing of a total net Produce or Income of twenty Millions, and of an Impost of ten Millions overloaded by Charges of Administration and Perception to the Amount of ten Millions more; making in all forty Millions, of which ten, half the real Income, pass over to the Class of productive Expences; the other half of the real Income, with the twenty Millions, Bastard-Impositions, pass over to the Class of barren Expences.

Annual productive Advances relative to Agriculture, &c. neceffary to produce an Income of 4001. Income of 20% over-Annual barren Ad. are, in the Cafe of a loaded with 201. Imvances relative to destructive Impost Manufactures, &c. position, represents 60% produce, in Income, l. s. d. s. d. 1. Imposts and Charges 0 0 40 0 25 of Perception. (DUP 2141 2908 91941 there goes this way reproduce net 10 0 0 100 0 0 30 thisWa 150 0 reproduce net 15 o 0 0 2 10 Ο reproduce net 2 10 10 0 0 reproduce net 3 15 3 15 0 5 0 12 6 reproduce net o 12 17 6 ANNARE! 0 18 9 reproduce net o 18 6 Ö 3 -----

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 175

## SECTION VII.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Depredations relatively to the Impost.

#### [See TABLE, Nº VI.]

THE impost is a portion of our property, which has ever been, and ever will remain, appropriated and engaged to fecure to us the peaceable enjoyment of the rest.

It is, indeed, poffible that a nation fhould pay no tribute to its government; but it must then pay a tribute to its neighbours, by a political dependance upon them.

SUCH of our lands as are noble, and were formerly falique lands, boaft an immemorial immunity from imposts. However, tho' military fervice, to which the possefilion of them obliged their owners, fo far from being confidered as a burthen, was deemed an honour; it was, after all, a fubvention: and the pos-

feffors



TOTAL REPRODUCTION, befides the expences of cultivation 331. 6s. inflead of 401. Thus, the deficiency in the net annual reproduction amounts to 61. 14s. on 401. at which rate, the deficiency on 40,000,0001. reprefented by thefe 401. would be 6,700,0001. And this deficiency, great as it is, would be ftill greater, if any confiderable portion of the 30,000,0001. which we have fuppofed to return into circulation by paffing over to the barren clafs, fhould ftop and ftagnate in the hands of the Financiers. Now, by adding to this defiruction that caufed by the arbitrary fpoliative taille impofed on the hufbandman, we may eafily fee, how rapid the defiructive progrefs of fuch irregular impofitions muft be.



feffors of those lands, whose fancied immunity found policy will ever respect, are by birth, what, in other countries, men are aukwardly defigned by the red collar; I mean, subjects devoted to the service of the public.

IN a word, the impost is a debt by the law of nature, that is to fay, by the law of God and man, provided we give the word *impost* its true meaning, and understand by it fecurity and relief, and by no means general oppression.

It is to no purpose to object, that it is doing nothing, merely to indicate the point where words change their meaning, fince all earthly disputes arise merely from the contrary fignifications annexed to the same expressions. Befides, I might easily and with truth answer, that history affords very few, if any, examples of any tribute having ever occasioned any confiderable murmurs, when the people themfelves were charged with the collecting of it, and were permitted to bring the produce of it directly to the fovereign; but we have here a much

### Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 177

much furer guide than experience itfelf; for the table will direct our enquiries on this head, even better than it has done on any of the preceeding. Let us first speak of the collection of the impost; we shall afterwards speak of its distribution.

A WELL regulated impost, that is to fay, an impost which does not degenerate into *Spoliation* by a bad method of laying it on, is to be confidered as a portion of the net produce of the lands of a landed nation. Otherwife, it would have no proportional rule, either with itself, or with the faid net produce, or with the condition of the subjects liable to pay it; it might infensibly ruin every thing, even before those, who laid it on, dreamed of any mischief.

This tribute, therefore, called impost, should bear, intirely and directly, on the income, that is, on the annual and well known net produce of the land; and not on the farmer's advances, nor on the labouring people, nor on the fale of commodities; for in these last cases it would prove utterly destructive.

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IT has been already demonstrated, by the aberrations of the table belonging to the fecond and third fections of the fecond part, that, when it bears on the farmer's advances, it, from an impost, becomes a spoliation, that would infallibly put a stop to reproduction; impoverish the lands; ruin the farmers, the land-owners, and the state.

