

ZAŁĄCZNIKI,
SKOROWIDZE I WYKAZY

TEKSTY CYTATÓW W JĘZYKU ORYGINAŁU¹

- ¹⁶ „In Flanders [...] dung and hay are in these parts imported from Holland... The refuse of the towns has therefore become a matter of trade, and is regularly sold at high prices to Belgium... At about twenty miles from Antwerp, up the Schelde, the reservoirs may be seen for the manure that is brought from Holland. The trade is managed by a company of capitalists, and the Dutch boats..” (*Thomas Charles Banfield, „The Organisation of Industry...”*, second edition, London 1848, p. 40 a. 42)
- ¹⁷ „Le propriétaire fournit le domaine, le bâtimens, et ordinairement tout ou partie du bétail et des instrumens nécessaires à l'exploitation; le colon, de son côté, apporte son travail [...], et rien ou presque rien de plus; les produits de la terre se partagent par moitié.” (*Mathieu de Dombasle, „Annales agricoles de Roville...”*, quatrième livraison, Paris 1828, p. 301)
- ¹⁷ „...les colons partiaires sont généralement des hommes plongés dans la misère...” (*ibidem*, p. 302)
- ¹⁷ „...s'il a obtenu un accroissement de produit brut de 1500 fr., au moyen d'une avance de 1000 fr., il faut qu'il partage par moitié [...] avec le propriétaire, en sorte qu'il ne retire que 750 fr., ou, en d'autres termes, qu'il perd un quart des ses avances...” [Ostatnią część zdania daje Marks w przekładzie niemieckim w skrócie] (*ibidem*, p. 304)
- ¹⁷ „Dans l'ancien système de culture, la dépense ou les frais de production sont pris presque entièrement sur les produits eux-mêmes en nature, par la consommation des bestiaux, du cultivateur et de sa famille; il ne se fait presque aucune dépense en écus. C'est seulement cette circonstance qui a pu donner lieu de croire que le propriétaire et le colon pouvaient partager entre eux tout le produit des

¹ Cyfra na początku każdego cytatu oznacza stronę tekstu głównego, na której dany cytat jest przytaczony.

récoltes qui n'est pas consommé dans l'exploitation; mais il faut que l'on sache bien que cette manière du procéder n'est applicable qu'à ce genre d'agriculture, c'est-à-dire à l'*agriculture misérable*; car, aussitôt que l'on veut apporter à la culture quelque amélioration, on s'aperçoit qu'on ne peut le faire qu'au moyen de quelques avances dont il faut réserver le montant sur le produit brut, pour l'appliquer à la production de l'année suivante, en sorte que tout partage du produit brut, entre le propriétaire et le colon, forme un obstacle insurmontable à tout amélioration." [Część cytatu daje Marks w przekładzie niemieckim w skrócie] (*ibidem*, p. 307)

¹³⁴ „...that the draining of Fens, improving of Forests, inclosing of Commons, Sowing of St Foyne and Clovergrass, be grumbled against by the Landlords, as the way to depress the Price of Victuals..." (*William Petty*, „Political Arithmetick". In „Several Essays in Political Arithmetick.", London 1699, p. 230)

¹³⁴ „Rents may fall in some Places, and Counties, and yet the Land of the Nation [...] improve all the while: As for Example, when Parks are dispark'd, and Forests, and Commons are taken in, and enclos'd; when Fen-Lands are drein'd, and when many Parts are meliorated by Industry, and Manuring¹, it must certainly depreciate that Ground which has been improv'd to the full before, or was capable of no farther Improvement [...] the Rental of private Men does thereby sink, yet the general Rental of the Kingdom by such Improvements, at the same time rises..." ([*Charles D'Avenant*], „Discourses on the Public Revenues, and on the Trade of England...", part II, London 1698, p. 26/27)

¹³⁴ „...Fall in private Rents from 1666 to 1688 [...]: but the Rise in the Kingdome's general Rental was greater in Proportion, during that time, than in the preceeding Years, because the Improvements upon Land were greater and more universal, between those two Periods, than at any time before..." (*ibidem*, p. 28)

¹³⁴ „In the next chapter the *Struggle for Existence* amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from the high geometrical ratio of their increase, will be treated of. This is the doctrine of *Malthus*, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms." (*Charles Darwin*, „On the Origin of Species...", London 1860, introduction, p. 4/5)

¹ W rekonstrukcji: manufacturing.

- ¹⁴⁵ „...the law of 1773 was constructed [...] avowed intention of lowering the price of corn to our manufacturers, by encouraging the importation of corn from abroad, for the purpose of feeding our own people at a cheaper rate.” (*James Anderson*, „A calm Investigation of the Circumstances that have led to the present Scarcity of Grain in Britain...”, London 1801, p. 50)
- ¹⁴⁹ „...I shall [...] greatly regret that *considerations for any particular class*, are allowed to check the progress of the wealth and population of the country.” (*David Ricardo*, „An Essay on the Influence of a low Price of Corn on the Profits of Stock...”, second edition, London 1815, p. 49)
- ¹⁴⁹ „That *some capital would be lost* cannot be disputed, but *is the possession or preservation of capital* the end, or the means? The means, undoubtedly. What we want is *an abundance of commodities*, and if it could be proved that by the *sacrifice of a part of our capital we should augment the annual produce* of those objects which contribute to our enjoyment and happiness, we ought not [...] to repine *at the loss of a part of our capital.*” (*David Ricardo*, „On Protection to Agriculture”, London 1822, p. 60)
- ¹⁵⁰ „To an individual with a capital of 20 000 l., whose profits were 2000 l. per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employ a hundred or thousand men, whether the commodity produced sold for 10 000 l., or for 20 000 l., provided, in all cases, his profits were not diminished below 2000 l. Is not the real interest of the nation similar? Provided its net real income, its rent and profits be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of ten or of twelve millions of inhabitants.” (*David Ricardo*, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 416)
- ¹⁶⁵ „...in an improved state of agriculture produce may be raised on the second or third quality of land at as little cost as is could under the old system upon the first quality.” (*Edward West*, „Price of Corn and Wages of Labour...”, London 1826, p. 98)
- ¹⁶⁵ „The principle of competition, which renders it impossible, that there should be two rates of profit in the same country [...], does [...] determine [...] their [...] *relative rents...*” [Dalsze zdanie: „nie określa jednak ogólnej przeciętnej renty”, oddaje treść następujących potem miejsc tekstu.] (*Thomas Hopkins*, „On Rent of Land,

and its Influence on Subsistence and Population...”, London 1828,
p. 30)

¹⁶⁵ „If all labourers were employed for the same end, or object, as diamond cutter and the opera singer, in a short time there would be no *wealth* to subsist them, because *none of the wealth produced would then become capital*. If a considerable proportion were so employed, wages would be low; because, but a comparatively small part of what was produced would be used as capital; – but if only a few of the labourers were so employed, and, of course, nearly all were ploughmen, shoemakers, weavers etc. [...], then much capital would be produced and wages *would* be proportionally high.” (*ibidem*, p. 84/85)

¹⁶⁶ „With the diamond cutter and the singer, must be classed all those who labour for the landlords, or annuitants, and who receive a part of their income as wages all, in fact, whose labours *terminate* merely in producing those things which gratify landlords and annuitants, and who receive in return for their labours, a part of the rent of the landlord, or of the income of the annuitant. These are all productive labourers, but all their labour are for the purpose of converting the wealth which exists, in the shape of rents and annuities, into some other form, that shall, in that other form, more gratify the landlord and annuitant, and therefore they are *secondary* producers. All other labourers are *primary* producers.” (*ibidem*, p. 85)

¹⁶⁷ „The cultivators generally paying from one-half to more than one half of the produce as rent to the landlord, with moderate skill in agriculture, and a scanty supply of fixed capital. The greater part of the population is [...] composed of secondary producers and proprietors, and generally the primary producers are a poor and degraded class.” (*ibidem*, p. 101/102)

¹⁶⁷ „The population of France, at this time, is stated to have been 26363074. Now [...] six millions of labouring families (which is too large [...]), each family would have had to furnish annually, either directly or indirectly, an average of upwards of 23 Ł of net wealth to the landlords, the church and the government!!

...produced annually 42 Ł 10 s.; 23 Ł of which were paid away to others, and 19 Ł 10 s. remained to subsist itself.” [W dwóch pierwszych zdaniach cytatu Marks daje własnymi słowami treść kilku ustępów] (*ibidem*, p. 102–104)

- 167 „The error of Mr. Malthus and followers is to be found in the assumption, that a reduction of the labouring population would not be followed by a correspondent reduction of capital!” (*ibidem*, p. 118)
- 167 „...Mr. Malthus [...] forgetful that this demand [...] limited by the means of paying wages and... these means do not arise spontaneously, but are always previously created by labour.” (*ibidem*, p. 122)
- 168 „It is somewhat extraordinary, that a strong inclination [...] to represent net wealth as beneficial to the labouring class, because it gives [...] employment!! though it is evidently not on account of being net, that it has that power, but because it is wealth, — that which has been brought into existence by labour; while, at the same time, an additional quantity of labour is represented as injurious to the labouring classes, though that labour produces three times as much as it consumes...” (*ibidem*, p. 126)
- 168 „If by the use of superior machines, the whole primary produce could be raised from 200 to 250 or 300, while net wealth and profit took only 140, it is clear that there would remain as a fund for the wages of the primary producers 110 or 160 instead of 60.” (*ibidem*, p. 128)
- 168 „The condition of labourers is rendered bad either by crippling their productive power, or by taking from them what they have produced...” (*ibidem*, p. 129)
- 168 „...no, says Mr. Malthus, «the weight of your burthen has nothing whatever to do with your distress; that arises solely there being too many persons carrying it...»” (*ibidem*, p. 134)
- 168 „In the general principle, then, that cost of production regulates the exchangeable value of all commodities, original materials are not included; but the claim which the owners of these have upon produce, causes rent to enter into value...” (*Thomas Hopkins, „Economical Enquiries relative to the Laws which regulate Rent, Profit, Wages, and the Value of Money”, London 1822*, p. 11)
- 168 „Rent, or a charge for use, arises naturally out of ownership, or the establishment of a right of property.” (*ibidem*, p. 13)
- 168 „...any thing may yield a rent if possessed of the following qualities: — First, — It must exist in a degree of scarcity. Secondly, — It must have the power to aid labour in the great work of production.” (*ibidem*, p. 14)

- ¹⁶⁹ „...where land [...] so plentiful, *compared with the labour and stock to be employed upon it*, that no charge for rent could be made, because it was not scarce.” (*ibidem*, p. 21)
- ¹⁷⁰ „...the land-owner [...] may obtain, in some countries, 50 per cent [...], in others 10 per cent. In some of the fertile regions of the East, man can subsist upon one-third of the produce of his labour employed upon the land; [...] but in parts of Switzerland and Norway, an exaction of 10 per cent might depopulate the country... we see no *natural* bounds to the rent that may be exacted, but in the limited abilities of the payers...” (*ibidem*, p. 31)
- ¹⁶⁹ „where inferior soils exist, *the competition of those inferior soils against the superior.*” (*ibidem*, p. 33/34)
- ¹⁶⁹ „...there is much common land in England [...], the natural fertility of which is equal to what a large part of the land now cultivated was, prior to its being taken into cultivation, and yet the expence of bringing such common lands into cultivation is so great, as to cause them not to yield the ordinary interest for the money expended in improving them, leaving nothing as rent for the natural fertility of the soil: and this [...] with all the advantages of an immediate application of labour, aided by stock skilfully applied, and furnished with manufactures cheaply produced; added to the very important circumstance, of good roads being already formed in the neighbourhood... the present land proprietors may be considered the owners of the accumulated labour which has for ages been expending, in bringing the country to its present productive state.” (*ibidem*, p. 35)
- ¹⁷¹ „...a stream, favourably situated, furnishes an instance of a rent being paid for an appropriated gift of nature, of as exclusive a kind as any that can be named. This is well understood in manufacturing districts, where considerable rents are paid for small streams of water, particularly if the fall is considerable. The power obtained from such streams being equal to that afforded by large steam-engines, it is as advantageous to use them, though subject to the payment of a heavy rent, as it is to expend large sums in the erection and working of steam-engines. Of streams, too, there are some larger, some smaller. Contiguity to the seat of manufacture is also an advantage which commands a higher rent. In the counties of York and Lancaster there is probably a much greater difference between

the rents paid for the smallest and the largest streams of water, than there is between the rents paid for 50 of the least and 50 of the most fertile acres that are in common cultivation." (*ibidem*, p. 37/38)

- ¹⁷⁷ „...from 1700 to 1750, there has been a regular [...] fall of price [...] from 2 l. 18 s. 1 d. to 1 l. 12 s. 6 d. per quarter of wheat; [...] from 1750 to 1800 [...] progressional rise [...] from 1 l. 12 s. 6 d. to 5 l. 10 s. per quarter.” (*James Anderson*, „A calm Investigation of the Circumstances that have led to the present Scarcity of Grain in Britain...”, London 1801, p. 11)
- ¹⁷⁸ „...the population [...] was on the increase during the first half of century as well as the last...” (*ibidem*, p. 12)
- ¹⁷⁸ „...under a judicious system of management, that productiveness may be made to augment, from year to year, for a succession of time to which no limits can be assigned, till at last it may be made to attain a degree of productiveness, of which we cannot, perhaps, at this time conceive an idea.” (*ibidem*, p. 35/36)
- ¹⁷⁸ „...it may be with certainty said, that the present population is such a trifle compared to that, as to be much below any degree of serious consideration.” (*ibidem*, p. 37)
- ¹⁷⁸ „Wherever population increases [...], the produce of the country must be augmented along with it, unless *some moral influence is permitted to derange the economy of nature.*” (*ibidem*, p. 41)
- ¹⁷⁸ „No one of these prejudices appears to me to be of more pernicious tendency, than that which supposes that an increased population...” (*ibidem*, p. 54) [Ten cytat Andersona Marks przytacza własnymi słowami]
- ¹⁷⁹ „It is not [...] the rent of the land that determines the price of its produce, but it is the price of that produce which determines the rent of the land, although the price of that produce is often highest in those countries where the rent of land is lowest. This seems to be a paradox that deserves to be explained. In every country there is a variety of soils, differing considerably from one another in point of fertility. These we shall at present suppose arranged into different classes, which we shall denote by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F etc., the class A comprehending the soils of greatest fertility, and the other letters expressing different classes

of soils, gradually decreasing in fertility as you recede from the first. Now, as *the expense of cultivating the least fertile soil is as great or greater than that of the most fertile field*, it necessarily follows, that *if an equal quantity of corn, the produce of each field, can be sold at the same price*, the profit of cultivating the most fertile soil must be much greater than that of cultivating the others; and as this continues to decrease as the sterility increases, it must at length *happen that the expense of cultivating some of the inferior classes will equal the value of the whole produce.*" (James Anderson, „An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...”, Edinburgh 1777, p. 45–48; cytowane wedlug: J. R. McCulloch, „The Literature of Political Economy...”, London 1845, p. 69)

¹⁷⁹ „....*value of the whole produce.*” (James Anderson, „An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...”, Edinburgh 1777; cytowane wedlug: J. R. McCulloch, „The Literature of Political Economy...”, London 1845, p. 69)

¹⁸⁰ „....*if an equal quantity of corn, the produce of each field, can be sold at the same price...*” (James Anderson, „An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...”, Edinburgh 1777; cytowane wedlug: J. R. McCulloch, „The Literature of Political Economy...”, London 1845, p. 69)

¹⁸⁰ „....*infinite diversity of soils...*” (James Anderson, „An Inquiry into the Causes that have hitherto retarded the Advancement of Agriculture in Europe...”, Edinburgh 1779, p. 5)

¹⁸⁰ „....*soil [...] may be so much altered from their original state by the modes of culture they have been formerly subjected to, by the manures...*” (*ibidem*, p. 5)

¹⁸¹ „....*where there are two fields, the produce of which is nearly as above stated, without requiring any immediate outlay for their improvement, the farmer would [...] pay even more rent than... Let us [...] say [...] that twelve bushels [...] just sufficient for the expense of cultivating [...] no rent whatever can be afforded for cultivated land that yields only twelve bushels.*” (James Anderson, „Essays relating to Agriculture and rural Affairs”, vol. III, Edinburgh 1796, p. 107–109)

¹⁸¹ „*Yet it cannot be expected that, if the superior produce has been immediately occasioned by his own outlay of capital, and exertions of industry, he can pay nearly the same proportion of it as rent; but*

after the land has been *for some time in a permanent state of fertility to that degree*, though it even *originally derived that fertility from his own industry*, he will be content to pay such a proportion of rent as is here stated..." (*ibidem*, p. 109/110)

¹⁹⁶ „*The produce of the earth* – all that is derived from its surface by the united application of labour, machinery, and capital, is divided among three classes of the community; namely, the proprietor of the land; the owner of the stock or capital necessary for its cultivation, and the laborers by whose industry it is cultivated.” (*David Ricardo*, „The Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, London 1821, third edition, Preface, p. V)

¹⁹⁸ „But in different stages of society. the proportions of *the whole produce* of the earth which will be allotted to each of these classes, under the names of rent, profit, and wages, will be essentially different...” (*ibidem*, Preface, p. V)

¹⁹⁸ „La rente, dans le sens de Ricardo, est la propriété foncière à l'état bourgeois: c'est-à-dire la propriété féodale qui a subi les conditions de la production bourgeoise.” (*Karl Marx*, „Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon”, Paris et Bruxelles 1847, p. 156)

¹⁹⁷ „Ricardo, après avoir supposé la production bourgeoise comme nécessaire pour déterminer la rente, l'applique néanmoins à la propriété foncière de toutes les époques et de tous les pays. Ce sont là les errements de tous les économistes, qui représentent les rapports de la production bourgeoise comme des catégories éternelles.” (*ibidem*, p. 160)

¹⁹⁷ „Les terres capitaux peuvent être *augmentées* tout aussi bien que tous les autres instruments de production. On n'y ajoute rien à la matière, pour parler le langage de M. Proudhon, mais on *multiplie les terres qui servent d'instrument de production*. Rien qu'à appliquer à des terres déjà transformées en moyen de production de secondes mises de capital, on augmente la terre capital sans rien ajouter à la terre matière, c'est-à-dire à l'étendue de la terre.” (*ibidem*, p. 165)

¹⁹⁷ „En premier lieu, on ne peut pas, comme dans l'industrie manufacturière, *multiplier à volonté les instruments de production du même degré de productivité*, c'est-à-dire les terrains du même degré

de fécondité. Puis, à mesure que la population s'accroît, on en vient à exploiter des terrains d'une qualité inférieure, ou à faire sur le même terrain de nouvelles mises de capital proportionnellement moins productives que les premières." (*ibidem*, p. 157)

²⁰⁰ „It is not [...] the rent of the land that determines the price of its produce, but it is the price of that produce which determines the rent of the land...” (*James Anderson*, „An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws...”, Edinburgh 1777; cytowane według: *J. R. McCulloch*, „The Literature of Political Economy...”, London 1845, p. 69)

²⁰¹ „The notion of agriculture yielding a produce, and a rent in consequence, because nature concurs with human industry in the process of cultivation, is a mere fancy. It is not from the produce, but from the price at which the produce is sold, that the rent is derived; and this price is got not because nature assists in the production, but because it is the price which suits the consumption to the supply.” (*David Buchanan* in *Adam Smith*, „An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations”, vol. II, Edinburgh 1814, p. 55, note; cytowane według: *David Ricardo*, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 66, note.)