LAID upon the working part of the nation, and on the fale of commodities, it becomes arbitrary; the expences of levying it amount to more than the thing itfelf, and recoil without measure upon the annual incomes of the land, to the loss of the state, and of individuals. But we must here distinguish between *imposition* and *impost*. The imposition would become treble the impost, and would bear heavy even upon the impost itself; for in all the expences of the state, the taxes laid upon commodities would be paid by the impost. Thus, then, would the impost become deceitful and destructive.

ANY impost upon the working part of the nation, who live upon their wages, is

#### Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

no better, ftrictly speaking, than an impupon labour paid by those who empthe labourers; as an impost upon ho made use of in tillage, is no better than impost on the very expenses of curvation.

THUS any imposed upon men, and on the net produce of the land, would be upon the very expences requisite to carry the different branches of manufactures agriculture, would doubly affect the faid produce, and quickly annihilate the imp itself. We are to consider this imposed in fame light with taxes upon commodite which likewise affect the net produce of lat the imposed, and the expences of cultivation and the levying of which cannot fail being attended with immense expences in great state.

PETTY maritime states, however, wh have nothing but their trade to depend up are obliged to have recourse to this kind impose, though in a less onerous form. Gr states, too, must make use of it, when the N 2 a

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agriculture is fo decayed, that the net produce of their lands can no longer afford a fufficient impost.

BUT then, fuch a refource in fuch ftates, is no better than a furcharge, which obliges the common people to live poorer than they otherwife would, ftops labour, extinguishes reproduction, and completes the ruin of both fovereign and fubject.

IT has been often proposed, that the impost should be, like the tithe, levied in kind, by taking a certain part of the crop, or gross produce of the land; but it would then bear no certain proportion to the net produce; the poorer the land, and the poorer the crop, the more unjust and burthensome would such an impost be.

LET us now proceed to the diffribution of the impoft, and the effimation of its amount, being the points, to illustrate which I constructed the Table at the head of this fection. I have, no doubt, grounded this Table on a mere hypothefis; but the realization of this hypothefis is ever to be dreaded, ever to be carefully avoided.

### Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE.

I SUPPOSE a kingdom, in which the poft is, in an arbitrary manner, laid ch upon farmers, on labouring people, on n chandize, efpecially those of the remote vinces; that is to fay, in which it bears, rectly and indirectly, on the advances of tivation. Let the amount, affumed for b be ten millions sterling, ordinary impost, immediately laid upon the land, and other half upon goods. I suppose, on other hand, that the charges of sevying amount to as much more.

Now, the immediate net produce of lands of this nation would, in process of the amount to no more, to judge of it by a for tiny into the tax of one tenth on the p ductive funds, and into the total produthan about twenty millions sterling, incluing tithes and other ecclessifical revenunay, and the very impost payable by the revenues; a dismal produce for so large a so fertile a kingdom, and so laborious a numerous a people.

As, in general, great evils attend pital errors in the administration of N 3 financ

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finances, we must likewise suppose, that in this country the taille is arbitrarily imposed upon the husbandman; that the exportation of corn is forbid; that the production is limited to the confumption of the nation; that half the lands lie fallow; that the planting of vines in places fit for them, is prohibited; that wines are overburthened with ruinous impositions; that the domestic trade of corn is subjected to an arbitrary police; that even the transportation of it from one province to another, is liable to perpetual interruptions; and that the venal value of commodities is continually fluctuating.

In confequence of fuch a feries of destructive measures, the ill administred impost must fall heavy on the husbandman's advances, to the prejudice of reproduction, which would then, of course, decay from year to year. The husbandman's children would abandon the country; the extraordinary weight of the impost, on the natural price of commodities, and on workmen's wages, would raife both one third on the proprietary class.

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 183 class, fo as to reduce their twenty millions sterling, in point of real value, to less than thirteen millions and a half; and prove of equal prejudice to foreign commerce, and the employment of the impost remaining in circulation. An impost upon wages and commodities cannot fail being attended with a heavy expence of administration and collection. Befides weakening circulation, and reftraining commerce, it raifes the price of wages and commodities to the amount of the whole produce of the impost; that is to fay, if an impost on confumption brings in 1,250,000%. and costs an equal fum to levy it, the goods, upon which it is raifed, must cost the confumers 2,500,0001. more than they otherwife would do. Now, as the general mass , of the impost must be expended, the impost itfelf must likewife immediately lofe one third, fince it pays for every thing one third, or even more, than it would do without that impost, which it really pays itself to the collectors and managers of it; fo that from 10,000,000% it is reduced to about 6,700,0001.  $N_4$ LET

LET us now suppose, that there are, in the state, general farms let out, for example, at 5,000,000% and the levying of 5,000,001. (including the general farmer's profits) cofts 10,000,000 l. Let us then examine this formidable, and, in the general opinion, fo important operation of farming, by the foregoing reduction; it will appear that this impost of 5,000,000l. immediately lessens the public revenue of the flate by 3,300,000%. 'How fo? Becaufe this operation draws after it the 10,000,000 l. charges of perception, and those 10,000,000% form a bastard addition to the venal value of commodities. Now, as the exchequer is the great fleward and caterer of the state, it pays the 3,300,000l. above-mentioned, for the share of these 10,000,0001. Hence it follows, that this is no better than taking with one hand, to give with the other; that this admired farm of 5,000,000 l. finks in real value to 1,650,000 l. and nevertheless costs those who contribute to it 10,000,000% extraordinary, in charges of administration and perception, and in profits to the perfons employed against the king.

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 185. BUT a still worse effect of this fatal method would be, as the Table demonstrates, that of hindering annually the reproduction of more than 6,700,000l. for the fake of an impost, that would fink to 1,650,000 l. and which it would be an easy matter to raise otherwife, tho' it amounted to the 5,000,000%. promifed by the farms, fo as to fave the na-. tion upwards of 10,000,000 l. in the expences of perception, befides the above 6,700,000 l. annually destroyed by the method of farming. SUCH is the unavoidable mischief of imposts upon goods, not to speak of the enormous prejudice they do to commerce. Thus, then, it appears, that this kind of impost does not deserve the name of impost; it is no better than a depredation, which ruins the fubject, without doing any fervice to the fovereign. THIS deceitful and destructive impost would, befides, give a false idea of the annual net produce of the lands, and other riches of the kingdom. On the one hand, people would

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would be apt to make this net produce amount to about 20,000,000 l. never fo much as dreaming that both it, and the whole of the impost, reduced to their real value, would form, in the whole, but about 20,000,000%. On the other hand, they would make the impost amount to 20,000,000 l. which, in the whole, would look like a total net produce of 40,000,000% but, in fpite of this confusion, it must clearly appear, that the land-owner's income of 20,000,000 l. and the total impost of 20,000,000 l. which, in appearance, form a net produce of 40,000,000 l. form, in fact, but a net produce of 20,000,000 L and that the furplulage of 20,000,000 l. confifting entirely of baftard imposts, and baftard charges, is no better than an excreffence of barren and burthenfome expences. By adding to this profpect, the loffes caufed by the detention of money in the coffers of faving people, and in the ufurpous trade of the financiers, it will appear, that all altogether, every year, radically leffen the net produce by about 27,500,000 l. fo as to reduce the advances of the hufbandman, the net

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 187 net produce of real estates, the value of lands, the labour of the hands employed in manufactures, and the impost itself; not to mention the progressive decay which fpoliation draws after it, occafioned by that part of the arbitrary impost laid upon the farmers, which, added to the want of a market, causes lands to fall into petty culture, or lie entirely uncultivated. THIS was once the cafe, and when it was, the expences of cultivation produced no more, including the impost, than 20 or 25 per cent. and that they produced fo much, was owing to the great cultivation, which still existed in one fourth of the kingdom. We do not calculate in what number of years this degradation must happen, because the different destructive causes, of which we have spoken, may contribute to it more or lefs, as they act jointly or feparately. We fet out at a point of degradation, which we are well acquainted with. Confult the article CORN, in the Encyclopædia, where you will find in what manner a nation may lofe annually four fifths of the net produce

produce of its hufbandry. Thus the general mass of riches, which, while agriculture flourished in the nation, might amount to 4,000 or 4,500 millions, would appear reduced to 900 or 1,000 millions.

THE beginning of this degradation is referred to the year 1690, or thereabouts. It would be an eafy matter, by purfuing the fame order of declenfion, to calculate how long it may still hold; but arithmetical truths of this kind are too decifive, and too harsh to let us push our enquiries so far. We shall not, therefore, follow the rapid progress of this declenfion; it may be eafily gueffed by the exposition we have given of it in the Table, and as eafily ftopped before it utterly ruins the state.