²⁰² „...sous prétexte de l'étendre, ils l'ont poussée dans le vide.” (*Jean-Baptiste Say*, „Traité d'économie politique...”, t. I, Paris 1826. in „Discours préliminaire”, p. LXXXIII à LXXXIV)

²⁰³ „Mr. Ricardo's system is one of discords... its whole tends to the production of *hostility among classes* and nations... His book is the true manual of the demagogue, who seeks power by means of agrarianism, war, and plunder.” (*H. C. Carey*, „The Past, the Present, and the Future”, Philadelphia 1848, p. 74/75)

²⁰⁴ „It remains however to be considered, whether the appropriation of land, and the consequent creation of rent, will occasion any variation in the relative value of commodities, independently of the quantity of labour necessary to production.” (*ibidem*, p. 53)

²⁰⁵ „...it is the comparative quantity of commodities which labour will produce, that determines their present or past *relative value*...” (*ibidem*, p. 9)

²⁰⁶ „Two commodities vary in *relative value*, and we wish to know in which the *variation* has [...] taken place.” (*ibidem*, p. 9)

- 213 „...the inquiry to which I wish to draw the reader's attention, relates to the effect of the *variations in the relative value of commodities*, and not in their *absolute value...*” (*ibidem*, p. 15)
- 214 „Instead of regarding value as relation between two objects they [...] consider it as a positive result produced by a definite quantity of labour.” (*[Samuel Bailey]*, „A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measure and Causes of Value...”, London 1825 p. 30)
- 215 „...value, as something intrinsic and absolute..” (*ibidem*, p. 8)
- 215 „Not only the labour applied immediately to commodities affects their value, but the labour also which is bestowed on the implements, tools, and buildings, with which such labour is assisted.” (*David Ricardo*, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 16)
- 219 „...in every state of society, the tools, implements, buildings, and machinery employed in different trade may be of *various degrees of durability*, and may require *different portions of labour to produce them.*” (*ibidem*, p. 25)
- 220 „The proportions, too, in which the capital that is to support labour, and the capital that is invested in tools, machinery, and buildings, may be *variously combined.*” (*ibidem*, p. 25) „...difference in the *degree of durability of fixed capital* and this variety in the proportions in which the two sorts of capital may be combined...” (*ibidem*, p. 25)
- 220 „The food and clothing consumed by the labourer, the buildings in which he works, the implements with which his labour is assisted, are all of a *perishable nature*. There is however a vast difference in the time for which these different capitals will endure... According as capital is rapidly perishable, and requires *to be frequently reproduced*, or is of slow consumption, it is classed under the heads of circulating, or of fixed capital.” (*ibidem*, p. 26)
- 220 „It is also to be observed that the *circulating capital* may *circulate*, or be *returned to its employer*, in *very unequal times*. The *wheat bought by a farmer to sow* is comparatively a fixed capital to the wheat purchased by a baker to make into loaves. One leaves it in the ground, and can obtain no return for a year; the other can get it ground into flour, sell it as bread to his customers, and have his capital free to renew the same, or commence any other employment in a week.” (*ibidem*, p. 26/27)

- 221 „Two trades then may employ *the same amount of capital*, but it may be very differently divided with respect to the portion which is fixed, and that which is circulating.” (*ibidem*, p. 27)
- 221 „Again two manufacturers may employ the same amount of fixed, and the same amount of circulating capital; but the *durability of their fixed capitals* may be very unequal. One may have steam-engines of the value of 10 000 l., the other ships of the same value” (*ibidem*, p. 27/28)
- 221 „...different degrees of durability of... capitals, or, which is the same thing... *of the time which must elapse* before one set of commodities can be brought to market.” (*ibidem*, p. 30)
- 221 „It is hardly necessary to say, that commodities which have *the same quantity of labour bestowed on their production*, will differ in exchangeable value, if they cannot be brought to market *in the same time*.” (*ibidem*, p. 34)
- 221 „Suppose I employ twenty men at an expense of 1000 l. for a year in the production of a commodity, and at the end of the year I employ twenty men again for another year, at a further expense of 1000 l. in finishing or perfecting the same commodity, and that I bring it to market at the end of two years, if *profits be 10 per cent.*, my commodity must sell for 2310 l.; for I have employed 1000 l. capital for one year, and 2100 l. capital for one year more. Another man employs precisely the same quantity of labour, but he employs it all in the first year; he employs forty men at an expense of 2000 l., and at the end of the first year he sells it with 10 per cent. profit, or for 2200 l. Here there are two commodities *having precisely the same quantity of labour bestowed on them*, one of which sells for 2310 l. – the other for 2200 l.” (*ibidem*, p. 34)
- 222 „*This difference...* and [...] *variety in the proportions...* introduce another cause, besides the greater or less quantity of labour necessary to produce commodities, for the variations in their relative value – *this cause is the rise or fall in the value of labour*.” (*ibidem*, p. 25/26)
- 222 „A rise in the wages of labour cannot fail to affect unequally, *commodities* produced under such different circumstances.” (*ibidem*, p. 27)
- 224 „Suppose two men employ one hundred men each for a year in the construction of two machines, and another man employs the

same number of men in cultivating corn, each of the machines at the end of the year will be of the same value as the corn, for they will each be produced by the same quantity of labour. Suppose one of the owners of one of the machines to employ it, with the assistance of one hundred men, the following year in making cloth, and the owner of the other machine to employ his also, with the assistance likewise of one hundred men, in making cotton goods, while the farmer continues to employ one hundred men as before in the cultivation of corn. During the second year they will all have employed the same quantity of labour, but the goods and machine together of the clothier, and also of the cotton manufacturer, will be the result of the labour of two hundred men, employed for a year; or, rather, of the labour of one hundred men for two years; whereas the corn will be produced by the labour of one hundred men for one year, consequently if the corn be of the value of 500 l. the machine and cloth of the clothier together, ought to be of the value of 1000 l. and the machine and cotton goods of the cotton manufacturer, ought to be also of twice the value of the corn. But *they will be of more than twice the value of the corn, for the profit on the clothier's and cotton manufacturer's capital for the first year has been added to their capitals*, while that of the farmer has been expended and enjoyed. On account then of the different degrees of durability of their capitals, or, which is the same thing, on account of the time which must elapse before one set of commodities can be brought to market, they will be valuable, not exactly in proportion to the quantity of labour bestowed on them, — they will not be as two to one, but something more, to compensate for the greater length of time which must elapse before the most valuable can be brought to market. Suppose that for the labour of each workman 50 l. per annum were paid, or that 5000 l. capital were employed and profits were 10 per cent., the value of each of the machines as well as of the corn, at the end of the first year, would be 5500 l. The second year the manufacturers and farmers will again employ 5000 l. each in the support of labour, and will therefore again sell their goods for 5500 l.; but the men using the machines, to be on a par with the farmer, must not only obtain 5500 l., for the equal capitals of 5000 l. employed on labour, but they must obtain a further sum of 550 l.; for the profit on 5500 l.

which they have invested in machinery, and consequently their goods must sell for 6050 l.” (ibidem, p. 29/31)

²²⁶ „*Here then are capitalists employing precisely the same quantity of labour annually in the production of their commodities, and yet the goods they produce differ in value on account of the different quantities of fixed capital, or accumulated labour, employed by each respectively.” (ibidem, p. 30/31)*

²²⁶ „*The cloth and cotton goods are of the same value, because they are the produce of equal quantities of labour, and equal quantities of fixed capital; but corn is not of the same value as these commodities, because it is produced, as far as regards fixed capital, under different circumstances.” (ibidem, p. 31)*

²³¹ „*But they will be of more than twice the value of the corn, for the profit on the... cotton manufacturer’s capital for the first year has been added to their capitals, while that of the farmer has been expended and enjoyed.” (ibidem, p. 30)*

²³² „*On account then of the different degrees of durability of their capitals, or, which is the same thing, on account of the time which must elapse before one set of commodities can be brought to market, they will be valuable, not exactly in proportion to the quantity of labour bestowed on them, – they will not be as two to one, but something more, to compensate for the greater length of time which must elapse before the most valuable can be brought to market.” (ibidem, p. 30)*

²³⁵ „*Suppose I employ twenty men at expense of 1000 l. for a year in the production of a commodity, and at the end of the year I employ twenty men again for another year, at a further expense of 1000 l. in finishing or perfecting the same commodity, and that I bring it to market at the end of two years, if profits be 10 per cent., my commodity must sell for 2310 l.; for I have employed 1000 l. capital for one year, and 2100 l. capital for one year more. Another man employs precisely the same quantity of labour, but he employs it all in the first year; he employs forty men at an expense of 2000 l., and at the end of the first year he sells it with 10 per cent. profit, or for 2200 l. Here then are two commodities having precisely the same quantity of labour bestowed on them, one of which sells for 2310 l. – the other for 2200 l. This case appears to differ from the last, but is, in fact, the same.” (ibidem, p. 34/35)*

- ²⁴⁰ „The difference in value arises in both cases from the *profits* being accumulated as capital, and is only a *just compensation for the time that the profits were withheld.*” (*ibidem*, p. 35)
- ²⁴¹ „...Ricardo [...] was the first who endeavoured to analyze and discover the effects of fluctuations in the rate of wages on the value of commodities, when the capitals employed in their production were not of the same degree of durability.” (*ibidem*, p. 298/299)
- ²⁴¹ „The degree of alteration in the relative value of goods, on account of a rise or fall of labour, would depend on the proportion which the fixed capital bore to the whole capital employed. All commodities which are produced by very valuable machinery, or in very valuable buildings, or which require a great length of time before they can be brought to market, would fall in relative value, while all those which were chiefly produced by labour, or which would be speedily brought to market would rise in relative value.” (*ibidem*, p. 32)
- ²⁴³ „The reader, however, should remark, that this cause of the variation of commodities is comparatively slight in its effects... Not so with the other great cause of the variation in the value of commodities, namely, the increase or diminution in the quantity of labour necessary to produce them... An alteration in the permanent rate of profits, to any great amount, is the effect of causes which do not operate but in the course of years; whereas alterations in the quantity of labour necessary to produce commodities, are of daily occurrence. Every improvement in machinery, in tools, in buildings, in raising the raw material, saves labour, and enables us to produce the commodity to which the improvement is applied with more facility, and consequently its *value* alters. In estimating, then, the causes of the variations in the value of commodities, although it would be wrong wholly to omit the consideration of the effect produced by a rise or fall of labour, it would be equally incorrect to attach much importance to it...” (*ibidem*, p. 32/33)
- ²⁴⁴ „This difference in degree of *durability* of fixed capital, and this *variety in the proportion* in which the two sorts of capital may be combined, introduce *another cause*, besides the greater or less quantity of labour necessary to produce commodities, for the variations

in their relative value – *this cause is the rise or fall in the value of labour.*” (*ibidem*, p. 25/26)

²⁴⁴ „...it being shown in this section that without any variation in the quantity of labour, *the rise of its value* merely will occasion a fall in the exchangeable value of those goods, in the production of which *fixed capital* is employed; the larger the amount of fixed capital, the greater will be the fall.” (*ibidem*, p. 35)

²⁴⁵ „In proportion as fixed capital is less durable, it approaches to the nature of circulating capital. It will be consumed and its *value reproduced in a shorter time*, in order to preserve the capital of the manufacturer.” (*ibidem*, p. 36)

²⁴⁵ „...to keep it in its original state of efficiency; but the labour so bestowed may be considered as really expended on the commodity manufactured, which must bear a value in proportion to such labour.” (*ibidem*, p. 36/37)

²⁴⁶ „...if the wear and tear of the machine were great, if the quantity of labour requisite to keep it in an efficient state were that to fifty men annually I should require an additional price for my goods, equal to that which would be obtained by any other manufacturer who employed fifty men in the production of other goods, and who used no machinery at all. But a rise in the wages of labour would not equally affect commodities produced with machinery quickly consumed, and commodities produced with machinery slowly consumed. In the production of the one, a *great deal of labour would be continually transferred to the commodity produced.*” (*ibidem*, p. 37)

²⁴⁶ „...in the other very little would be so transferred.” (*ibidem*, p. 37)

²⁴⁶ „Every rise of wages, therefore, or, which is the same thing, every fall of profits, would lower the relative value of those commodities which were produced with a capital of durable nature, and would proportionally elevate those which were produced with capital more perishable. A fall of wages would have precisely the contrary effect.” (*ibidem*, p. 37/38)

²⁴⁷ „It will be seen, that in the early stages of society, before much machinery or durable capital is used, the commodities produced by *equal capitals* will be nearly of *equal value*, and will rise or fall only relatively to each other on account of more or less labour being required for their production...” (*ibidem*, p. 40)

- ²⁴⁷ „...but after the introduction of these expensive and durable instruments, the *commodities produced by the employment of equal capitals will be of very unequal value*; and although they will still be liable to rise or fall relatively to each other, as more or less labour becomes necessary to their production, they will be subject to another, though a minor variation, also, from the rise or fall of wages and profits. Since goods which sell for 5000 l. may be the produce of a capital equal in amount to that from which are produced other goods which sell for 10 000 l., the *profits on their manufacture will be the same*; but those *profits would be unequal, if the prices of the goods did not vary with a rise or fall in the rate of profits.*” (*ibidem*, p. 40/41)
- ²⁴⁹ „Mr. Malthus appears to think that it is a part of my doctrine, that *the cost and value of a thing should be the same*; – *it is*, if he means by cost, «*cost of production including profits*.” (*ibidem*, p. 46, note)
- ²⁴⁹ „May not gold be considered as a commodity produced with such proportions of the two kinds of capital as approach nearest to the average quantity employed in the production of most commodities? May not these proportions be so nearly equally distant from the two extremes, the one where little fixed capital is used, the other where little labour is employed, as to form a just mean between them?” (*ibidem*, p. 44)
- ²⁵⁰ „Before I quit this subject, it may be proper to observe, that Adam Smith, and all the writers who have followed him, have, without one exception that I know of, maintained that a rise in the price of labour would be uniformly followed by a rise in the price of all commodities.” (*ibidem*, p. 45)
- ²⁵¹ „I hope I have succeeded in showing, that there are no grounds for such an opinion, and that only those commodities would rise which had less fixed capital employed upon them *than the medium in which price was estimated*, and that all those which had more, would positively fall in price when wages rose. On the contrary, if wages fell, those commodities only would fall, which had a less proportion of fixed capital employed on them, than the medium in which price was estimated; all those which had more, would positively rise in price.” (*ibidem*, p. 45)
- ²⁵³ „When commodities varied in relative value, it *would be desirable*

to have the means of ascertaining which of them fell and which rose in real value, and this could be effected only by comparing them one after another with some invariable standard measure [...], which should itself be subject to none of the fluctuations to which other commodities are exposed." (*ibidem*, p. 41/42)

253 „...there is no commodity which is not itself exposed to the same variations... that is, there is none which is not subject to require more or less labour for its production." (*ibidem*, p. 42)

254 „...be a perfect measure of value, by which we could accurately ascertain the variations in all other things...” (*ibidem*, p. 43) „It would be a perfect measure of value for all things produced under the same circumstances precisely as itself, but for no others.” (*ibidem*, p. 43)

255 „A rise of wages from this cause will, indeed, be invariably accompanied by a rise in the price of commodities; but in such cases, it will be found that labour and all commodities have not varied in regard to each other, and that the variation has been confined to money.” (*ibidem*, p. 47)

255 „The *exchangeable value of all commodities*, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of the mines, or the produce of land, is always regulated, not by the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favorable, and exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production; but by the greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production by those who have no such facilities; by those who *continue to produce* them under the most unfavorable circumstances; meaning – by the most unfavorable circumstances, *the most unfavorable under which the quantity of produce required, renders it necessary to carry on the production.*” (*ibidem*, p. 60/61)

261 „With the rise or fall of price, *profits* are elevated above, or depressed below *their general level*, and capital is either encouraged to enter into, or is warned to depart from *the particular employment* in which the variation has taken place.” (*ibidem*, p. 80)

263 „...every man [...] free to employ his capital where he pleases... will naturally seek for that employment which is most advantageous; he will naturally be dissatisfied with a profit of 10 per cent, if by removing his capital he can obtain a profit of 15 per cent. This *restless desire on the part of all the employers of stock, to*

quit a less profitable for a more advantageous business, has a strong tendency to equalize the rate of profits of all, or to fix them in such proportions, as may in the estimation of the parties, compensate for any advantage which one may have, or may appear to have over the other.” (ibidem, p. 81)

²⁶³ „No writer has more satisfactorily and ably shewn than Dr. Smith, the tendency of capital to move from employments in which the goods produced do not repay by *their price the whole expense, including the ordinary profits*, of producing and bringing them to market.” (ibidem, p. 342, note)

²⁶⁴ „It is perhaps very difficult to trace *the steps* by which this change is *effected*: it is probably effected, by a manufacturer *not absolutely changing his employment, but only lessening the quantity of capital he has in that employment*. In all rich countries, there is a number of men forming what is called the *monied class*; these men are engaged in *no trade*, but live on the interest of their money, which is employed in discounting bills, or in loans to the more *industrious* part of the community. The bankers too employ a large capital on the same objects. The capital so employed forms a circulating capital of a large amount, and is employed, in larger or smaller proportions, by all the different trades of a country. There is perhaps no manufacturer, however rich, who limits his business to the extent that his own funds alone will allow: he has some portion of this floating capital, increasing or diminishing according to the activity of the demand for his commodities. When the demand for silks increases, and that for cloth diminishes, the clothier does not remove with his capital to the silk trade, but he dismisses some of his workmen, he discontinues his demand for the loan from bankers and monied men; while the case of the silk manufacturer is the reverse: [...] *he borrows more, and thus capital is transferred from one employment to another, without the necessity of a manufacturer discontinuing his usual occupation*. When we look to the markets of a large town, and observe how regularly they are supplied both with home and foreign commodities, in the quantity in which they are required, under all the circumstances of varying demand, arising from the caprice of taste, or a change in the amount of population, without often producing either the effects of a glut from a too abundant supply, or an enormously high price from the

supply being unequal to the demand, we must confess that *the principle which apportions capital to each trade* in the precise amount that it is required, is more active than is generally supposed." (*ibidem*, p. 81/82)

- ²⁶⁵ „In making *labour* the foundation of the value of commodities, and the *comparative quantity of labour* which is necessary to their production, the rule which determines the respective quantities of goods which shall be given in exchange for each other, we must not be supposed to deny the *accidental and temporary deviations of the actual or market price* of commodities from this, *their primary and natural price*.” (*ibidem*, p. 80)
- ²⁶⁶ „Let us suppose that all commodities are at their *natural price*, and consequently that the *profits of capital* in *all employments* are exactly at the *same rate*, or differ only so much as, in the estimation of the parties, is equivalent to any real or fancied advantage which they possess or forego.” (*ibidem*, p. 83)
- ²⁶⁸ „It is then the desire, which every capitalist has, of diverting his funds from a less to a more profitable employment, that prevents the *market price* of commodities from continuing for any length of time either much above, or much below their *natural¹ price*. It is this competition which so adjusts the *changeable value* of commodities, that after paying the wages for the labour necessary to their production, and all other expenses required to put the capital employed in its original state of efficiency, the *remaining value or surplus* will in *each trade* be in proportion to the *value of the capital employed*.” (*ibidem*, p. 84)
- ²⁶⁷ „In the 7th chap. of the Wealth of Nations, all that concerns this question is most ably treated.” (*ibidem*, p. 84)
- ²⁷⁰ „...their price has no necessary connexion with their *natural value*: but the *prices* of commodities, which are subject to competition, „will ultimately depend ...on ...cost of their production.” (*ibidem*, p. 465)
- ²⁷¹ „...it can only be regulated by altering the *natural price*, not the *natural value*, at which commodities can be produced in those countries, and that is effected by altering the distribution of the precious metals.” (*ibidem*, p. 409)

¹ W *rekopisie*: market.

- 272 „...il y a toujours quelques marchandises... dont le prix se résout en deux parties seulement; les salaires du travail et les profits des fonds...” (*Adam Smith, „Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations. Traduction nouvelle ...par Germain Garnier”, t I, Paris, 1802*, p. 103)
- 272 „*Salaire, profit et rente* sont les trois sources primitives de tout revenu, aussi bien que de toute valeur échangeable.” (*ibidem*, p. 105)
- 273 „Dans chaque société ou canton, il y a un taux moyen ou ordinaire [...] pour les salaires [...] les profits [...] les rentes...” (*ibidem*, p. 110)
- 273 „On peut appeler ce taux moyen [...] le *taux naturel* du salaire, du profit et de la rente, pour le temps et le lieu dans lesquels ce taux domine communément.” (*ibidem*, p. 110/111)
- 274 „Lorsque le *prix* d'une marchandise n'est ni plus ni moins que ce qu'il faut pour payer suivant leurs taux *naturels*, et la rente de la terre et les salaires de travail, et les profits du capital [...] alors cette marchandise est vendue ce [...] son *prix naturel*.” (*ibidem*, p. 111)
- 274 „La marchandise est alors vendue précisément ce qu'elle vaut ou ce qu'elle coûte réellement à la personne qui la porte au marché; car quoique, dans le langage ordinaire, quand on parle de ce qu'une marchandise coûte en première main, on n'y comprenne pas le profit de la personne qui fait métier de la vendre, cependant si celle-ci la vendait à un *prix qui ne lui rendit pas son profit au taux ordinaire* du canton, il est évident qu'elle perdrat à ce métier, puisqu'elle aurait pu faire ce profit en employant son capital d'une autre manière.” (*ibidem*, p. 111)
- 276 „...le *prix naturel* ou la valeur entière des rente, profit et salaire qu'il faut payer pour qu'elle vienne au marché.” (*ibidem*, p. 112)
- 276 „...valeur entière des rente, salaires et profits qu'il en coûte pour amener cette marchandise au marché...” (*ibidem*, p. 113)
- 276 „Quand la quantité amenée au marché suffit tout juste pour remplir la demande effective, et rien de plus, le *prix de marché* se trouve naturellement être précisément... le même que le *prix naturel*.” (*ibidem*, p. 114)
- 276 „Le *prix naturel* est donc pour ainsi dire le point central vers lequel gravitent continuellement les prix de toutes les marchandises.

Différentes circonstances accidentelles peuvent quelquefois les tenir un certain tems élevés au dessus, et quelquefois les forcer à descendre un peu au dessous de ce prix." (*ibidem*, p. 116)

²⁷⁶ „...somme totale d'industrie employée annuellement à l'effet de faire venir au marché une marchandise... demande effective." (*ibidem*, p. 117)

²⁷⁷ „...la même quantité d'industrie produira, en différentes années, des quantités fort différentes de marchandises, pendant que, dans d'autres emplois, elle produira la même ou très-approchant la même quantité. Le même nombre d'ouvriers employés à la culture produira, en différentes années, des quantités fort différentes de blé, de vin, d'huile, de houblon, etc. Mais le même nombre de fileurs et de tisserands produira chaque année la même ou très-approchant la même quantité de toile ou de drap... Dans l'autre espèce d'industrie, le *produit de quantités égales de travail étant toujours le même* ou très-approchant le même, il peut s'assortir plus exactement à la demande effective." (*ibidem*, p. 117/118)

²⁷⁷ „...quantités égales de travail..." (*ibidem*, p. 118)

²⁷⁸ „Quelle que soit la partie de ce prix qui soit payée au-dessous du taux *naturel*, les personnes qui y ont intérêt sentiront bientôt le dommage qu'elles éprouvent, et aussitôt *elles retireront, ou tant de terre, ou tant de travail, ou tant de capitaux de ce genre d'emploi*, que la quantité de cette marchandise qui sera amenée au marché ne sera bientôt plus que suffisante pour répondre à la demande effective, ainsi son *prix de marché remontera bientôt au prix naturel*, au moins sera-ce le cas où règne une entière liberté." (*ibidem*, p. 125)

²⁷⁹ „*Le prix naturel varie lui-même avec le taux naturel* de chacune de ses parties constituantes, le salaire, le profit et la rente..." (*ibidem*, p. 127)

²⁷⁹ „Il faut de toute nécessité qu'un homme vive de son travail, et que son salaire suffise au moins à sa subsistance; il faut même quelque chose de plus dans la plupart des circonstances, autrement il lui serait impossible d'élever une famille, et alors la race de ces ouvriers ne pourrait pas durer au-delà de la première génération." (*ibidem*, p. 136)

²⁸⁰ „les salaires du travail... ne suivent pas les fluctuations du prix des denrées." (*ibidem*, p. 149)

- 280 „...les salaires varient plus que le prix des denrées d'un lieu à un autre.” (*ibidem*, p. 150)
- 281 „...comme un avantage ou comme un inconvénient pour la société?” (*ibidem*, p. 159)
- 281 „...composent la très-majeure partie de toute grande société politique. Or, peut-on jamais regarder comme un désavantage pour le tout, ce qui améliore le sort de la plus grande partie? Une société ne peut sûrement pas être réputée dans le bonheur et la prospérité, quand la très-majeure partie de ses membres sont pauvres et misérables. La seule équité d'ailleurs exige que ceux qui nourrissent, habillent et logent *tout le corps de la nation*, aient, *dans le produit de leur propre travail*, une *part suffisante* pour être eux-mêmes passablement nourris, vêtus et logés” (*ibidem*, p. 159/160)
- 281 „Quoique, sans aucun doute, la pauvreté décourage le mariage, cependant elle ne l'empêche pas toujours; elle paraît même être favorable à la génération... La stérilité, qui est si fréquente chez les femmes du grand monde, est extrêmement rare parmi celles d'une condition inférieure... Mais si la pauvreté n'empêche pas d'engendrer des enfants, elle est un très-grand obstacle à ce qu'on puisse les élever. Le tendre rejeton est produit, mais c'est dans un sol si froid, et dans un climat si rigoureux que bientôt il se dessèche et périt. ...Naturellement toutes les espèces animales multiplient à proportion de leurs moyens de subsistance, et aucune espèce ne peut jamais multiplier au-delà. Mais dans les sociétés civilisées, ce n'est que parmi les classes inférieures du peuple que la disette de subsistance peut mettre des bornes à la propagation ultérieure de l'espèce humaine... C'est... *la demande d'hommes règle nécessairement la production des hommes*, comme fait la demande à l'égard de toute autre marchandise; elle hâte la production quand celle-ci marche trop lentement, et l'arrête quand elle va trop vite.” (*ibidem*, p. 160 – 163 *passim*)
- 282 „Les salaires qu'on paie à des gens de journée et domestiques de toute espèce, doivent être tels que ceux-ci puissent, l'un dans l'autre, continuer à maintenir leur population, suivant que peut le requérir l'état croissant ou décroissant, ou bien stationnaire de la demande qu'en fait la société.” (*ibidem*, p. 164)
- 282 „...sous l'administration d'un maître peu attentif ou d'un inspecteur négligent.” (*ibidem*, p. 164)

- 282 „Le fonds destiné à remplacer et à réparer, pour ainsi dire, le déchet résultant du tems et du service dans la personne de l'esclave, est ordinairement sous l'administration d'un maître peu attentif ou d'un inspecteur négligent. Celui qui est destiné au même emploi, à l'égard du serviteur libre, est économisé par les mains mêmes du serviteur libre. Dans l'administration du premier s'introduisent naturellement les désordres qui règnent en général dans les affaires du riche; la frugalité sévère et l'attention parcimonieuse du pauvre s'établissent aussi naturellement dans l'administration du second.” (*ibidem*, p. 164)
- 283 „...l'ouvrage fait par des mains libres, revient à la fin à meilleur compte que celui qui est fait par des esclaves.” (*ibidem*, p. 165)
- 283 „Ainsi, si la recompense libérale du travail est l'effet de l'accroissement de la richesse nationale, elle devient aussi la cause de l'accroissement de la population. Se plaindre de la libéralité de cette récompense, c'est se plaindre de ce qui est à la fois l'effet et la cause de la plus grande prospérité publique.” (*ibidem*, p. 165)
- 283 „...encourage la population...” (*ibidem*, p. 166)
- 283 „...augmente l'industrie du commun du peuple. Ce sont les salaires du travail qui sont l'encouragement de l'industrie, et celle-ci, comme toute autre qualité de l'homme, se perfectionne à proportion de l'encouragement qu'elle reçoit. Une subsistance abondante augmente la force corporelle de l'ouvrier; et la douce espérance d'améliorer sa condition ...l'excite à tirer de ses forces tout le parti possible. Aussi verrons-nous toujours les ouvriers plus actifs, plus diligens, plus expéditifs là où les salaires sont hauts, que là où ils sont bas.” (*ibidem*, p. 166)
- 283 „...les ouvriers qui sont largement payés à la pièce, sont très-sujets à se forcer d'ouvrage, et à ruiner leur santé et leur tempérament en peu d'années.” (*ibidem*, p. 166/167)
- 283 „Si les maîtres écoutaient toujours ce que leur dictent à la fois la raison et l'humanité, ils auraient lieu bien souvent de modérer plutôt que d'exciter l'application au travail, dans une grande partie de leurs ouvriers.” (*ibidem*, p. 168)
- 284 „...plus d'aisance [...] puisse rendre certains ouvriers paresseux...” (*ibidem*, p. 169)
- 284 „*Le prix pécuniaire* du travail est nécessairement réglé par deux circonstances, la demande de travail et *le prix* des choses propres

aux besoins et aisances de la vie... c'est ce qu'il faut d'argent pour acheter cette quantité déterminée de choses, qui règle le prix pécuniaire du travail." (*ibidem*, p. 175)

²⁸⁴ „La disette d'une année de cherté, en diminuant la demande de travail, tend à en faire baisser le prix, comme la cherté des vivres tend à le hausser. Au contraire, l'abondance d'une année de bon marché, en augmentant cette demande, tend à éléver le prix du travail, comme le bon marché des vivres tend à le faire baisser. Dans les variations ordinaires du prix des vivres, ces deux causes opposées semblent se contrebalancer l'une l'autre; ce qui probablement est en partie la raison pourquoi les salaires du travail sont partout beaucoup plus fixes et plus constants que le prix des vivres.” (*ibidem*, p. 177)

²⁸⁵ „L'augmentation qui survient dans les salaires du travail, augmente nécessairement le prix de beaucoup de marchandises *en haussant cette partie du prix qui se résout en salaires*, et elle tend d'autant à diminuer la consommation tant intérieure qu'extérieure de ces marchandises. Cependant la même cause qui fait hausser les salaires du travail, l'accroissement des capitaux, tend à augmenter ses facultés productives, et tend à mettre une plus petite quantité de travail en état de produire une plus grande quantité d'ouvrage.” (*ibidem*, p. 177)

²⁸⁵ „Il y a donc une infinité de marchandises qui, en conséquence de tous ces moyens de perfectionner l'industrie, viennent à être produites *avec un travail tellement inférieur à celui qu'elles coûtaient auparavant, que l'augmentation dans le prix de ce travail se trouve plus que compensée par la diminution dans la quantité de travail.*” (*ibidem*, p. 178)

²⁸⁶ „...taux [...] habituel des salaires...” (*ibidem*, p. 179)

²⁸⁶ „...mais ceci même ne peut guère s'obtenir à l'égard des profits de capitaux.” (*ibidem*, p. 179)

²⁸⁶ „Ce profit se ressent... de chaque variation qui survient dans le prix des marchandises...” (*ibidem*, p. 180)

²⁸⁶ „Il serait encore plus difficile de déterminer le profit moyen de tous les différens commerces établis dans un grand royaume...” (*ibidem*, p. 180)

²⁸⁶ „profits moyens des capitaux...” (*ibidem*, p. 180)

²⁸⁶ „...quelque idée d'après l'intérêt de l'argent. On peut établir pour

maxime que partout où on pourra faire beaucoup de profits par le moyen de l'argent, on donnera communément beaucoup pour avoir la faculté de s'en servir, et qu'on donnera en général moins quand il n'y aura que peu de profits à faire par son moyen." (*ibidem*, p. 180/181)

²⁸⁶ „...de forts salaires et de hauts profits sont naturellement des choses qui vont rarement ensemble, si ce n'est dans le cas particulier d'une colonie nouvelle." (*ibidem*, p. 187)

²⁸⁷ „Une colonie nouvelle doit nécessairement, pendant quelque tems plus que la majeure partie des autres pays, avoir la masse de ses capitaux au dessous de la proportion que peut comporter l'étendue de son territoire, et avoir sa population de la proportion que peut comporter l'étendue de son capital. Les colons ont plus de terres qu'ils n'ont de capitaux à consacrer à la culture; ainsi, ce qu'ils ont de capitaux, ils l'appliquent seulement à la culture des terres les plus fertiles et les plus favorablement situées, celles qui sont près des côtes de la mer ou le long des rivières navigables. Ces terres aussi s'achètent très-souvent au dessous même de la valeur de leur produit naturel. Le capital employé à l'achat et à l'amélioration de ces terres doit rendre un très-gros profit, et par conséquent fournir de quoi payer un très-gros intérêt. Son accumulation rapide dans un emploi aussi profitable met le planteur dans le cas d'augmenter le nombre des bras qu'il occupe, beaucoup plus vite qu'un établissement récent ne lui permet d'en trouver; aussi ceux qu'il peut se procurer sont-ils très-libéralement payés. À mesure que la colonie augmente, les profits des capitaux baissent. Quand les terres les plus fertiles et les mieux situées se trouvent toutes occupées, la culture de celles qui sont inférieures, tant pour le sol que pour la situation, offre de moindres profits à faire, et par conséquent un intérêt plus faible pour le capital qu'on y aura employé. C'est pour cela que le taux de l'intérêt... a considérablement baissé dans la plupart de nos colonies, pendant le cours de ce siècle." (*ibidem*, p. 187–189)

²⁸⁷ „...une diminution survenue dans la masse des capitaux d'une société, ou dans le fonds destiné à alimenter l'industrie, en amenant la baisse des salaires, amène pareillement une hausse dans les profits et par conséquent dans le taux de l'intérêt. Les salaires du travail étant baissés, les propriétaires de ce qui reste de capitaux dans la

société, peuvent établir leurs marchandises à meilleur compte qu'auparavant; et comme il y a moins de capitaux employés à fournir le marché qu'il n'y en avait auparavant, ils peuvent vendre plus cher." (*ibidem*, p. 191/192)

²⁸⁸ „...qui, dans la plus grande partie des marchandises, emporte la totalité de ce qui devrait aller à la rente de la terre, et laisse seulement ce qui est nécessaire pour salarier le travail de préparer la marchandise et de la conduire au marché, au taux le plus bas auquel le travail puisse jamais être payé, c'est-à-dire, la simple subsistance de l'ouvrier." (*ibidem*, p. 197/198)

²⁸⁸ „Le taux le plus bas des profits ordinaires des capitaux doit toujours être quelque chose au-delà de ce qu'il faut pour compenser les pertes accidentelles auxquelles est exposé chaque emploi de capital. Il n'y a que ce surplus qui constitue vraiment le profit ou le bénéfice net." (*ibidem*, p. 196)

²⁸⁸ „Dans la Grande-Bretagne, on porte au double de l'intérêt ce que les commerçans appellent un *profit honnête, modéré, raisonnable*; toutes expressions qui, à mon avis, ne signifient autre chose qu'un *profit commun et d'usage*." (*ibidem*, p. 198)