IT is very mortifying to be thus obliged to descend from ideas of infinity, and give up the flattering fuppositions of the inexhaustible refources of a great kingdom, especially at a time, when a greedy or ambitious heart feconded, in this respect, the illusions of the mind; but it is still more mortifying to be undeceived by real facts, and fee onefelf, at the

THE author of the Detail of France, un-He

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 189 the end of a long course of false æconomy, and fecret depredations, after half an age of mistaken parfimony, during which, men of the greatest fortunes were reproached with an expensiveness, that men of middling fortunes might formerly have allowed themfelves; during which a spirit of plunder prevailed every where, becaufe a fpirit of taxing spared nothing; it is much more mortifying, I fay, to find one's felf, all at once, in a state of absolute exhaustion, as if heaven and earth were hardened into brafs, and all in consequence of a fingle mistake, but that indeed a fundamental mistake, from which all the reft naturally follow. A great kingdom, like Anteus, in the Table, must fall into agonies, as foon as its communication with the earth is cut off. It is from the earth alone, that fuch a kingdom can draw all its forces, and it is upon the earth alone, that it can recover them. der Lewis XIV. printed in 1699, refers, as we have already faid, the beginning of the declenfion of the kingdom to the year 1660.

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## 190 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

He examines the progress of it to the time he published his work, and demonstrates, that the net produce of our lands, which in 1660 amounted to 35,000,000l. (equal to 70,000,0001. of our money at this day) had funk one half by the year 1699. He takes notice, that it is not to the quantity of the impost, but to the bad choice of objects it was laid on, and to the diforders which then attended the levying it, that this enormous degradation must be attributed. We are to judge of the further progress of this diminution by the continuation of the fame kind of administration. The imposition, at length, became for exorbitant, that under Lewis XIV. it amounted to upwards of 37,500,000 l.\* which brought into the king's coffers but 12,500,000l. fo that the contributors were annually robbed of 25,000,000 l. the reproduction of 10,000,000 l. of which was, befides, every year, irretrievably loft. These diforders, likewife, annually preyed upon the ftock of national riches to the fame amount; and, including the annual destruction occasioned by the

\* Memoirs for the general history of the finances, by Monfieur Deon de Beaumont.

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 191 the arbitrary taille laid upon the farmers, the whole formed an annual depredation of more than 15,000,000%. Thus, then, the depredation amounted every three years to about 50,000,000% (nearly equal to 100,000,000% of our money at this day.) This ruinous imposition, which bore heavy on the expence of the impost itself, reduced it, in point of real value, to about 8,500,000 l. and, after all, I mean nothing here, but what, in matters of finance, is called grofs impost; that is, fuch impost as has not yet fuffered by passing through the hands of the receivers and treasurers; who may be compared to fo many ufelefs inns, where the public money pays dearly for its reception. Accordingly, it has been observed, that both prince and people may be greatly enriched, even in fo fhort a time as a month, by a better administration, that would abolish fo ruinous an impofition, revive the exportation of corn, wine, wool, linnen, &c. But the man, who should dare undertake such a reformation at a time when all right notions concerning the conomical government of an extensive kingdom were lost, would have been

been accused of an attempt to overthrow the pillars of the whole edifice.

HAVING thus discovered the source of the evil, calculated the progress of it, and demonstrated the Table, it may now, perhaps, be time to point out the remedy.

IT appears, in general, that the impost should be levied directly on the net produce of the earth, fince, in whatever manner it is levied in a kingdom which draws its riches from its territory, it is always ultimately paid by the land. Thus, then, the fimplest and most regular form of imposition, the most profitable to the fovereign, and least burthenfome to the fubject, is that which is immediately, and with due proportion, laid at the fource of the continually renafcent riches.

WE are told, that a flourishing nation, though burthened with fubfidies on a great number of commodities, and confined to a territory of no great extent, has, neverthelefs, found means to confirm her power, and fecure

Sect. 7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 193 fecure its profperity, by exempting the plough from every kind of burthen. The farmers pay no impost : the land-owners who do are liable, no doubt, in time of war, to transitory fubventions, which, during the ftorm, may oblige them to leffen their expences; but, then, husbandry goes on as ufual, and the fale and venal value of the immediate fruits of the earth are held up by the freedom of exportation. Agriculture, and the multiplication of cattle, fuffer nothing by the longest, and most expensive wars. The land-owners find their lands, at the return of peace, well cultivated, and in good heart; and their rents as good, and as well paid, as ever. By this we may eafily judge of the difference between an exorbitant impost, and a fpoliative impost; for, according to the form of laying it on, an impost may be spoliative without being exorbitant, and exorbitant without being fpoliative. This appears in the cafe of England, which, inexhaustible in confequence of her ever renascent riches, is thereby enabled to maintain the most obffinate

ftinate wars by fea and land, without the leaft lofs or diminution of her forces.