²⁸⁹ „Dans les pays qui vont en s'enrichissant avec rapidité, le faible taux des profits peut compenser le haut prix des salaires du travail dans le prix de beaucoup de marchandises, et mettre ces pays à portée de vendre à aussi bon marché que leurs voisins, qui s'enrichiront moins vite, et chez lesquels les salaires seront plus bas." (*ibidem*, p. 199)

²⁸⁹ „Dans le fait, de hauts profits tendent, beaucoup plus que de hauts salaires, à faire monter le *prix de l'ouvrage*." (*ibidem*, p. 199)

²⁸⁹ „...en multipliant [...] par le nombre des journées pendant lesquelles ils auraient été ainsi employés. Dans chacun des différens degrés de main-d'œuvre que subirait la marchandise, cette partie de son prix, qui se résout en salaires, hausserait seulement dans la proportion arithmétique de cette hausse des salaires. Mais si les profits de tous les différens maîtres qui mettent ces ouvriers à l'ouvrage venaient à monter de 5 pour 100, cette partie du prix de la marchandise qui se résout en profits, s'éleverait dans chacun des différens degrés de la main-d'œuvre, en *raison progressive* de cette hausse du taux des profits... La hausse des salaires opère en haussant le *prix d'une marchandise*, comme opère l'intérêt simple dans l'accu-

mulation d'une dette. La hausse des profits opère comme l'intérêt composé." (*ibidem*, p. 200/201)

- 290 „Nos marchands et nos maîtres manufacturiers se plaignent beaucoup des mauvais effets des hauts salaires, en ce que ces hauts salaires renchérissent leurs marchandises, et par-là en diminuent le débit, tant dans l'intérieur que chez l'étranger: ils ne parlent pas des mauvais effets des hauts profits; ils gardent le silence sur les conséquences fâcheuses de leurs propres gains; ils ne se plaignent que de celles du gain des autres.” (*ibidem*, p. 201)
- 290 „La loterie du droit est donc bien loin d'être une loterie parfaitement égale, et cet état, comme la plupart des autres professions libérales et honorables, est évidemment très-mal récompensé, sous le rapport du gain pécuniaire” (*ibidem*, p. 216/217)
- 290 „Leur paye est au dessous du salaire des simples manoeuvres, et quand ils sont en activité de service leurs fatigues sont beaucoup plus grandes que celles de ces derniers.” (*ibidem*, p. 223)
- 290 „Quoiqu'il exige bien plus de savoir et de dextérité que presque tout autre métier d'artisan, et quoique toute la vie d'un matelot soit une scène continue de travaux et de dangers... leurs salaires ne sont pas plus forts que ceux que gagne un simple manoeuvre dans le port qui règle le taux de ces salaires.” (*ibidem*, p. 224)
- 290 „Sans doute il ne serait pas convenable de comparer un curé ou un chapelain, à un artisan à la journée. On peut bien pourtant, sans choquer la décence, considérer l'honoraire d'un curé ou d'un chapelain comme étant de la même nature que les salaires de cet artisan.” (*ibidem*, p. 271)
- 291 „...dans une même société ou canton, le taux moyen des profits ordinaires dans les différens emplois des capitaux se trouvera bien plus proche du même niveau, que celui des salaires pécuniaires des diverses espèces de travail..” (*ibidem*, p. 228)
- 291 „C'est l'étendue du marché qui, offrant de l'emploi à de plus gros capitaux, diminue le profit *apparent*; mais aussi c'est elle qui, obligeant de se fournir à de plus grandes distances, augmente le premier coût. Cette diminution d'une part, et cette augmentation de l'autre, semblent, en beaucoup de cas, se contre-balancer à peu près...” (*ibidem*, p. 232)
- 291 „Dans les petites villes et dans les villages, au moyen du peu d'étendue du marché, le commerce ne peut pas s'agrandir à mesure

que grossit le capital: aussi dans ces endroits-là, quoique le taux des profits d'une personne en particulier puisse être très-haut, cependant la masse ou la somme totale de ces profits ne peut jamais être très-forte, ni par conséquent le montant de son accumulation annuelle. Au contraire, dans de grandes villes, on peut étendre son commerce à mesure que le capital augmente, et le crédit d'un homme qui est économe et qui fait bien ses affaires, augmente encore bien plus vite que son capital. À proportion de l'augmentation de l'un et de l'autre, il agrandit la sphère de ses opérations..." (*ibidem*, p. 233)

.292 „....petit jardin potager, autant d'herbe qu'il en faut pour nourrir une vache, et peut-être un acre ou deux de mauvaise terre labouvable.” (*ibidem*, p. 241)

.292 „... le superflu de leur tems à quiconque les voulait employer, et qu'ils travaillent pour des moindres salaires que les autres ouvriers.” (*ibidem*, p. 241)

.292 „Cependant plusieurs écrivains qui ont recueilli les prix du travail et des denrées dans le tems anciens, et qui se sont plu à les représenter tous deux prodigieusement bas, ont regardé cette rétribution accidentelle comme formant tout le salaire de ces ouvriers.” (*ibidem*, p. 242)

.292 „.... cette égalité dans la somme totale des avantages et désavantages des divers emplois de travail et de capitaux ne peut avoir lieu dans les emplois qui sont la seule ou la principale occupation de ceux qui les exercent.” (*ibidem*, p. 240)

.292 „Chaque classe, il est vrai, au moyen de ses réglements, se trouvait obligée, pour les marchandises qu'il lui fallait prendre dans la ville, chez les marchands et artisans des autres classes, de les acheter quelque chose de plus cher qu'elle n'aurait fait sans cela; mais en revanche elle se trouvait aussi à même de vendre les siennes plus cher, dans la même proportion, de manière que jusqu-là cela devait, comme on dit, aller l'un pour l'autre; et dans les affaires que les classes différentes faisaient entr'elles dans la ville, aucune d'elles ne perdait à ces réglements. Mais dans les affaires qu'elles faisaient avec la campagne, toutes également trouvaient de gros bénéfices; et c'est dans ce dernier genre d'affaires que consiste tout le trafic qui soutient et qui enrichit les villes. Chaque ville tire de la campagne toute sa subsistance et tous les matériaux

de son industrie. Elle paie ces deux objets principalement de deux manières; la première, en renvoyant à la campagne une partie de ces matériaux travaillés et manufacturés, dans lequel cas le prix en est augmenté du montant *des salaires des ouvriers, et du montant des profits de leurs maîtres ou de ceux qui les emploient immédiatement*; la seconde, en envoyant à la campagne le produit tant brut que manufacturé, soit des autres pays, soit des endroits le plus éloignés du même pays, qui s'importe dans la ville, dans lequel cas aussi le prix originaire de ces marchandises s'accroît *des salaires des voituriers ou matelots, et du profit des marchands qui les emploient*. Ce qui est gagné dans la première de ces deux branches de commerce, compose tout le *bénéfice que la ville retire de ses manufactures*. Ce qui est gagné dans la seconde, compose tout le *bénéfice que lui rapportent son commerce intérieur et son commerce étranger*. La totalité de ce qui est gagné dans l'une et dans l'autre branche, consiste en salaires d'ouvriers et profits de ceux qui les emploient. Ainsi, tous réglementés qui tendent à faire monter ces profits au dessus de ce qu'ils devraient être naturellement, tendent à mettre la ville en état d'acheter, avec une moindre quantité de son travail, le produit d'une plus grande quantité du travail de la campagne." (*ibidem*, p. 258/259)

²⁹⁴ „Ils donnent aux marchands et artisans de la ville un avantage sur les propriétaires, fermiers et ouvriers de la campagne, et ils rompent cette égalité naturelle, qui sans cela aurait lieu dans le commerce qui s'établit entre l'une et l'autre. La totalité du produit annuel du travail de la société se divise annuellement entre ces deux différentes sections du peuple. L'effet de ces réglementations est de donner aux habitans des villes une part plus forte que celle qui leur échoirait sans cela dans ce produit, et d'en donner une moindre aux habitans des campagnes. Le prix que paient les villes pour les denrées et matières qui y sont annuellement importées, ce sont tous les objets de manufactures et autres marchandises qui en sont annuellement exportées. Plus ces dernières sont vendues cher, plus les autres sont achetées bon marché. L'industrie des villes en devient plus avantageuse, et celle des campagnes vient à l'être moins.” (*ibidem*, p. 259/260)

²⁹⁴ „Les habitans d'une ville étant rassemblés dans un même lieu, peuvent aisément communiquer et se concerter ensemble. En con-

séquence les métiers les plus minces qui se soient établis dans les villes, ont été érigés en corporation, dans un lieu ou dans un autre..." (*ibidem*, p. 261)

295 „Les habitans de la campagne, qui vivent dispersés et éloignés l'un de l'autre, ne peuvent pas facilement se concerter entr'eux. Non-seulement ils n'ont jamais été réunis en corps de métier, mais même l'esprit de corporation n'a jamais régné parmi eux. On n'a jamais pensé qu'un apprentissage fût nécessaire pour l'agriculture, qui est la grande industrie de la campagne.” (*ibidem*, p. 262)

295 „...il faut bien plus de jugement et de prudence pour diriger des opérations qui doivent varier à chaque changement de saison, ainsi que dans une infinité d'autres circonstances, que pour des travaux qui sont toujours les mêmes ou à peu près les mêmes.” (*ibidem*, p. 263)

295 „Ce n'est pas seulement aux corporations et à leurs réglements qu'il faut attribuer la supériorité que l'industrie des villes a usurpée dans toute l'Europe sur celle des campagnes, il y a encore d'autres réglements qui la maintiennent: *les forts droits* dont sont chargés tous ouvrages de manufacture étrangère et toutes marchandises importées par des marchands étrangers, tendent tous au même but.” (*ibidem*, p. 265)

295 „...réglements les garantissent de celle des étrangers.” (*ibidem*, p. 265)

296 „Il paraît qu'anciennement dans la Grande-Bretagne, l'industrie des villes avait sur celle des campagnes plus de supériorité qu'à présent: aujourd'hui les salaires du travail de la campagne se rapprochent davantage de ceux du travail des manufactures, et les profits des capitaux employés à la culture¹, de ceux des capitaux employés au commerce et aux manufactures, qu'ils ne s'en rapprochaient, à ce qu'il semble, dans le dernier siècle ou dans le commencement de celui-ci. Ce changement peut être regardé comme la conséquence nécessaire, quoique très-tardive, de l'encouragement forced donné à l'industrie des villes. Le capital qui s'y accumule, devient, avec le temps, si considérable, qu'il ne peut plus y être employé avec le même profit à cette espèce d'industrie qui est particulière aux villes: cette industrie a ses limites comme toute autre, et l'accroissement des capitaux, en augmentant la concurrence

¹ W rekopisie: manufacture.

rence, doit nécessairement réduire les profits. *La baisse des profits dans la ville force les capitaux à refluer dans les campagnes où ils vont créer de nouvelles demandes de travail de culture, et font hausser par conséquent les salaires de ce dernier travail; alors ces capitaux se répandent, pour ainsi dire, sur la surface de la Terre, et par l'emploi qu'on en fait en culture, ils sont en partie rendus à la campagne, aux dépens de laquelle, en grande partie, ils s'étaient originairement accumulés dans la ville.*" (*ibidem*, p. 266/267)

308 „.... whether the *appropriation* of land, and the consequent creation of rent...” (*David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 53*)

309 „Adam Smith... cannot be correct in supposing that the *original rule which regulated the exchangeable value of commodities*, namely, the comparative quantity of labour by which they were produced, can *be at all altered by the appropriation of land and the payment of rent.*” (*ibidem*, p. 67)

310 „Rent is that portion of the produce of the earth, which is paid to the landlord for the use of the *original and indestructible powers of the soil.*” (*ibidem*, p. 53)

311 „capital [...] employed in ameliorating the quality of the land, and in erecting such buildings as were necessary to secure and preserve the produce.” (*ibidem*, p. 54)

312 „It is not, however, evident, that the person who paid what he [...] calls rent, paid it in consideration of the *valuable commodity* which was then standing on the land, and that he actually *repaid himself with a profit, by the sale of the timber?*” (*ibidem*, p. 54)

313 „.... the compensation [...] for the mine or quarry, is paid for the *value* of the coal or stone which can be removed from them, and has no connection with the *original and indestructible powers* of the land. This is a distinction of great importance, in an enquiry concerning rent and profits; for it is found, that the laws which regulate the progress of rent, are widely different from those which regulate the progress of profits, and seldom operate in the same direction.” (*ibidem*, p. 54/55)

314 „.... the compensation *given* for the mine or quarry, is paid for the *value* of the coal or stone which can be removed from them, and has no connection with the *original and indestructible powers* of the land.” (*ibidem*, p. 54/55)

- 392 „On the first settling of a country, in which there is an abundance of rich and fertile land, a very small proportion of which is required to be cultivated for the support of the actual population, or indeed can be cultivated with the capital which the population can command, there will be no rent; for no one would pay for the use of land, when there was an abundant quantity not yet appropriated, and, therefore, at the disposal of whosoever might choose to cultivate it.” (*ibidem*, p. 55)
- 392 „On the common principles of supply and demand, no rent could be paid for such land, for the reason stated why nothing is given for the use of air and water, or for any other of the gifts of nature which exist in boundless quantity... no charge is made for the use of these natural aids, because they are inexhaustible, and at every man's disposal.. If all land had the same properties, if it were unlimited in quantity, and uniform in quality, no charge could be made for its use, unless where it possessed peculiar advantages of situation. It is only, then because land is not unlimited in quantity and uniform in quality, and because in the progress of population, land of an inferior quality, or less advantageously situated, is called into cultivation, that rent is ever paid for the use of it. When in the progress of society, land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on that of the first quality, and the amount of that rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land.” (*ibidem*, p. 56 i 57)
- 395 „When land of the third quality is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on the second, and it is regulated as before, by the difference in their productive powers. At the same time, the rent of the first quality will rise, for that must always be above the rent of the second, by the difference between the produce which they yield with a given quantity of capital and labour. With every step in the progress of population, which shall oblige a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality...” (*ibidem*, p. 57)
- 396 „.... to enable it to raise its supply of food, rent, on all the more fertile land, will rise.” (*ibidem*, p. 57)
- 396 „On the first settling of a country, in which there is an abundance of rich and fertile land – not yet appropriated.” (*ibidem*, p. 55)
- 396 „If all land had the same properties, if it were unlimited in quan-

tity, und uniform in quality, no charge could be made for its use.""
(ibidem, p. 56)

398 „The most fertile, and most favorably situated, land will be first cultivated.” *(ibidem, p. 60)*

400 „...for either there must be two rates of profit on agricultural capital, or ten quarters, or the value of ten quarters must be withdrawn from the produce of No. 1, for some other purpose. Whether the proprietor of the land, or any other person, cultivated No. 1, these ten quarters would equally constitute rent; for the cultivator of No. 2 would get the same result with his capital, whether he cultivated No. 1, paying ten quarters for rent, or continued to cultivate No. 2, paying no rent,” *(ibidem, p. 58)*

401 „The most fertile, and most favorably situated, land will be first cultivated, and the exchangeable value of its produce will be adjusted in the same manner as the exchangeable value of all other commodities, by the total quantity of labour necessary in various forms, from first to last, to produce it, and bring it to market. When land of an inferior quality is taken into cultivation, the exchangeable value of raw produce will rise, because more labour is required to produce it.

The exchangeable value of all commodities, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of the mines, or the produce of land, is always regulated, not by the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favorable, and exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production; but by the greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production by those who have no such facilities; by those who continue to produce them under the most unfavorable circumstances, meaning – by the most unfavorable circumstances, the most unfavorable under which the quantity of produce required, renders it necessary to carry on the production.” *(ibidem, p. 60/61)*

402 „...rent is always the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of two equal quantities of capital and labour.” *(ibidem, p. 59)*

402 „...there cannot be two rates of profit.” *(ibidem, p. 59)*

402 „It is true, that on the best land, the same produce would still be obtained with the same labour as before, but its value would be enhanced in consequence of the diminished returns obtained by

those who employed fresh labour and stock on the less fertile land. Notwithstanding, then, that the advantages of fertile over inferior lands are in no case lost, but only transferred from the cultivator, or consumer, to the landlord, yet, since more labour is required on the inferior lands, and since it is from such land only that we are enabled to furnish ourselves with the additional supply of raw produce, the comparative value of that produce will continue permanently above its former level, and make it exchange for more hats, cloth, shoes, etc. [+], in the production of which no such additional quantity of labour is required.