IT appears, however, by what we can gather concerning the public revenues of this nation, that however wife and patriotic her government may be, they are very far from proceeding on this occafion upon true and fimple principles. Accordingly, we fee her over head and ears in debt: but then her attention to avoid fpoliative or deftructive taxes, and never farm her revenues \*, fecures her from fundamental ruin, notwithstanding the great abuse sinterparable from exorbitant defigns, and too distant enterprifes.

DURST I now, after pointing out what is to be avoided, fay what is to be done, it would, with whatever justness combined, be fufficient matter for a separate work, being the result of an infinite number of enquiries, and comparisons.

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\* I am informed, that, by an ancient law, the bare propofal of a farm or monopoly is felony in *England*, and punishable with death.

#### Sect. 7. The OFCONOMICAL TABLE

IT is no eafy matter to adjuft upon lands, fince they are to be rate only according to what the fee of th worth, but likewife according to their tive value. Middling lands, near a good ket, are often worth more than the be diftance from one, fince the venal vaevery thing. Now, from market to m we, at laft, reach the interior markets ritime commerce, the open feas,  $\mathfrak{Sc}$ . thus that all the branches of œcono harmony correspond with, and depend each other.

THE difference, which different is of culture occasion in the produce earth, is fufficiently manifest from the going pages; and likewise, that the a mode of culture made use of in conexhausted nations, which scarcely yield produce. It likewise appears, that it enough to teach, and to recommend a ter kind of culture, confidering the charges requisite to establish it. No, the of the husbandman must be strengthened is only the strength of them, that can the earth yield her produce, as it is only  $O_2$ 

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## 196 The OECONOMICAL TABLE. Part II.

produce, that can fupply the exchequer. The exchequer, however, as the lungs of a political body, fhould never ftand ftill, but be continually drawing in, and throwing out riches. But how can riches be drawn from products which never exift?

FROM all this it follows, that the cadasters \*, represented elsewhere, as an almost indispensable basis of regeneration, afford, confidering the injustice and absurdity of the arbitrary perfonal tax upon the hufbandman, a very unequal and burthensome form of repartition, which makes no allowances for great calamities equally unforeseen, and unavoidable. We must, therefore, think of some more just, more simple, more paternal plan, and find out fome method of winding up the machine, fo as to make it go of itfelf with little or no expence; and likewife make the revenues of the prince constantly keep pace with those of the people, in order to bind and unite for ever, what ought never to have been separated. We must endeavour to cure people of the notion, that, to ruin themselves, and

\* Registers, containing an account of the nature and value of the lands of every district.

Sect.7. The OECONOMICAL TABLE. 197 and wafte their patrimony, is the way to thrive, and to conquer. We are now . . . But it is not yet time. One word more, and we might expect to fee our works placed among those called the reveries of a good Jubject. We must use great gentleness in addreffing nations frivolous enough to make a god of that idle scarecrow, called Ridicule, which, however, does infinite mischief, fince, as long as all the world is in the wrong, all the world is in the right. Tho' I am thus fuddenly ftopt fhort by the fear of being ridiculed for being righteous over-much, I have often defied other kinds of ridicule. But this kind would render me hereafter useless to my country.

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## CONCLUSION.

DY recollecting fucceflively all the truths eftablished in the different applications of the Table, and referring them in this place to the article upon the impost, it will eafily be feen,

Ift, THAT every penny attending the perception of imposts, is fo much transferred to the barren class; an enormous diforder this in the table !

2d, WHAT expences of the ftate are ruinous in their own nature; what likewife are a means of accelerating circulation; and what, in fine, are advantageous, by flowing almost entirely into the productive class.

3d, IN what manner the bare mifapplication of ufeful expences may render them ruinous. For example, regular troops, maintained with the produce of the nation, ftrengthen the productive clafs; whereas, fent abroad, they become ruinous to her, though foreigners were to maintain them, merely in confe-

#### CONCLUSION.

confequence of her lofing the benefit of confumption.

4th, THAT those, who are always pre ing up to their fovereign a dry and ba æconomy, are unacquainted with the principles of true political œconomy. government of a nation, bleffed with a f ful and extensive territory, should con a great deal, to make the country produ great deal; but then the country must be plundered, because there can be no without a receiver, and there should b receivers to lock up any thing in a flou ing state. The state, I fay, must cont a great deal. But to confume a great it must have a great deal to confume; to have a great deal to confume, the ful must be rich; the lands must be in production; the advances of agriculture manufactures, the hufbandman and the nufacturer themfelves, all kinds of comm ties, the markets, &c. must be entirely exc from all burthens. The whole of the in must fall upon the net produce of the e pass directly without any round-abouts

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#### CONCLUSION. 200

the purfes of the fubject into the coffers of the fovereign; and, in the difburfement of it, from the coffers of the fovereign, into the purfes of the fubjects. But this is the grand ftumbling-block in the way of all attempts to bring about a reformation : 'tis here the best ministers meet with obstacles superior to all their courage and virtue.

SUCH, however, was the project of Sully, which Henry IV. tired with feeing his pot empty, and all his doublets worn out at the elbows, laid before his council of finances. But they unanimoufly answered, that it was the project of a mad-man, who thought that the revenues of a great state were to be governed like those of a private family; to which this prince, no lefs judicious than frank and open, immediately replied, that they, who were such wife men, having ruined him, be had a mind to see if mad-men could not make him whole again.

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[ 201 ] RECAPITULATION. T is, in a manner, impoffible to give any abstract of a work, that is in itself but an abstract of demonstrations and principles, which handled, as fully as they ought to be, would alone be fufficient to fill volumes. All I can do, then, is to give a kind of index, that may just point out the principal object of every fection of this development. THE author, before he exhibits his table, acquaints us with the object of it, ventures to invite the learned to apply themfelves, as to the performance of a duty incumbent on fuch fubjects, to the study of the æconomical fcience. He then warns us of the difficulties which attend his elements, and gives a preparatory sketch of the simple manner of entering this career by the road which his table exhibits. NEXT comes the explanation in two parts. The first, sub-divided into seven sections, acquaints us with the nature of the table. The

The fecond, in an equal number of fections, prefents us with the development and consequences of it.

## FIRST PART.

#### SECTION I.

### The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Construction.

HIS table is no more than a map of circulation, and takes in nothing but the land-owner's share of the net produce of the land, exclusive of tithes and impost, arising from a vigorous cultivation, that yields one hundred per cent. net on the annual advances required by it, befides ten per cent. on these and the primitive advances. This fhare of the land-owner is equally divided, and goes one half to the productive, and the other half to the manufacturing class.

THIS fection gives the first explanation of this new kind of dialect, and afcertains the natural and neceffary produce of an acre of corn-land in a vigorous state of culture, free and exempt from all manner of taxes, and rendered

## RECAPITULATION. 203

rendered valuable by an advantageous foreign commerce, fecuring their just venal value to the immediate fruits of the earth.

#### SECTION II.

### The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Progress.

THE table is the fame here as in the preceeding fection.

HERE we see circulation going forward; we fee the distribution of money, which, though in itfelf no more than a conventional riches, is the indifpenfable attendant of real riches; we fee where every portion of real riches should tend, and where it should Rop; where be confumed, and where reproduced; and what are the advantageous effects of the mutual ebbing and flowing of the productive and barren classes one into the other, which in reality doubles riches, and in appearance trebles the effects of them, by means of an extensive, rapid, and equal circulation.



## SECTION III. The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered relatively to Populousness.

TO alteration as yet in the table. The Author establishes, in the fimple language of calculation, the true principles of population, a population fecured to the state by the strongest of all ties, the ties of subsistence. He here pretty nearly points out, what must be the relative number of adults to the other inhabitants in an agricole state; what portion of these adults may be disposed of, and applied to fuch employments as are not of absolute necessity; likewife, what portion is indifpenfably tied down to the different purposes of production and manufacture. Hence flows the grand and genuine principle of population, namely, that a state, which would encrease the number of its subjects, can do it only in proportion as it increases the quantity of its riches. This demonstration, afforded by a bare survey of the Table, which proves that riches can fpring from nothing but production, brings back population to its radical principle, agriculture. SECTION

## RECAPITULATION. 205

#### SECTION IV.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered relatively to the Amount of the Impost and Said - il energier regimentings and i were itserik

T TERE the Table attains its full growth, L by the addition of one half, and of one quarter of what the land-owner's share of the net produce of the land amounts to; the first appropriated to pay the king his tribute, and the fecond to pay the church her tithes. This is the only alteration in the Table, for the whole amount of these three portions of the income combined together is here fuppofed to circulate in the fame order with the rent alone in the preceeding Tables. no meth

I SET out by fhewing, that these contributions, fo profitable both to the fovereign and the fubject, are, yet, no way exorbitant, and that the proprietary, and every other class, would be extremely happy, that things were established upon this footing.

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#### SECTION V.