The reason then, *why raw produce rises in comparative value*, is because more labour is employed in the production of the last portion obtained, and *not because a rent is paid to the landlord*. The *value of corn is regulated* by the quantity of labour bestowed on its production on that quality of land, or with that portion of capital, which pays no rent. *Corn is not high because a rent is paid, but a rent is paid because corn is high*; and it has been justly observed, that *no reduction would take place in the price of corn, although landlords should forego the whole of their rent*. Such a measure would only enable some farmers to live like gentlemen, but would not diminish the quantity of labour necessary to raise raw produce on the least productive land in cultivation." (*ibidem*, p. 62/63)

⁴⁰⁵ „...I always consider it as the result of a *partial monopoly*, never really regulating price..." (*ibidem*, p. 332/333)

⁴⁰⁵ „...but rather as the effect of it. If *all rent were relinquished by landlords*, I am of opinion, that the commodities produced on the land would be no cheaper, because there is always a portion of the same commodities produced on land, for which *no rent* is or can be paid, as the *surplus produce* is only sufficient to pay the profits of stock." (*ibidem*, p. 333)

⁴⁰⁶ „The rise of rent is *always* the effect of the increasing wealth of the country, *and of the difficulty of providing food for its augmented population*." (*ibidem*, p. 65/66)

⁴⁰⁶ „Wealth increases most rapidly in those countries where the disposable land¹ is most fertile, where importation is least restricted, and where through agricultural improvements, productions can be

¹ W *rękopisie*: capital.

multiplied without any increase in the proportional quantity of labour, and where *consequently the progress of rent is slow.*" (*ibidem*, p. 66/67)

406 „If the high price of corn were the effect, and not the cause of rent, price would be proportionally influenced as rents were high or low, and *rent would be a component part of price.* But that corn which is produced by the greatest quantity of labour is the regulator of the price of corn; and *rent does not and cannot enter in the least degree as a component part of its price...* Raw material enters into the composition of most commodities, but the *value* of that raw material, as well as corn, is regulated by the *productiveness of the portion of capital last employed on the land, and paying no rent;* and *therefore rent is not a component part of the price of commodities.*" (*ibidem*, p. 67)

410 „...we have seen, that with every portion of additional capital which it becomes necessary to employ on the land with a less productive return, rent would rise. It follows from the same principles, that any circumstances in the society which should make it unnecessary to employ the same amount of capital on the land, and which should therefore make the portion last employed more productive, would lower rent." (*ibidem*, p. 68)

411 „...reduction in the capital of a country..." (*ibidem*, p. 68)

411 „The same effects may however be produced, when the wealth and population of a country are increased, if that increase is accompanied by such marked improvements in agriculture, as shall have the same effect of diminishing the necessity of cultivating the poorer lands, or of expending the same amount of capital on the cultivation of the more fertile portions." (*ibidem*, p. 68/69)

411 „With the same population, and no more, there can be no demand for any additional quantity of corn..." (*ibidem*, p. 69)

412 „Our enormous increase of consumption in 1848, 49, 50, shows that we were previously *underfed*, and that prices were forced up by the deficiency of supply." (*F. W. Newman, „Lectures on Political Economy"*, London 1851, p. 158)

412 „The Ricardo argument, [...] turns on the assumption that the power of demanding rent can in no case of real life *diminish supply.* By why not? There are very considerable tracts which would immediately have been cultivated if no rent could have been demanded

for them, but which were artificially kept vacant, either because landlords could let them advantageously as shooting ground, or [...] prefer the romantic wilderness to the petty and nominal rent which alone they could get by allowing them to be cultivated." (*ibidem*, p. 159)

⁴¹² „...increased the productive powers of the land... such as the more skilful rotation of crops, or the better choice of manure. These improvements absolutely enable us to obtain the same produce from a smaller quantity of land." (*David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation"*, London 1821, p. 70)

⁴¹³ „If, for example, the successive portions of capital yielded 100, 90, 80, 70; whilst I employed these four portions, my rent would be 60, or the difference between

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 70 \text{ and } 100 = 30 \\ 70 \text{ and } 90 = 20 \\ 70 \text{ and } 80 = 10 \\ \hline 60 \end{array} \right\} \text{whilst the produce would be [340]} \left. \begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 90 \\ 80 \\ 70 \\ \hline 340 \end{array} \right\}$$

and while I employed these portions, the rent would remain the same, although the produce of each should have an equal augmentation. If, instead of 100, 90, 80, 70, the produce should be increased to 125, 115, 105, 95, the rent would still be 60, or the difference between

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 95 \text{ and } 125 = 30 \\ 95 \text{ and } 115 = 20 \\ 95 \text{ and } 105 = 10 \\ \hline 60 \end{array} \right\} \text{whilst the produce would be increased to 440} \left. \begin{array}{r} 125 \\ 115 \\ 105 \\ 95 \\ \hline 440 \end{array} \right\}$$

But with such an increase of produce, without an increase of demand, there could be no motive for employing so much capital on the land; one portion would be withdrawn, and consequently the last portion of capital would yield 105 instead of 95, and rent would fall to 30, or the difference between

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 105 \text{ and } 125 = 20 \\ 105 \text{ and } 115 = 10 \\ \hline 30 \end{array} \right\} \text{whilst the produce will be still adequate to the wants of population, for it would be 345 quarters, [or]} \left. \begin{array}{r} 125 \\ 115 \\ 105 \\ \hline 345 \end{array} \right\}$$

..." (*ibidem*, p. 71/72)

⁴¹⁴ „But there are improvements which may lower the relative value of produce without lowering the *corn rent*, though they will lower the *money rent of land*. Such improvements do not increase the productive powers of the land; but they enable us to obtain its produce with less labour. They are rather directed to the *formation of the capital applied to the land*, than to the *cultivation of the land itself*. *Improvements in agricultural implements*, such as the plough and the thrashing machine, economy in the use of horses employed in husbandry, and a better knowledge of the veterinary art, are of this nature. *Less capital*, which is the same thing as *less labour*, will be employed on the land; but to obtain the same produce, less land cannot be cultivated. Whether improvements of this kind, however, affect *corn rent*, must depend on the question, whether the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of different portions of capital be increased, stationary, or diminished.” (*ibidem*, p. 73)

⁴¹⁵ „If four portions of capital, 50, 60, 70, 80, be employed on the land, giving each *the same results*, and any improvement in the formation of such capital should enable me to withdraw 5 from each, so that they should be 45, 55, 65, and 75, no alteration would take place in the corn rent; but if the improvements were such as to enable me to make the whole saving on that portion of capital, which is least productively employed, corn rent would immediately fall, because the difference between the capital most productive, and the capital least productive, would be diminished; and it is this difference which constitutes rent.” (*ibidem*, p. 73/74)

⁴²⁰ „....whatever diminishes the *inequality in the produce* obtained from successive portions of capital employed on the same or on new land, tends to lower rent; and [...] whatever increases that *inequality*, necessarily produces an opposite effect, and tends to raise it.” (*ibidem*, p. 74)

⁴²⁰ „These people have a legal right to maintenance *out of the property they have mostly created by their industry*... It is said that the men who have made fortunes by the cotton industry are those upon whom it is especially incumbent to come forward with a generous relief. No doubt it is so... the mercantile and manufacturing sections [...] have done so... But are these the only class which has made money by the cotton manufacture? Assuredly not. The landed

proprietors of Lancashire and North Cheshire have enormously participated in the wealth thus produced. And it is the peculiar advantage of these proprietors to have participated in the wealth without lending a hand or a thought to the industry that [...] created it... The mill-owner has given his capital, his skill, and his unwinking vigilance to the creation of this great industry, now staggering under so heavy a blow; the mill-hand has given his skill, *his time*, and his bodily labour; but what have the landed proprietors of Lancashire given? Nothing at all – literally nothing; and yet they have made from it more substantial gains than either of the other classes... it is certain that the increase of the yearly income of these great landlords, attributable to this single cause, in something enormous, probably not less than threefold." („*The Morning Star*”, 15 Juli 1862)

⁴²¹ „....this rent, as well as the rent of land, is the effect, and never the cause of the *high value* of their produce.” ([David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821], p. 76)

⁴²² „The metal produced from the poorest mine that is worked, must at least have an exchangeable value, not only sufficient to procure all the clothes, food, and other necessaries consumed by those employed in working it, and bringing the produce to market, *but also to afford the common and ordinary profits* to him who advances the stock necessary to carry on the undertaking. The return for capital from the poorest mine paying no rent, would regulate the rent of all the other more productive mines. *This mine is supposed to yield the usual profits of stock. All that the other mines produce more than this, will necessarily be paid to the owners for rent.*” (*ibidem*, p. 76/77)

⁴²³ „If equal quantities of labour, with equal quantities of fixed capital, could at all times obtain, from that mine which paid no rent, equal quantities of gold... The quantity... would enlarge with the demand, but its value would be invariable...” (*ibidem*, p. 79)

⁴²⁴ „I believe that as yet in every country, from the rudest to the most refined, there is land of such a quality that it cannot yield a produce more than sufficiently valuable to replace the stock employed upon it, together with the profits ordinary and usual in that country. In America we all know that is the case, and yet no

one maintains that the principles which regulate rent, are different in that country and in Europe." (*ibidem*, p. 389/390)

⁴²⁵ „But if it were true that England had so far advanced in cultivation, that at this time there were no lands remaining which did not afford a rent, it would be equally true, that there formerly must have been such lands; and that whether there be or not, is of no importance to this question, for it is the same thing if there be any capital employed in Great Britain on land which yields only the return of stock with its ordinary profits, whether it be employed on old or on new land. If a farmer agrees for a land on a lease of seven or fourteen years, he may propose to employ on it a capital of 10,000 l., knowing that at the existing price of grain and raw produce, he can replace that part of his stock which he is obliged to expend, pay his rent, and obtain the general rate of profit. He will not employ 11,000 l., unless the last 1000 l. can be employed so productively as to afford him the usual profits of stock. In *his calculation, whether he shall employ it or not, he considers only whether the price of raw produce is sufficient to replace his expenses and profits, for he knows, that he shall have no additional rent to pay.* Even at the expiration of his lease his rent will not be raised; for if his landlord should require rent, because this additional 1000 l. was employed, he would withdraw it; since, by employing it, he gets, by the supposition, only the ordinary and usual profits which he may obtain by any other employment of stock; and, therefore, he *cannot afford to pay rent for it, unless the price of raw produce should further rise, or, which is the same thing, unless the usual and general rate of profit should fall.*" (*ibidem*, p. 390/391)

⁴³¹ „If the comprehensive mind of Adam Smith had been directed to this fact, he would not have maintained that rent forms *one of the component parts of the price of raw produce*; for price is everywhere regulated by the return [obtained] by this last portion of capital, for which no rent whatever is paid." (*ibidem*, p. 391)

⁴³² „The whole principle of rent is here admirably and perspicuously explained, but every word is as applicable to land as it is to mines; yet he affirms that «it is otherwise in estates above ground»" (*ibidem*, p. 392)

⁴³² „The proportion, both of their produce and of their rent, is in

proportion to their *absolute*, and not to their *relative fertility*." (*ibidem*, p. 392)

⁴⁸² „But, suppose that there were no land which did not afford a rent; then, the amount of rent on the worst land would be in proportion to the excess of the value of the produce above the expenditure of capital and the ordinary profits of stock; the same principle would govern the rent of land of a somewhat better quality, or more favourably situated, and, therefore, the rent of this land would exceed the rent of that inferior to it, by the superior advantages which it possessed; the same might be said of that of the third quality, and so on to the very best. Is it not, then, as certain, that it is the *relative fertility of the land* which determines the portion of the produce, which shall be paid for the rent of land, as it is that the *relative fertility of mines*, determines the portion of their produce, which shall be paid for the rent of mines?" (*ibidem*, p. 392/393)

⁴⁸³ „After Adam Smith has declared that there are some mines *which can only be worked by the owners*, as they will afford only sufficient to defray the expense of working, together with the ordinary profits of the capital employed, *we should expect that he would admit that it was these particular mines which regulated the price of the produce from all mines*. If the old mines are insufficient to supply the quantity of coal required, the *price of coal will rise*, and will continue rising till the owner of a new and inferior mine finds that he can obtain the usual profits of stock by working his mine... It appears, then, that *it is always the least fertile mine which regulates the price of coal*. Adam Smith, however, is of a different opinion: he observes that *the most fertile coal mine, too, regulates the price of coals at all the other mines in its neighbourhood*. Both the proprietor and the undertaker of the work find, the one, that he can get a greater rent, the other, that he can get a greater profit, by somewhat underselling all their neighbours. Their neighbours are soon obliged, to sell *at the same price*, though they cannot so well afford it, and though it always diminishes, and sometimes takes away altogether, both their rent and their profit. Some works are abandoned altogether; others can afford no rent, *and can be wrought only by the proprietors*. If the demand for coal should be diminished, or if by new processes the quantity should be increased,

the price would fall, and some mines would be abandoned; but in every case, the price must be sufficient to pay the expenses and profit of that mine which is worked without being charged with rent. It is, therefore, the least fertile mine which regulates price. Indeed, it is so stated in another place by Adam Smith himself, for he says: «*The lowest price at which coals can be sold for any considerable time is like that of all other commodities, the price which is barely sufficient to replace, together with its ordinary profits, the stock, which must be employed in bringing them to market. At a coal mine for which the landlord can get no rent, but which he must either work himself, or let it alone all together, the price of coals must generally be nearly about this price.*» (ibidem, p. 393–395)

438 „...no part of that additional proportion would go to rent, but the whole invariably to profits... while lands of the same quality were cultivated, and there was no alteration in their relative fertility or advantages, rent would always bear the same proportion to the gross produce.” (ibidem, p. 396)

439 „Dr. Smith’s error, throughout his whole work, lies in supposing that the value of corn is constant; that though the value of all other things may, the value of corn never can be raised. Corn, according to him, is always of the same value because it will always feed the same number of people. In the same manner, it might be said, that cloth is always of the same value, because it will always make the same number of coats. What can value have to do with the power of feeding and clothing?” (ibidem, p. 449/450)

440 „...Dr Smith... has so ably supported the doctrine of the natural price of commodities ultimately regulating their market price...” (ibidem, p. 451)

441 „...estimated in corn, gold may be of very different value in two countries. I have endeavoured to show that it will be low in rich countries, and high in poor countries; Adam Smith is of a different opinion: he thinks that the value of gold, estimated in corn, is highest in rich countries.” (ibidem, p. 454)

440 „...rent is a creation of value... but not a creation of wealth.” (ibidem, p. 485)

440 „In speaking of the high price of corn, Mr. Malthus evidently does not mean the price per quarter or per bushel, but rather the excess

of price for which the whole produce will sell, above the cost of its production, including always in the term «cost of its production», profits as well as wages. One hundred and fifty quarters of corn at 3 l. 10 s. per quarter, would yield a larger rent to the landlord than 100 quarters at 4l., provided the cost of production were in both cases the same." (*ibidem*, p. 487)

440 „Whatever the nature of the land may be, high rent must depend on the high price of the produce; but, given the high price, rent must be high in proportion to abundance and not to scarcity." (*ibidem*, p. 492)

440 „As rent is the effect of the high price of corn, the loss of rent is the effect of a low price. Foreign corn never enters into competition with such home corn as affords a rent; the fall of price invariably affects the landlord till the whole of his rent is absorbed; – if it fall still more, the price will not afford even the common profits of stock; capital will then quit the land for some other employment, and the corn, which was before grown upon it, will then, and not till then, be imported. From the loss of rent, there will be a loss of value, of estimated money value, but, there will be a gain of wealth. The amount of the raw produce and other productions together will be increased; from the greater facility with which they are produced, they will, though augmented in quantity, be diminished in value." (*ibidem*, p. 519)

441 „...prix payé pour *l'usage de la terre*..." (Adam Smith, „Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations. Traduction nouvelle... par Germain Garnier", t. I, Paris 1802, p. 299)

441 „...le capital qui fournit la sémence, paie le travail, achète et entretiennent les bestiaux et autres *instrumens* de labourage..." (*ibidem*, p. 299)

442 „Tout ce qui reste du produit ou de son prix... au-delà de cette portion, quel que puisse être ce reste, le *propriétaire* tâche de se le réserver comme *rente de sa terre*..." (*ibidem*, p. 300)

442 „...ce surplus peut toujours être regardé comme la *rente naturelle de la terre*..." (*ibidem*, p. 300)

442 „Le propriétaire exige une rente même pour la terre non améliorée..." (*ibidem*, p. 300/301)

442 „Il exige quelquefois une rente pour ce qui est tout-à-fait incapable d'être amélioré par la main des hommes." (*ibidem*, p. 301)

- ⁴⁴² „La rente de la terre, considérée comme le prix payé pour l'usage de la terre, est donc naturellement un prix de monopole.” (*ibidem*, p. 302)
- ⁴⁴³ „....être portée au marché...” (*ibidem*, p. 303)
- ⁴⁴⁴ „Si le prix ordinaire est plus que suffisant, le *surplus* en ira naturellement à la rente de la terre. S'il n'est juste que suffisant, la marchandise *pourra* bien être portée au marché, mais elle ne peut fournir à payer une rente au propriétaire. Le prix sera-t-il ou ne sera-t-il pas plus que suffisant? C'est ce qui dépend de la demande.” (*ibidem*, p. 303)
- ⁴⁴⁵ „Ces trois parties semblent constituer immédiatement ou en définitif la totalité du prix..” (*ibidem*, p. 101)
- ⁴⁴⁶ „Néanmoins dans les sociétés les plus avancées, il y a toujours quelques marchandises mais en petit nombre, dont *le prix se résout en deux parties seulement; les salaires du travail et les profits des fonds*, et d'autres en beaucoup plus petit nombre encore, dont *le prix consiste uniquement en salaires de travail*. Dans le prix du poisson de mer, par exemple, une partie paie le travail des pêcheurs, et l'autre les profits du capital placé dans la pêcherie. Il est rare que la *rente* fasse partie de ce prix... Dans quelques endroits de l'Ecosse, il y a de pauvres gens qui font métier de chercher le long des bords de la mer ces petites pierres tachetées, connues vulgairement sous le nom de *cailloux d'Ecosse*. Le prix que leur paie le *lapidaire* est en entier le *salaire de leur travail*; *il n'y entre ni rente ni profit*. Mais la *totalité du prix de chaque marchandise* doit toujours, en dernière analyse, se résoudre en *quelqu'une de ces parties ou en toutes trois...*” (*ibidem*, p. 103/104)
- ⁴⁴⁷ „....la totalité du prix de chaque marchandise doit toujours... se résoudre en *quelqu'une de ces parties ou en toutes trois.*” (*ibidem*, p. 104)
- ⁴⁴⁸ „Quand ces trois différentes sortes de revenus appartiennent à différentes personnes, il est aisé de les distinguer; mais quand ils appartiennent à la même personne, on les confond quelquefois l'un avec l'autre, au moins dans le langage ordinaire.” (*ibidem*, p. 106)
- ⁴⁴⁹ „Comme dans un pays civilisé il n'y a que très-peu de marchandises dont *toute la valeur échangeable* procède du travail seulement, et que, dans la très-majeure partie d'entr'elles, la *rente* et le *pro-*

fit y contribuent pour de fortes portions, il en résulte que le produit annuel du travail de ce pays suffira toujours pour acheter et commander une quantité de travail beaucoup plus grande que celle qu'il a fallu employer pour faire croître ce produit, le préparer et l'amener au marché.” (ibidem, p. 108/109)

447 „Il faut observer que la valeur réelle de toutes les différentes parties constituantes du prix se mesure par la *quantité de travail que chacune d'elles peut acheter ou commander*. Le travail mesure la valeur, non-seulement de cette partie du prix qui se résout en *travail*, mais encore de celle qui se résout en *rente*, et de celle qui se résout en *profit*.” (ibidem, p. 100)

448 „Un ouvrier indépendant qui a *un petit capital* suffisant pour acheter des matières et pour subsister jusqu'à ce qu'il puisse porter son ouvrage au marché, gagnera à la fois, et les *salaires du journalier* qui travaille sous un maître, et le profit que ferait le maître sur l'ouvrage de celui-ci. Cependant la totalité de ce que gagne cet ouvrier se nomme *profit*, et les salaires sont encore ici confondus dans le profit. Un jardinier qui cultive ses mains son propre jardin, réunit à la fois dans sa personne les *trois différens caractères de propriétaire, de fermier et d'ouvrier*. Ainsi le produit de son jardin doit lui payer la rente du premier, le profit du second et le salaire du troisième. Néanmoins le tout est regardé communément comme le *fruit de son travail*. Ici la rente et le profit se confondent dans le salaire.” (ibidem, p. 108)

449 „Salaire, profit et rente sont *les trois sources primitives de tout revenu, aussi bien que de toute valeur échangeable*.” (ibidem, p. 105)

450 „Lorsque le prix d'une marchandise n'est ni plus ni moins que ce qu'il faut pour payer suivant leurs taux *naturels*, et la *rente de la terre et les salaires du travail, et les profits du capital* employé à la produire, la préparer et la conduire au marché, alors cette marchandise est vendue ce qu'on peut appeler *son prix naturel*. La marchandise est alors vendue précisément ce qu'elle vaut...” (ibidem, p. 111)

450 „Le *prix de marché* de chaque marchandise particulière est déterminé par la proportion entre la quantité de cette marchandise existante actuellement au marché, et les demandes de ceux qui sont disposés à en payer le *prix naturel* ou la *valeur entière des rente*,

profit et salaire *qu'il faut payer* pour qu'elle vienne au marché.”
(*ibidem*, p. 112)

450 „Quand la quantité d'une marchandise quelconque, amenée au marché, se trouve *au dessous* de la demande effective, tous ceux qui sont disposés à payer *la valeur entière des rente, salaires et profits* qu'il en coûte pour amener cette marchandise au marché, ne peuvent se fournir de la quantité qu'il leur faut... *le prix de marché* s'élèvera plus ou moins *au dessus du prix naturel*, suivant que la *grandeur du déficit*, ou suivant que la *richesse* ou la *fantaisie* des concurrens viendra à animer plus ou moins la chaleur de cette concurrence.”
(*ibidem*, p. 113)

451 „Quand la quantité amenée au marché excède la demande effective, elle ne peut être toute vendue à ceux qui consentent à payer la valeur entière des rente, salaires et profits qu'il en a coûté pour l'y amener... Le *prix de marché* tombera alors plus ou moins *au dessous du prix naturel*, selon que la quantité de l'excédent augmentera plus ou moins la concurrence des vendeurs, ou suivant qu'il leur importera plus ou moins de se défaire sur-le-champ de la marchandise.” (*ibidem*, p. 114)

451 „Quand la quantité amenée au marché suffit tout juste pour remplir la demande effective, [...] le *prix de marché* se trouve naturellement être précisément... le même que le *prix naturel*... La concurrence des différens vendeurs les oblige à accepter ce prix, mais elle ne les oblige pas à accepter moins.” (*ibidem*, p. 114/115)

451 „Si cette quantité excède pendant quelque tems la demande effective, il faut que quelqu'une des parties constitutantes de son prix soit payée *au dessous* de son *prix naturel*. Si c'est la *rente*, l'intérêt des propriétaires les portera sur-le-champ à *retirer une partie de leur terre de cet emploi*...” (*ibidem*, p. 115)

451 „Si au contraire la quantité amenée au marché restait, pendant quelque tems, *au dessous de la demande effective*, quelques-unes des parties constitutantes de son prix hausseraient nécessairement *au dessus de leur taux nature*. Si c'est la *rente*, l'intérêt de tous les autres propriétaires les portera naturellement à disposer une plus grande quantité de terre à la production de cette marchandise...” (*ibidem*, p. 116)

452 „Les fluctuations accidentnelles et momentanées qui surviennent dans le *prix de marché* d'une denrée, tombent principalement sur ces

parties de son prix, qui se résolvent en salaires et en profits. La partie qui se résout en rente en est moins affectée." (*ibidem*, p. 118/119)

⁴⁵² „Le *prix de monopole* est, à tous les momens, le plus haut qu'il soit possible de retirer. Le *prix naturel* ou le prix résultant de la libre concurrence est au contraire le plus bas qu'on puisse accepter, non pas à la vérité à tous les momens mais pour un tems un peu considérable de suite.” (*ibidem*, p. 124)

⁴⁵² „Quoique le *prix de marché* d'une marchandise particulière puisse continuer long-tems à rester au dessus du *prix naturel*, il est difficile qu'il puisse continuer long-tems à rester au dessous. Quelle que soit la partie de ce prix qui soit payée au dessous du taux *naturel*, les personnes qui y ont intérêt sentiront bientôt le dommage qu'elles éprouvent, et aussitôt elles retireront, ou tant de terre, ou tant de travail, ou tant de capitaux de ce genre d'emploi, que la quantité de cette marchandise qui sera amenée au marché ne sera bientôt plus que suffisante pour répondre à la demande effective. Ainsi son *prix de marché* remontera bientôt au *prix naturel*, au moins sera-ce le cas partout où règne une entière liberté.” (*ibidem*, p. 125)

⁴⁵³ „...la valeur entière des rente, profit et salaire qu'il faut payer pour qu'elle vienne au marché.” (*ibidem*, p. 112)

⁴⁵³ „On ne peut porter ordinairement au marché que ces parties seulement du produit de la terre dont le *prix ordinaire* est suffisant pour remplacer le capital qu'il faut employer pour les y porter, et les profits ordinaires de ce capital.” (*ibidem*, p. 302/303)

⁴⁵³ „Si le *prix ordinaire* est plus que suffisant, le surplus en ira naturellement à la rente de la terre. S'il n'est juste que suffisant, la marchandise pourra bien être portée au marché, mais elle ne peut fournir à payer une rente au propriétaire. Le prix sera-t-il ou ne sera-t-il pas plus que suffisant? C'est ce qui dépend de la demande.” (*ibidem*, p. 303)

⁴⁵⁴ „Il y a quelques parties du produit de la terre dont la demande doit toujours être telle, qu'elles rapporteront un prix plus fort que ce qui est suffisant pour les faire venir au marché, et il y en a d'autres dont il se peut que la demande soit telle, qu'elles rapportent ce prix plus fort que le *prix suffisant*, et dont il se peut aussi

qu'elle soit telle, qu'elles ne le rapportent pas. Les premières doivent toujours fournir de quoi payer une rente au propriétaire, les derniers peuvent quelquefois fournir de quoi en payer une et quelquefois ne le pas fournir, suivant la différence des circonstances." (*ibidem*, p. 303)

⁴⁵⁵ „Il faut donc observer que la rente entre dans la composition du prix des marchandises, d'une autre manière que n'y entrent les salaires et les profits... Le taux haut ou bas des salaires ou des profits est la cause du haut ou bas prix des marchandises: le taux haut ou bas de la rente est l'effet du prix; le prix d'une marchandise particulière est haut ou bas, parce qu'il faut, pour la faire venir au marché, payer des salaires et des profits hauts ou bas; mais c'est parce que son prix est haut ou bas, c'est parce qu'il est ou beaucoup plus, ou guère plus, ou point du tout plus que ce qui est suffisant pour payer ces salaires et ces profits, que cette marchandise fournit de quoi payer une forte rente ou une faible rente, ou ne fournit pas de quoi en payer une.” (*ibidem*, p. 303/304)

⁴⁵⁸ „Les hommes, comme toutes les autres espèces animales, se multipliant naturellement en proportion des moyens de leur subsistance, il y a toujours plus ou moins demande de nourriture. Toujours la nourriture pourra acheter ou commander une quantité plus ou moins grande de travail, et toujours il se trouvera quelqu'un disposé à faire quelque chose pour la gagner.” (*ibidem*, p. 305)

⁴⁵⁸ „Or, la terre, dans presque toutes les situations possibles, produit plus de nourriture que ce qu'il faut pour faire subsister tout le travail qui concourt à mettre cette nourriture au marché, et même le faire subsister de la manière la plus libérale qui ait jamais eu lieu pour ce genre de travail. Le surplus de cette nourriture est aussi toujours plus que suffisant pour remplacer avec profit le capital qui fait mouvoir ce travail. Ainsi, il reste toujours quelque chose pour donner une rente au propriétaire.” (*ibidem*, p. 305 i 306)

⁴⁵⁹ „La rente varie selon la fertilité de la terre, quel que soit son produit, et selon sa situation, quelle que soit sa fertilité.” (*ibidem*, p. 306)

⁴⁵⁹ „Il faut donc que ce dernier produit fasse subsister une plus grande quantité de travail; et par conséquent que le surplus, dont le profit

du fermier et la rente du propriétaire sont tirés tous les deux, en soit d'autant diminué." (*ibidem*, p. 307)

⁴⁵⁹ „Une pièce de blé, d'une fertilité médiocre, produit une beaucoup plus grande quantité de nourriture pour l'homme, que la meilleure prairie d'une pareille étendue. Quoique sa culture exige plus de travail, cependant le surplus qui reste après le remplacement de la semence et la subsistance de tout ce travail, est encore beaucoup plus considérable. Ainsi, en supposant qu'une livre de viande de boucherie ne valût jamais plus qu'une livre de pain, cet excédent plus fort serait partout d'une plus grande valeur et formerait un fonds plus abondant, tant pour le profit du fermier, que pour la rente du propriétaire.” (*ibidem*, p. 308/309)

⁴⁶⁰ „...les profits et la rente que cette terre mise en labour aurait pu rapporter au fermier et au propriétaire. Quand les bestiaux sont venus au même marché, ceux qui ont été nourris au milieu des friches les plus incultes, sont, à proportion du poids et de la qualité, vendus au même prix que ceux qui ont été élevés sur la terre le mieux cultivée. Les propriétaires de ces friches en profitent, et ils haussent la rente de leurs terres en proportion du prix du bétail qu'elles nourrissent... C'est ainsi que, dans les progrès de l'amélioration des terres, les rentes et profits des pâtures incultes viennent à se régler en quelque sorte sur les rentes et profits de celles qui sont cultivées, et celles-ci, à leur tour, sur les rentes et profits des terres à blé.” (*ibidem*, p. 310/311)

⁴⁶¹ „...partout où il n'y a pas d'avantage local..., la rente et le profit que donne le blé ou tout autre végétal qui sert à la nourriture générale du peuple, doivent naturellement régler la rente et le profit que donnera une terre propre à cette production, et qui sera mise en nature de pré.

L'usage des prairies artificielles, des turneps, carottes, choux, etc. et tous les autres expédiens dont on s'est avisé pour qu'une même quantité de terre pût nourrir un plus grand nombre de bestiaux que ne faisait la pâture naturelle, ont dû contribuer, à ce qu'il semble, à diminuer un peu cette supériorité que le prix de la viande a naturellement sur celui du pain, dans un pays bien cultivé. Aussi paraissent-ils avoir produit cet effet.” (*ibidem*, p. 315)

⁴⁶² „Dans tous les grands pays, la majeure partie des terres cultivées est employée à produire, ou de la nourriture pour les hommes, ou de la

nourriture pour les bestiaux. La rente et le profit de ces terres règlent les rentes et profits de toutes les autres terres cultivées. Si quelque produit particulier fournissait moins, la terre en serait bientôt remise en blé ou en nature de pré; et s'il y en avait quelqu'un qui fournit plus, ou consacrerait bientôt à ce genre de produit quelque partie des terres qui sont en blé ou en nature de prés." (*ibidem*, p. 318)

⁴⁶² „...les rentes et profits de ces productions qui exigent ou de plus fortes avances primitives pour y apprécier la terre, ou une plus grande dépense pour leur culture annuelle, quoique souvent fort supérieurs aux rentes et profits des blés et de l'herbe des prés, cependant, dans tous les cas où ils ne font que compenser les avances ou dépenses extraordinaires, sont en effet réglés par les rentes et profits de ces deux espèces ordinaires de récoltes." (*ibidem*, p. 323/324)

⁴⁶² „C'est ainsi que la rente des terres cultivées pour produire la nourriture des hommes, règle la rente de la plupart des autres terres cultivées." (*ibidem*, p. 331)

⁴⁶² „En Europe, c'est le blé qui est la principale production de la terre servant immédiatement à la nourriture de l'homme. Ainsi, excepté quelques circonstances particulières, la rente des terres à blé règle en Europe celle de toutes les autres terres cultivées." (*ibidem*, p. 331/332)

⁴⁶³ „...alors *la rente du propriétaire ou l'excédent de nourriture* qui lui resterait après le paiement du travail et le remboursement du capital et profits ordinaires du fermier, serait nécessairement beaucoup plus considérable. Quel que pût être, dans ce pays-là, le taux de la subsistance ordinaire du travail, ce *plus grand excédent de nourriture en ferait toujours subsister davantage, et par conséquent* mettrait le propriétaire en état d'en acheter ou d'en commander une plus grande quantité." (*ibidem*, p. 332)

⁴⁶³ „Dans la Caroline... les *planteurs sont généralement*, comme dans les autres colonies anglaises, *fermiers et propriétaires à la fois*, et où par conséquent la *rente se confond dans le profit...*" (*ibidem*, p. 333)

⁴⁶⁸ „...propre ni au blé, ni au pâture, ni à la vigne, ni dans le fait à aucune autre production végétale bien utile aux hommes; et toutes les terres propres à ces diverses cultures ne le sont nullement à celle du riz. Ainsi, même dans le pays à riz, la rente des terres qui le produisent, ne peut pas régler la rente des autres terres

cultivées qu'il est impossible de mettre dans cette nature de rapport." (*ibidem*, p. 334)

⁴⁶³ „...il en résulterait que la même quantité de terres cultivées ferait subsister une bien plus grande quantité de monde, et que ceux qui travailleraient étant généralement nourris de pommes de terre, il se trouverait un excédent bien plus considérable, après le remplacement du capital et la subsistance de tout le travail employé à la culture. Il appartiendrait aussi au propriétaire une grande portion dans cet excédent. La population augmenterait, et les rentes s'élèveraient beaucoup au dessus de ce qu'elles sont aujourd'hui." (*ibidem*, p. 335)

⁴⁶⁴ „Quand la quantité amenée au marché suffit tout juste pour remplir la demande effective, [...] le *prix de marché* se trouve naturellement être précisément... le même que le *prix naturel*." (*ibidem*, p. 114)

⁴⁶⁵ „La *nourriture* de l'homme paraît être le seul des produits de la terre qui fournit *toujours*, et nécessairement de quoi payer *une rente quelconque au propriétaire*. Les autres genres de produits peuvent quelquefois en rapporter une, et quelquefois ne le peuvent pas, selon les circonstances." (*ibidem*, p. 337)

⁴⁶⁵ „Les deux plus grands besoins de l'homme, *après la nourriture*, sont *le vêtement et le logement*." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...dans son état primitif et inculte..." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...qu'elle n'en peut *nourrir*." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...*surabondance* de ces matériaux..." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...et le prix de celles dont on fait usage est *regardé comme équivalents seulement au travail et à la dépense de les mettre en état de servir*". (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...ne... aucune rente au propriétaire du sol." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...qu'elle serait dans les cas de nourrir..." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...tels que ces personnes voudraient les avoir et consentiraient à les payer." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...ce qui augmente nécessairement leur valuer." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...il y a souvent demande pour plus qu'on n'en peut avoir." (*ibidem*, p. 338)

⁴⁶⁵ „...la dépense de les transporter au marché; ainsi leur prix peut toujours fournir quelque chose pour faire une rente au propriétaire de la terre." (*ibidem*, p. 338/339)

⁴⁶⁶ „... des plus gros animaux." (*ibidem*, p. 339)

- 466 „....chaque homme, en pourvoyant à sa nourriture, se pourvoit en même tems de matières de vêtement pour plus qu'il n'en pourra porter.” (*ibidem*, p. 339)
- 468 „...au-delà de ce que coûte la dépense de les envoyer vendre. Ce prix fournit donc quelque rente au propriétaire de la terre.” (*ibidem*, p. 339/340)
- 468 „....un peu la rente du pays qui la produisait.” (*ibidem*, p. 340)
- 466 „Les matières de logement ne peuvent pas toujours se transporter à une aussi grande distance que celles de vêtement, et ne deviennent pas non plus aussi promptement un objet de commerce étranger. Lorsqu'elles sont surabondantes dans le pays qui les produit, il arrive fréquemment, même dans l'état actuel du commerce du monde, qu'elles ne sont d'aucune valeur pour le propriétaire de la terre.” (*ibidem*, p. 340/341)
- 466 „...dans un pays bien peuplé et bien cultivé...” (*ibidem*, p. 341)
- 466 „...dans plusieurs endroits de l'Amérique septentrionale...” (*ibidem*, p. 341)
- 466 „Quand il y a une telle surabondance dans les matières de logement, la partie dont on fait usage n'a d'autre valeur que le travail et la dépense qu'on a mis à la rendre propre au service. Elle ne rapporte aucune rente au propriétaire, qui en général en abandonne l'usage à quiconque prend seulement la peine de le lui demander. Cependant il peut quelquefois être dans le cas d'en retirer une rente, s'il y a demande de la part de nations plus riches.” (*ibidem*, p. 341)
- 467 „...nombre que leur produit peut vêtir et loger, mais en raison de celui que ce produit peut nourrir. Quand la nourriture ne manque pas, il est aisément de trouver les choses nécessaires pour se vêtir et se loger; mais on peut avoir celles-ci sous sa main, et éprouver souvent de grandes difficultés à se procurer la nourriture. Dans quelques endroits, même du royaume d'Angleterre, le travail d'un seul homme dans une seule journée, peut bâtir ce qu'on y appelle une maison.” (*ibidem*, p. 342)
- 467 „Mais quand, au moyen de la culture et de l'amélioration de la terre¹, le travail d'une seule famille peut fournir à la nourriture de deux, alors le travail d'une moitié de la société suffit pour nourrir le tout.” (*ibidem*, p. 343)

¹ W rekopisie: rente.