#### The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered relatively to the National Cash.

THIS is a repetition of the preceeding Table. This fection is intended to direct our ideas concerning money, in which all the riches of a ftate is, by vulgar opinion, made to confift; and demonstrates, that; as it is impossible to establish any fixed notion on this head, it is equally useles to investigate the quantity of money in a nation, fince it must ever be in proportion to the annual net produce of her lands; and that all the money besides, hoarded up by avarice, is rather an incumbrance than an advantage to the state. The circulating cash of a nation can only be in proportion to the amount of her other riches.

#### SECTION VI.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in the Estimation of the Produce, and of the capital Stock of every Kind of Riches.

THE Table is still the fame. The estimate contained in this section is nothing less than ideal, fince the main affertions of

### RECAPITULATION. 207

of it are built upon incontestable principles already established. Nor are the moveable riches rated too high in proportion to the net produce of the lands, comparatively at least with what we every day experience this way. Besides it is always of service to be able to make an estimate of one's condition. This valuation was moreover necessary to point out the real rank and dignity of money, an object so enormously magnified in the imaginations of most people.

#### SECTION VII.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in the Conditions necessary to the free Play and Prosperity of the political Machine.

THE preceeding Table is here again repeated. This is a kind of recapitulation of the conditions neceffary to a free, full, and perfect circulation, fuch as is caufed by a vigorous and plentiful production; and a caution against all the false meafures that may obstruct it. I cannot too earness recommend a careful perusal of this kind of repertory, which takes in a

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## 208 RECAPITULATION.

great many objects, and omits few of those which belong to this fo extensive and practical a fcience.

## SECOND PART.

A FTER letting the reader into the nature of the Table, in the preceeding part, we prefent him with the development of it in the fecond part, by exhibiting the confequences of any diforder that may creep into it.

#### SECTION I.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its private Depredations, Excess of Luxury, &c.

THE Table is here prefented in its first diforder, proceeding from a distribution of one fixth more of the annual net produce to the barren than to the productive class. The failure occasioned thereby very naturally appears at the bottom of the Table, by following the rules laid down for that purpose.

In this fection, after taking a curfory view of fome of the principal causes of the ballance of

## RECAPITULATION. 209

of the table inclining to the barren clafs; we afcertain in what confifts the profperity of a landed nation; we answer fome specious arguments in favour of petty cultivation; and return to the support of our conclusive demonstrations, that great advances are requisite to secure every kind of rural profit.

#### SECTION II.

#### The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered relatively to a State of Spoliation.

THE Table here appears in the flate of fifty livres diminution on one thousand and fifty, confidered as the capital of the annual advances of the productive class.

THE detail of the depredations fets out with the first objects that occur, the effects of which are not abfolutely capital and peremptory. Here is shewn, how the manners and customs of a nation affect it in its physical capacity. After which, as we go on, we treat of those devastations which go to the quick, and which in a few years wear away to nothing all the riches of a state. This is what we call *fpoliation*, that is to fay, the destruction of the advances necessary to cultivate the P earth



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## 210 RECAPITULATION.

earth to advantage. We here suppose, that the fpoliation takes annually fifty livres from the farmer's annual advances of one thoufand and fifty livres; we shew, what the deficiency is the first year; the rapidity of its progress; and how quickly it must end in an absolute and entire devastation; for such is the unavoidable confequence of it. This fpeculation, at length, shews us, how agriculture declines to fuch a pitch, as to yield no longer above twenty per cent net on the advances of cultivation, instead of one hundred per cent. which it yielded, at first, in its natural state of prosperity.

#### SECTION III.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE, in which the Decay of Husbandry, and the sad Effects thereof relatively to Population, are confidered.

TE here exhibit the table in that state of net produce, which we have been just speaking of, that is to fay, yielding no more than twenty per cent. of the annual advances.

WE demonstrate, in the explanation, the confequences of fuch a decay, and bring back the

RECAPITULATION. 211 the state of population to its true principles, namely, its proportion with the earnings, profits, and falaries of the feveral branches of the state. We likewife curforily examine, in what confifts a ftrong and numerous defence; armies being nothing elfe than a difpofeable or fupernumerary portion of the inhabitants, whofe strength and maintenance are fubject to the fame rules with the ftrength and maintenance of the other portions. We here also point out the useful way of employing the fupernumerary hands in public works, the expence of which proves advantageous to the nation, in regard to her commerce, her commodities, &c. and ought to fall to the share of the several provinces, in proportion to their contributions, and be. directed by them feverally, as parties principally concerned, though in conformity with the general views and decifions of the government. SECTION IV. The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Diforders relatively to Money. HE foregoing Table still lies before us. WE

WE here put the reader in mind, that money is but an intermediate pledge between buyers and fellers; and that the money in a landed nation can fcarcely exceed the annual net produce of her lands; that money cannot indemnify for any deficiency in the fucceflive renewals of riches; that the fcraping together of money fhould not be the object of a nation's paffion; that money can never be fcarce in a well cultivated kingdom; that when a nation ceafes to have any produce, it is impoffible fhe fhould retain her money.