- ⁴⁶⁷ „...cherchent toujours à en échanger le surplus...” (*ibidem*, p. 344)
- ⁴⁶⁷ „...Les pauvres, pour obtenir de la nourriture...” (*ibidem*, p. 344)
- ⁴⁶⁷ „...une extrême subdivision de travail...” (*ibidem*, p. 344)
- ⁴⁶⁷ „De là naît la demande de toute espèce de matières que puisse mettre en oeuvre l'invention des hommes, soit pour l'utilité, soit pour la décoration des bâtimens, de la parure, de l'équipage ou du mobilier: de là la demande, de fossiles et de minéraux renfermés dans les entrailles de la terre: de là la demande de métaux précieux et de pierres précieuses.
- Ainsi, non-seulement c'est de la *nourriture* que la *rente* tire sa première origine, mais encore si quelqu'autre partie du produit de la terre vient aussi par la suite à rapporter une rente, elle doit cette *addition de valeur à l'accroissement de puissance qu'a acquis le travail pour produire de la nourriture*, au moyen de la culture et de l'amélioration de la *terra*.” (*ibidem*, p. 344/345)
- ⁴⁶⁸ „...pour que le prix qu'elles rendent soit *au-delà de ce qu'exigent le paiement du travail fait pour les amener au marché et le remplacement du capital employé pour le même objet avec ses profits ordinaires. La demande sera ou ne sera pas assez forte pour cela, d'après différentes circonstances.*” (*ibidem*, p. 345)
- ⁴⁶⁹ „Quoique ces animaux ne multiplient pas dans la même proportion que le blé, qui est entièrement le fruit de l'industrie humaine, cependant la propagation de leur espèce est favorisée par les soins et la protection de l'homme.” (*ibidem*, p. 347)
- ⁴⁷⁰ „...les profits ordinaires, le capital employé...” (*ibidem*, p. 346)
- ⁴⁷⁰ „Le propriétaire n'en permettrait pas l'exploitation à d'autres sans exiger une rente, et personne ne trouverait moyen de lui en payer une.” (*ibidem*, p. 346)
- ⁴⁷¹ „*Le prix le plus bas* auquel le charbon de terre puisse se vendre, pendant un certain tems, est comme celui de toutes les autres marchandises, *le prix qui est simplement suffisant pour remplacer, avec ses profits ordinaires, le capital employé à le faire venir au marché.*” (*ibidem*, p. 350)
- ⁴⁷² „Ainsi le prix des métaux même grossiers, et plus encore celui des métaux précieux, aux mines les plus fécondes qui existent, influe nécessairement sur le prix de ces métaux à toute autre mine du Monde.” (*ibidem*, p. 352)
- ⁴⁷² „Ainsi le prix de chaque métal à chaque mine étant réglé en quel-

que sorte par le prix qu'a ce métal à la mine la plus féconde qui soit pour le moment exploitée dans le Monde, il en résulte qu'à la plus grande partie des mines, ce *prix ne doit guère faire plus que payer la dépense de l'exploitation*, et qu'il peut *rarement* fournir une bien forte rente au propriétaire. Aussi à la plupart des mines, la rente ne compose-t-elle qu'une petite part dans le prix du métal, et une bien plus petite encore s'il s'agit de métaux précieux. Le travail et le profit forment la majeure partie de ce prix." (*ibidem*, p. 353/354)

⁴⁷² „Le plus bas prix auquel on puisse, pendant un certain tems, vendre les métaux précieux... se règle sur les mêmes principes qui déterminent le plus bas prix ordinaire de toute autre marchandise. Ce qui le détermine, c'est le capital qu'il faut communément employer pour les faire venir de la mine au marché, c'est-à-dire, la quantité de nourriture, vêtement et logement qu'il faut communément consommer pour cela. Il faut que le prix soit tout au moins suffisant pour remplacer ce capital avec les profits ordinaires.” (*ibidem*, p. 359)

⁴⁷³ „La demande de pierres précieuses vient entièrement de leur beauté. Elles ne servent à rien qu'à l'ornement, et le mérite de leur beauté est extrêmement rehaussé par leur rareté ou par la difficulté et la dépense de les extraire de la mine. En conséquence, c'est de salaires et de profits qu'est composée le plus souvent la presque totalité de leur haut prix. La rente n'y entre que pour une très-faible partie, très-souvent elle n'y entre pour rien, et il n'y a que les mines les plus fécondes qui puissent suffire à en payer une un peu considérable.” (*ibidem*, p. 361)

⁴⁷³ „Le prix des métaux précieux et des pierres précieuses étant réglé pour le Monde entier par le prix qu'ils ont à la mine la plus féconde, il s'ensuit que la rente que peut rapporter au propriétaire une mine des uns ou des autres, est en proportion, non de la fécondité absolue de la mine, mais de ce qu'on peut appeler sa fécondité relative, c'est-à-dire, de sa supériorité sur les autres mines du même genre. Si on découvrait de nouvelles mines qui fussent aussi supérieures à celles du Potosi, que celles-ci sont trouvées être supérieures aux mines de l'Europe, la valeur de l'argent pourrait par-là se dégrader au point que les mines, même du Potosi, ne vaudraient pas la peine de les exploiter.” (*ibidem*, p. 362)

- 473 „L'abondance dégrade nécessairement la valeur d'un produit, qui ne tire sa principale valeur que de sa rareté.” (*ibidem*, p. 363)
- 474 „Il en est autrement des biens qui existent à la surface de la terre. La valeur, tant de leur produit que de leur rente, est en proportion de leur fertilité *absolue* et non de leur fertilité *relative*. La terre qui produit une certaine quantité de nourriture ou de matériaux de vêtement ou de logement, peut toujours nourrir, vêtir et loger un certain nombre de personnes; et *quelle que soit la proportion dans laquelle le propriétaire prendra part dans ce produit*, cette part mettra toujours à son commandement une quantité proportionnée du travail de ces personnes, et des commodités que ce travail peut lui procurer.” (*ibidem*, p. 363/364)
- 474 „La valeur des terres les plus stériles n'éprouve aucune diminution par le voisinage des terres les plus fertiles. Au contraire, elle y gagne en général une augmentation. Le grand nombre de personnes que les terres fertiles font subsister, *procurent à maintes parties du produit des terres stériles un marché* qu'elles n'auraient jamais trouvé parmi les personnes que leur propre produit eût pu faire subsister” (*ibidem*, p. 364)
- 474 „Tout ce qui tend à rendre la terre plus fertile en subsistances, augmente non-seulement la valeur des terres sur lesquelles se fait l'amélioration, mais encore contribue à augmenter pareillement la valeur de plusieurs autres terres, en faisant naître de nouvelles demandes de leur produit.” (*ibidem*, p. 364)
- 475 „Whatever part of the whole rent of a house is *over and above* what is *sufficient* for affording this reasonable *profit*, naturally goes to the ground rent; and where the owner of the ground, and the owner of the building, are two different persons, it is in most cases completely paid to the former. In country houses, at a distance from any great town, where there is plentiful choice of ground, the ground rent is scarcely any thing, or no more than what the space upon which the house stands, would pay employed in agriculture.” (Adam Smith, „An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations...”, book V, ch. II; cytowane według: David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 227)
- 476 „Both ground rents, and the ordinary rent of land are a species of revenue, which the owner in many cases enjoys, without any care

or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him, in order to defray the expenses of the State, no discouragement will thereby be given to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labour of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before. Ground rents, and the ordinary rent of land are, therefore, perhaps, the species of revenue, which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them." (Adam Smith, „An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations...”, book V, ch. II; cytowane wedlug: David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition. London 1821, p. 229/230)

⁴⁷⁶ „Troisième section. Des variations dans la proportion entre les valeurs respectives de l'espèce de produit qui fournit toujours une rente, et l'espèce de produit qui quelquefois en rapporte [une et quelquefois n'en rapporte point]” (Adam Smith, „Recherches sur la nature et las causes de la richesse des nations. Traduction nouvelle... par Germain Garnier”, t. II, Paris 1802, p. 1)

⁴⁷⁶ „Dans un pays naturellement fertile, mais dont la très-majeure partie est tout-à-fait inculte, comme le bétail, la volaille, le gibier de toute espèce, peuvent s'acquérir au moyen d'une très-petite quantité de travail, il s'ensuit qu'ils ne peuvent en acheter ou en commander qu'une très-petite quantité.” (ibidem, p. 25)

⁴⁷⁷ „Quel que soit l'état de la société, quel que soit son degré de civilisation, le blé est toujours une production de l'industrie des hommes: or, le produit moyen de toute espèce d'industrie s'assortit toujours avec plus ou moins de précision à la consommation moyenne, la quantité moyenne de l'approvisionnement à la quantité moyenne de la demande; d'ailleurs, dans les différens degrés d'amélioration d'un pays, il faudra toujours, l'une portant l'autre, des quantités de travail à peu près égales, ou, ce qui revient au même, le prix de quantités à peu près égales, pour faire croître des quantités égales de blé dans un même sol et un même climat; l'augmentation continue qui a lieu dans les facultés productives du travail, à mesure que la culture va en se perfectionnant, étant plus ou moins contre-balancée par l'accroissement continual du prix des bestiaux, qui sont les principaux instrumens de l'agriculture. Nous devons donc, d'après ceci, être bien certain qu'en tout état possible de la société,

dans tout degré de civilisation, des quantités égales de blé seront une *représentation ou un équivalent plus juste de quantités égales de travail*, que ne le seraient des quantités égales de toute autre partie du produit brut de la terre. En conséquence le blé... est, dans tous les différens degrés de richesse et d'amélioration de la société, une mesure de valeur plus exacte que toute autre marchandise ou que toute autre classe de marchandises.⁴⁷⁸ En outre, le blé ou tout autre végétal faisant la nourriture ordinaire et favorite du peuple, constitue, dans tout pays civilisé, la *principale partie de la subsistance de l'ouvrier...* Ainsi le prix du travail en argent dépend beaucoup plus du prix moyen du blé, qui est la subsistance de l'ouvrier, que de celui de la viande ou de toute autre partie du produit brut de la terre; par conséquent, la valeur réelle de l'or et de l'argent, la quantité réelle de travail qu'ils peuvent acheter ou commander, dépend beaucoup plus de la quantité de blé qu'ils peuvent acheter ou représenter, que de celle de viande ou de toute autre espèce de produit brut dont ils pourraient disposer." (*ibidem*, p. 26–28)

⁴⁷⁸ „On peut dire d'une marchandise, qu'elle est *chère* ou à *bon marché*, non-seulement en raison de ce que son prix habituel fait une grosse ou une petite somme, mais aussi en raison de ce que ce prix habituel se trouve plus ou moins au dessus du prix le plus bas, auquel il soit possible de la mettre au marché pendant un certain tems de suite. Ce prix le plus bas est celui qui remplace purement, avec un profit modique, le capital qu'il faut employer pour mettre cette marchandise au marché. *Ce prix est celui qui ne fournit rien pour le propriétaire de la terre, celui dont la rente ne fait pas une partie constituante, et qui se résout tout entier en salaires et en profits.*" (*ibidem*, p. 81)

⁴⁷⁸ „Le prix des diamans et des autres pierres précieuses est peut-être encore plus près que le prix de l'or, du prix le plus bas auquel il soit possible de les mettre au marché." (*ibidem*, p. 83)

⁴⁷⁸ „...n'a qu'une puissance borné ou incertaine." (*ibidem*, p. 89)

⁴⁷⁸ „...la quantité de ces marchandises restant la même ou à peu près la même, tandis que la concurrence des acheteurs va toujours croissant, leur prix peut monter à tous les degrés possibles d'excès..." (*ibidem*, p. 91)

⁴⁷⁸ „...elle consiste dans ces plantes et ces animaux utiles que la nature produit dans les pays incultes, avec tant de profusion, qu'ils n'ont

que peu ou point de valeur, et qui, à mesure que la culture s'étend, sont forcés par elle de céder le terrain à quelque produit plus profitable. Pendant une longue période dans le cours des progrès de l'amélioration, la quantité des produits de cette classe va toujours en diminuant, tandis qu'en même temps la demande qu'on en fait va toujours en augmentant. Ainsi leur valeur réelle, la quantité réelle de travail qu'ils peuvent acheter ou commander, s'élève par degrés jusqu'à ce qu'enfin elle monte assez haut pour en faire un produit aussi avantageux que toute autre production venue à l'aide de l'industrie humaine, sur les terres les plus fertiles et les mieux cultivées. Quand elle est montée jusque-là, elle ne peut plus guère aller plus haut; autrement, pour augmenter la quantité du produit, on y consacrera bientôt plus de terre et plus d'industrie." (*ibidem*, p. 94/95)

⁴⁷⁹de tous les différens articles qui composent cette seconde classe de produit brut, le bétail est peut-être celui dont le prix s'élève le premier à cette hauteur, dans le cours des progrès de l'amélioration." (*ibidem*, p. 96/97)

⁴⁷⁹si le bétail est une des premières parties qui atteigne ce prix, le gibier est peut-être une des dernières. Quelqu'exorbitant que puisse paraître le prix de la venaison en Angleterre, il s'en faut encore qu'il puisse compenser la dépense d'un parc de bêtes fauves, comme le savent très-bien tous ceux qui se sont occupés de la conservation de ce genre de gibier." (*ibidem*, p. 104)

⁴⁷⁹dans toutes les fermes, les rebuts de la grange et de l'étable peuvent entretenir un certain nombre de volailles. Comme elles sont nourries de ce qui serait perdu sans cela, on les a seulement pour faire profit de tout; et comme elles ne coûtent presque rien au fermier, il peut trouver encore son compte à les vendre pour très-peu de chose." (*ibidem*, p. 105/106)

⁴⁷⁹il y ait profit à cultiver la terre exprès pour en nourrir." (*ibidem*, p. 106)

⁴⁷⁹on a, dans l'origine, [...] pour faire profit de tout." (*ibidem*, p. 108)

⁴⁸⁰ ..Il est évident que les terres d'un pays ne peuvent jamais parvenir à un état d'amélioration et de culture complète avant que le prix de chaque produit que l'industrie humaine se propose d'y faire croître, ne soit d'abord monté assez haut pour *paver la dépense*

d'une amélioration et d'une culture complète. Pour que les choses en soient là, il faut que le prix de chaque produit particulier suffise à payer d'abord la rente d'une bonne terre à blé, qui est celle qui règle la rente de la plupart des autres terres cultivées, et à payer en second lieu le travail et la dépense du fermier, aussi bien qu'ils se paient communément sur une bonne terre à blé, ou bien, en autres termes, à lui rendre avec les profits ordinaires, le capital qu'il y emploie. Cette bausse dans le prix de chaque produit particulier doit évidemment précéder l'amélioration et la culture de la terre destinée à faire naître ce produit... ces différentes sortes de produit brut [...] sont venues à valoir, non une plus grande somme d'argent, mais une plus grande quantité de travail et de subsistances qu'auparavant. Comme il en coûte une plus grande dose de travail et de subsistances pour les faire venir au marché, par cela même elles en représentent ou en valent une plus grande quantité quand elles y sont venues."

⁴⁸¹ „...sur la multiplication duquel l'industrie humaine n'a qu'un pouvoir limité ou incertain.” (*ibidem*, p. 115)

⁴⁸¹ „Dans les pays mal cultivés, et qui par conséquent ne sont que très-faiblement peuplés, le prix de la laine et de la peau est toujours beaucoup plus grand, relativement à celui de la bête entière, que dans le pays qui, étant plus avancés en richesse et en population, ont une plus grande demande de viande de boucherie.” (*ibidem*, p. 117)

⁴⁸² „Il faut alors, en général, aller chercher le poisson à de plus grandes distances; il faut employer de plus grands bâtiments et mettre en oeuvre de machines plus dispendieuses en tout genre.” (*ibidem*, p. 130)

⁴⁸² „...ne pourra guère être alors approvisionné à moins d'un travail...” (*ibidem*, p. 130)

⁴⁸² „...travail qu'il fallait pour l'approvisionner dans le premier état.” (*ibidem*, p. 130)

⁴⁸² „Ainsi le prix réel de cette denrée doit augmenter naturellement dans les progrès que fait l'amélioration...” (*ibidem*, p. 130)

⁴⁸² „Si l'extension de l'amélioration et de la culture élève nécessairement le prix de chaque espèce de nourriture animale, relativement au prix du blé, d'un autre côté elle fait aussi nécessairement baisser

celui de toute espèce, je crois, de *nourriture végétale*. Elle élève le prix de la nourriture animale, parce qu'une grande partie de la terre qui produit cette nourriture, étant rendue propre à la production du blé, doit rapporter au propriétaire et au fermier la rente et le profit d'une terre à blé. Elle *fait baisser le prix de la nourriture végétale, parce qu'en ajoutant à la fertilité de la terre, elle accroît l'abondance de cette sorte de nourriture.* Les améliorations dans la culture introduisent aussi plusieurs espèces de nourriture végétale, qui, exigeant moins de terre que le blé, et pas plus de travail, viennent au marché à beaucoup meilleur compte que le blé. Telles sont les pommes de terre et le maïs.. D'ailleurs, il y a beaucoup d'espèces d'aliments du genre végétal, qui dans l'état grossier de l'agriculture, sont confinés dans le jardin potager, et ne croissent qu'à l'aide de la bêche, mais qui, lorsqu'elle s'est perfectionnée, viennent à se semer en plein champ, et à croître à l'aide de la charrette; tels sont les turneps, les carottes, les choux, etc." (*ibidem*, p. 145/146)

⁴⁸³ „...le prix réel des matières premières ne hausse point ou ne hausse pas extrêmement..." (*ibidem*, p. 149)

⁴⁸³ „De meilleures machines, une plus grande dextérité et une division et distribution de travail mieux entendues, toutes choses qui sont les effets naturels de l'avancement du pays, sont cause que, pour exécuter une pièce quelconque, il ne faut qu'une bien moindre quantité de travail; et quoique, par suite de l'état florissant de la société, le prix réel du travail doive s'élever considérablement, cependant la grande diminution dans la quantité du travail que chaque chose exige, fait bien plus en général que compenser quelque hausse que ce soit qui puisse survenir dans le prix de ce travail." (*ibidem*, p. 148)

⁴⁸⁴ „Il en coûtait une bien plus grande quantité de travail pour mettre la marchandise au marché; ainsi, quand elle y était venue, il fallait bien qu'elle achetât ou qu'elle obtint en échange le prix d'une plus grande quantité de travail." (*ibidem*, p. 156)

⁴⁸⁴ „...toute amélioration qui se fait dans l'état de la société, tend, d'une manière directe ou indirecte, faire monter la rente réelle de la terre..." (*ibidem*, p. 157/158)

⁴⁸⁴ „L'extension de l'amélioration des terres et de la culture y tend d'une manière directe. La part du propriétaire dans le produit

augmente nécessairement à mesure que le produit augmente." (*ibidem*, p. 158)

484 „...survient dans le prix réel de ces sortes de produits bruts, dont le renchérissement est d'abord l'effet de l'amélioration et de la culture, et devient ensuite la cause de leurs progrès ultérieurs...” (*ibidem*, p. 158)