#### SECTION V.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Diforders relatively to the Police.

HE fame Table still lies before

WE here confider the moral caufes of the decay of the Table; we particularly dwell upon the mifchiefs proceeding from prohibitions too commonly confidered as the effects of a found police.

SECTION

## RECAPITULATION 213

#### SECTION VI.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Depredations relatively to Commerce.

THE Table still continues on the footing of twenty per cent. net produce upon the annual advances.

DEFINITION of commerce; its effects; its advantages when free from errors. Sketch of the illufions in commercial matters of a great prince, and a great minister. The works of the manufacturer no fource of riches. The profits of master manufacturers, and merchants, often no better than burthens with respect to the nation. That importation of wrought commodities, which favours the exportation of unwrought commodities, very advantageous to a landed nation.

#### SECTION VII.

The OECONOMICAL TABLE confidered in its Depredations relatively to the Impost.

HERE the Table affumes a new afpect, being conftructed on the footing of a real net produce of four hundred livres, and a burthenfome imposition to the amount of four hundred livres more, too often taken for

net produce, both forming a total of eight hundred livres, of which two hundred livres, half of the real net produce, pass over to the productive class, and fix hundred livres, viz. the remaining two hundred of the real net produce, and the other four hundred, confifting of baftard imposts, and burthenfome impofitions, pass over to the class of barren expences.

THIS diforder arifes from the quality and fpecies of the impofition. This is made out in the last fection. A reasonable impost ought to be confidered as a portion of the net produce of the land taken from it without any manner of expence or depredation, Tribute can come from nothing but the faid net produce. Devastation of a state, in which the impost should be arbitrarily laid upon the hulbandman, the manufacturer, provisions, or merchandize. How the impost preys upon itfelf, and lofes, by encreafing the price of every thing it is isfued to purchafe, double of what it gains by the encrease of its receipts. How the impositions, that is to fay, the charges of collecting the impost, double the above difadvantage, fo as entirely to abforb itfelf. How, in confequence of thefe

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RECAPITULATION. 215 two errors, the revenues of the state, and those of the land-owners, come to have but an empty amount, and a fictitious value, the two parts of which, in fact, run into each other, and form, in reality, but one poor heap of ruins, comparatively with what might be expected in an extensive and fertile kingdom. HERE the friend of mankind finishes his career; here he takes his leave of the fervice in which he had dedicated himfelf to his prince, to his fellow-fubjects, to mankind. His hairs begin to look grey; he has feen the meridian of life, and the public should not be made to bear the decline of it. In his first work, he gave a plan of paftoral administration; in the fecond, he treated of the principles of organization, and the manner of realizing its details as to the municipal part; in the third, in fine, he points out the qualities of riches, and the means of procuring them; he frees the first notions from the prejudices, reduced into principles, with which ignorance and paffion had furrounded and ftifled them. This triple development forms a sketch of the whole of political æconomy. Such was, fuch ought to have been, the use of his voice; at least fuch he intended it should have been. He will deem himfelf happy, if his cotemporaries or posterity reap any advantage from his labours! Nay, he is happy in having undertaken them with that view. In his progrefs

gress he has opposed two authors, but not two men, for he knows them not; and if he did, it would be as a brother to their perfons, though an enemy to their principles. Were he to meet them, the rencounter could not be as warm, as was his first conversation with him who affirmed, that he had not hit upon one true principle of population. He withdrew, as people generally do from all disputes, as much as ever of his own opinion; but he recovered of himfelf; he listened again; he studied; and he has fince had reafon to thank himfelf for doing fo. He did homage to truth, and from truth he has received ample returns for his homage. But had he found in the man, that opposed him, a tool of the finance, a compiler of oppreffive ordonances, he would never have quitted the field, till he had blafted his opinions. This he is not afraid to fay he has often done, and will be ever ready to do again on the first alarm.

ALL to this he has finished his career, his glass is run. Let the man, whom he has perfonally offended, stand up and accuse him; but if that man is not to be found, he hopes that all in general will condescend to receive his last adieus in the same manner they bestowed their welcomes on his first appearance.

#### FINIS,