484 „Ce produit, après avoir haussé dans son prix réel, *n'exige pas plus de travail, pour être recueilli, qu'il n'en exigeait auparavant.* Par conséquent *il faudra une moindre portion qu'auparavant de ce produit, pour suffire à remplacer le capital qui fait mouvoir ce travail, ensemble les profits ordinaires de ce capital.* La portion restante du produit, qui est la part du propriétaire, sera donc plus grande, relativement au tout, qu'elle ne l'était auparavant.” (*ibidem*, p. 158/159)

485 „Tout ce qui réduit le prix réel de ce premier genre de produit, élève le prix réel du second,...” (*ibidem*, p. 159)

485 „...et la rente grossit avec le produit.” (*ibidem*, p. 160)

485 „...intérêt général de la société.” (*ibidem*, p. 161)

485 „La classe des propriétaires peut gagner peut-être plus que celle-ci à la prospérité de la société; mais aucune ne souffre aussi cruellement de son déclin, que la classe des ouvriers.” (*ibidem*, p. 162)

486 „...intérêt général de la société.” (*ibidem*, p. 163)

486 „...l'intérêt particulier de ceux qui exercent une branche particulière de commerce ou de manufacture, est *toujours*, à quelques égards, *different et même contraire* à celui du public.” (*ibidem*, p. 164/165)

486 „...une classe de gens dont l'intérêt ne saurait jamais être exactement le même que l'intérêt de la société, qui ont en général intérêt à tromper le public et même à le surcharger, et qui en conséquence ont déjà fait l'un et l'autre en beaucoup d'occasions.” (*ibidem*, p. 165)

488 „...trades where *profits are in proportion to the capital*, and not in proportion to the *quantity of labour employed*.” (*David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821*, p. 418)

488 „...are in proportion to the *capital*, and not in proportion to the *quantity of labour employed*.” (*ibidem*, p. 418)

489 „...carrying trade, the distant foreign trade, and trades where expensive machinery is required...” (*ibidem*, p. 418)

- 490 „....that the great profits which are sometimes made by particular merchants in foreign trade, will elevate the general rate of profits in the country...” (*ibidem*, p. 132)
- 490 „....They contend, that the equality of profits will be brought about by the general rise of profits, and I am of opinion, that the profits of the favoured trade will speedily subside to the general level.” (*ibidem*, p. 132/133)
- 491 „...I admit, that from the nature of rent, a given capital employed in agriculture, on any but the land last cultivated, puts in motion a greater quantity of labour than an equal capital employed in manufactures and trade...” (*ibidem*, p. 419)
- 492 „There cannot be *two rates of profit in the same employment*, and therefore when the value of produce is in different proportions to capital, it is the rent which will differ, and not the profit.” (*ibidem*, p. 212/213)
- 492 „The exchangeable value of all commodities, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of the mines, or the produce of land, is always regulated, not by the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favorable, and exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production; but by the greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production by those who have no such facilities; by those who continue to produce them under the *most unfavorable circumstances*; meaning – by *the most unfavorable circumstances, the most unfavorable under which the quantity of produce required, renders it necessary to carry on the production.*” (*ibidem*, p. 60/61)
- 493 „M_r Say supposes, «A landlord by his *assiduity, economy and skill*, to increase his annual revenue by 5000 francs;» but a landlord has no means of employing his assiduity, economy and skill on his land, unless he farms it himself; and then it is in quality of capitalist and farmer that he makes the improvement, and not in quality of landlord. It is not conceivable that he so augment the produce of his farm by any *peculiar* skill on his part, without first increasing the quantity of capital employed upon it.” (*ibidem*, p. 209)
- 494 „The rise in the price of commodities, in consequence of taxation or of difficulty of production, will in all cases ultimately ensue; but the *duration of the interval*, before the market price will con-

form to the natural price, must depend on the nature of the commodity, and on the facility with which it can be reduced in quantity. If the quantity of the commodity taxed could not be diminished, if the capital of the farmer or of the hatter for instance, could not be withdrawn to other employments, it would be of no consequence that their profits were reduced below the general level by means of a tax; unless the demand for their commodities should increase. they would never be able to elevate the market price of corn and of hats up to their increased natural price. Their threats to leave their employments, and remove their capitals to more favoured trades, would be treated as an idle menace which could not be carried into effect; and consequently the price would not be raised by diminished production. Commodities, however, of all descriptions can be reduced in quantity, and capital can be removed from trades which are less profitable to those which are more so, but with different degrees of rapidity. In proportion as the supply of a particular commodity can be more easily reduced, without inconvenience to the producer, the price of it will more quickly rise after the difficulty of its production has been increased by taxation, or by any other means." (*ibidem*, p. 214/215)

⁴⁹⁴ „The agreement of the market and natural price of all commodities depends at all times on the facility with which the supply can be increased or diminished. In the case of gold, houses, and labour, as well as many other things, this effect cannot, under some circumstances, be speedily produced. But it is different with those commodities which are consumed and reproduced from year to year, such as hats, shoes, corn and cloth; they may be reduced, if necessary, and the interval cannot be long before the supply is contracted in proportion to the increased charge of producing them." (*ibidem*, p. 220/221)

⁴⁹⁵ „...rent being not a creation, but merely a transfer of wealth..." (*ibidem*, p. 221)

⁴⁹⁵ „A tax on raw produce from the surface of the earth, will... fall on the consumer, and will in no way affect rent; unless by diminishing the funds for the maintenance of labour, it lowers wages, reduces the population, and diminishes the demand for corn." (*ibidem*, p. 221)

⁵⁰² „Taxes on those commodities, which are generally denominated luxuries, fall on those only who make use of them... But taxes

on necessities do not affect the consumers of necessities, in proportion to the quantity that may be consumed by them, but often in a much higher proportion... it alters the rate of profits of stock [...] Whatever raises the wages of labour, lowers the profits of stock; therefore every tax on any commodity consumed by the labourer, has a tendency to lower the rate of profits." (*ibidem*, p. 231)

„504 „In a former part of this work, we discussed the effects of the division of capital into *fixed and circulating*, or rather into *durable and perishable capital*, on the prices of commodities. We showed that two manufacturers might employ precisely the same amount of capital, and might derive from it precisely the same amount of profits, but that they would sell their commodities for very different sums of money, according as the capitals they employed were rapidly, or slowly, consumed and produced. The one might sell his goods for 4000 l., the other for 10,000 l., and they might both employ 10,000 l. of capital, and obtain 20 per cent. profits, or 2000 l. The capital of one might consist, for example, of 2000 l. circulating capital, to be reproduced, and 8000 l. fixed, in buildings and machinery; the capital of the other, on the contrary, might consist of 8000 l. of circulating, and of only 2000 l. fixed capital in machinery and buildings. Now, if each of these persons were to be taxed ten per cent. on his income, or 200 l. the one, to make his business yield him the *general rate of profit*, must raise his goods from 10,000 l. to 10,200 l.; the other would also be obliged to raise the price of his goods from 4000 l. to 4200 l. Before the tax, the goods sold by one of these manufacturers were $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more valuable than the goods of the other; after the tax they will be 2.42 times more valuable: the one kind will have risen two per cent.; the other five per cent.: consequently a tax upon income, whilst money continued unaltered in value, would alter the relative prices *and* value of commodities." (*ibidem*, p. 234/235)

„505 „If a country were not taxed, and money should fall in value, its abundance in every market would produce similar effects in each. If meat rose 20 per cent., bread, beer, shoes, labour, and *every commodity*, would also rise 20 per cent.; it is necessary they should do so, to secure to each trade the same rate of profits. But this is no longer true when any of these commodities is taxed; if in that

case, they should all rise in proportion to the fall in the value of money, *profits would be rendered unequal*; in the case of the commodities taxed, *profits would be raised above the general level*, and capital *would be removed from one employment to another*, till *an equilibrium of profits was restored*, which could only be, after *the relative prices were altered.*" (*ibidem*, p. 236/237)

⁵⁰⁶ „Mr. Buchanan considers corn and raw produce as at a monopoly price, because they yield a rent: all commodities which yield a rent, he supposes must be at a monopoly price; and thence he infers, that all taxes on raw produce would fall on the landlord, and not on the consumer.

«*The price of corn*», he says, «which always affords a rent, *being in no respect influenced by the expenses of its production*, those *expenses must be paid out of the rent*; and when they rise or fall, therefore, the consequence is not a higher or lower price, but a higher or [...] lower rent. In this view, all taxes on farm servants, horses, or the implements of agriculture, are in reality land-taxes; the burden falling on the farmer during the currency of his lease, and on the landlord, when the lease comes to be renewed. In like manner all those improved implements of husbandry which save expense to the farmer, such as machines for threshing and reaping, whatever gives him easier access to the market, such as good roads, canals and bridges, though they lessen the original cost of corn, *do not lessen its market price*. Whatever is saved by those improvements, therefore, belongs to the landlord as part of his rent.»

It is evident that if we yield to Mr. Buchanan the basis on which his argument is built, namely, that the price of corn always yields a rent, all the consequences which he contends for would follow of course." (*ibidem*, p. 292/293)

⁵⁰⁶ „...the very highest price at which the consumers are willing to purchase it" (*ibidem*, p. 290)

⁵¹³ „...I hope I have made it sufficiently clear, that until a country is cultivated in every part, and up to the highest degree, there is always *a portion of capital employed on the land* which yields no rent, and that it is this portion of capital, the result of which, as in manufactures, is divided between profits and wages that *regulates the price of corn*. The price of corn, then, which does not afford a rent, being influenced by the expenses of its production, those

expenses cannot be paid out of rent. The consequence therefore of those expenses increasing, is a higher price, and not a lower rent." (*ibidem*, p. 293)

⁵¹⁴ „Mr. Malthus appears to think that it is a part of my doctrine, that the *cost* and *value* of a thing should be the same; – it is, if he means by cost, «*cost of production» including profits.»" (*ibidem*, p. 46, note)*

⁵¹⁶ „Raw produce is not at a monopoly price, because the market price of barley and wheat is as much regulated by their *cost of production*, as the market price of cloth and linen. The only difference is this, that *one portion of the capital employed in agriculture regulates the price of corn*, namely, that portion which pays no rent; whereas, in the *production of manufactured commodities*, *every portion of capital is employed with the same results*; and as *no portion pays rent, every portion is equally a regulator of price...*" (*ibidem*, p. 290/291)

⁵¹⁷ „The value of a commodity, or the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange, depends on the relative *quantity of labour* which is necessary for its production, and not on the greater or less compensation which is paid for *that labour.*" (*ibidem*, p. 1)

⁵¹⁸ „Adam Smith, who so accurately defined the original source of exchangeable value, and who was bound in consistency to maintain, that all things became more or less valuable in proportion as more or less labour was bestowed on their production, has himself erected another standard measure of value, and speaks of things being more or less valuable, in proportion as they will *exchange for more or less of this standard measure...* as if *these were two equivalent expressions*, and as if because a man's labour had become doubly efficient, and he could therefore produce twice the quantity of a commodity, he would necessarily receive twice the former quantity in exchange for it. If this indeed were true, if *the reward of the labourer were always in proportion to what he produced, the quantity of labour bestowed on a commodity, and the quantity of labour which that commodity would purchase, would be equal*, and either might accurately measure the variations of other things; *but they are not equal...*" (*ibidem*, p. 5)

⁵²⁰ „Is not the value of labour... variable; being not only affected, as

all other things are, by the proportion between the supply and demand, which uniformly varies with every change in the condition of the community, but also by the varying price of food and other necessaries, on which the *wages of labour* are expended?" (*ibidem*, p. 7)

521 „Treating labour as a commodity, and capital, the produce of labour, as another, then, if the value of these two commodities were regulated by equal quantities of labour, a given amount of labour would, under all circumstances, exchange for that quantity of capital which had been produced by the same amount of labour; antecedent labour [...] would always exchange for the same amount of present labour [...] It follows, that the value of labour in relation to other commodities, in so far, at least as wages depend upon share, is determined, not by equal quantities of labour, but by the proportion between supply and demand.” (Notka E. G. Wakefielda w: *Adama Smitha „An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations... by E. G. Wakefield”*, vol. I, London 1835, p. 230)

522 „Not only the *labour applied immediately* to commodities affects their value, but the *labour also* which is *bestowed* on the implement, tools, and building, with which such labour is assisted.” (David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 16)

523 „Labour, like all other things which are purchased and sold, and which may be increased or diminished in quantity, has its natural and its market price. *The natural price of labour* is that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution.

The power of the labourer to support himself, and the family which may be necessary to keep up the number of labourers, depends on *the price of the food, necessities, and conveniences required for the support of the labourer and his family*. With a rise in the price of food and necessities, the natural price of labour will rise; with the fall in their price, the natural price of labour will fall.” (*ibidem*, p. 86)

524 „It is not to be understood that the natural price of labour, estimated even in food and necessities, is absolutely fixed and constant. It varies at different times in the same country, and very materially

differs in different countries. It essentially depends on the habits and customs of the people." (*ibidem*, p. 91)

524 „Capital is that part of the wealth of a country which is employed in production, and consists of food, clothing, tools, raw materials, machinery, etc. necessary to give effect to labour.” (*ibidem*, p. 89)

524 „Less capital, which is the same thing as less labour...” (*ibidem*. p. 73)

524 „...Mr. Ricardo, ingeniously enough, avoids a difficulty, which, on a first view, threatens to encumber his doctrine, that value depends on the quantity of labour employed in production. If this principle is rigidly adhered to, it follows, that the *value of labour* depends on the *quantity of labour employed in producing it* – which is evidently absurd. By a dexterous turn, therefore, Mr. Ricardo makes the value of labour depend on the quantity of labour required to produce wages, or, to give him the benefit of his own language, he maintains, that the *value of labour is to be estimated* by the quantity of labour required to produce wages, by which he means, the quantity of labour required to produce the money or commodities given to the labourer. This is similar to saying, that the value of cloth is to be estimated, not by the quantity of labour bestowed on its production, but by the quantity of labour bestowed on the production of the silver, for which the cloth is exchanged.” ([Samuel Bailey], „A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value...”, London 1825, p. 50/51)

525 „...the number of pounds that may be annually paid to the labourer...” (David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 152)

527 „...the number of day's work, necessary to obtain those pounds.” (*ibidem*, p. 152)

527 „...the foundation of the value of commodities...” (*ibidem*, p. 80)

527 „...the comparative quantity of labour which is necessary to their production...” (*ibidem*, p. 80)

527 „...the rule which determines the respective quantities of goods which shall be given in exchange for each other...” (*ibidem*, p. 80)

541 „The labour of a million of men in manufactures, will always produce the same value, but will not always produce the same riches.” (*ibidem*, p. 320)

- 545 „....they are together always of the same value.” (*ibidem*, p. 499)
- 545 „....wages and profits together will be of the same value.” (*ibidem*, p. 491, note)
- 545 „....wages and profits taken together will continue always of the same value...” (*ibidem*, 490/491)
- 545 „Wages are to be estimated by their *real value*, viz. by the *quantity of labour and capital employed in producing them*, and not by their *nominal value* either in coats, hats, money, or corn.” (*ibidem*, p. 50)
- 546 „The labourer is only paid a really high price for his labour, when his wages will purchase the produce of a great deal of labour.” (*ibidem*, p. 322, note)
- 549 „....the *value* of the deer, the produce of the hunter's *day's labour*, would be exactly equal to the value of the fish, the produce of the fisherman's *day's labour*. The comparative value of the fish and the game, would be entirely regulated by the quantity of labour realized in each, *whatever might be the quantity of production, or however high or low general wages or profits might be*. If..., the fisherman... employed ten men, whose annual labour cost 100 l. and who in *one day* obtained by their labour twenty salmon. If..., the hunter [...] also employed ten men, whose *annual labour* cost 100 l. and who in *one day* procured him ten deer; then the natural price of a deer would be two salmon, whether *the proportion of the whole produce bestowed on the men who obtained [...]* were large or small. The *proportion* which might be paid for *wages*, is of the utmost importance in the question of *profits*; for it must at once be seen that profits would be high or low, exactly in proportion as wages were low or high; but it could not in the least affect the relative value of fish and game, as wages would be high or low at the same time in both occupations.” (*ibidem*, p. 20 i 21)
- 549 „No alteration in the wages of labour could produce any alteration in the relative value of these commodities; for suppose them to rise, no *greater quantity of labour* would be required in any of these occupations, but it would be *paid* for at a *higher price*... Wages might rise twenty per cent., and profits consequently fall in a greater or less proportion, without occasioning the least alteration in the relative value of these commodities.” (*ibidem*, p. 23)

- 549 „There can be no rise in the *value of labour* without a fall of profits. If the corn to be *divided* between the farmer and the labourer, the *larger the proportion* that is given to the latter, the less will remain for the former. So if cloth or cotton goods be *divided* between the workman and his employer, the *larger the proportion* given to the former, the less remains for the latter.” (*ibidem*, p. 31)
- 550 „....Adam Smith, and all the writers who have followed him, have, without one exception that I know of, maintained that a *rise in the price of labour* would be uniformly followed by a *rise in the price of all commodities*. I hope I have succeeded in showing, that there are no grounds for such an opinion.” (*ibidem*, p. 45)
- 550 „....a rise of wages, from the circumstance of the labourer being more liberally rewarded, or from a difficulty of procuring the necessaries on which wages are expended, does not, except in some instances, produce the effect of raising price, but has a great effect in lowering profits.” (*ibidem*, p. 48)
- 550 „...an alteration in the value of money...” (*ibidem*, p. 48)
- 550 „In the one case, no *greater proportion* of the annual *labour* of the country is devoted to the *support* of [...]. labourers; in the other case, a larger portion is so devoted.” (*ibidem*, p. 48)
- 550 „With a rise in the price of food and necessaries, the natural price of labour will rise; with the fall in their price, the natural price of labour will fall.” (*ibidem*, p. 86)
- 550 „....the *surplus produce* remaining, after satisfying the wants of the existing population, must necessarily be in proportion to the *facility of production*, viz. to the *smaller number of persons* employed in production.” (*ibidem*, p. 93)
- 550 „Neither the farmer who cultivates that quantity of land, which regulates price, nor the manufacturer, who manufactures goods. sacrifice any portion of the produce for rent. The *whole value of their commodities* is *divided* into *two portions* only: one constitutes the profits of stock, the other the wages of labour” (*ibidem*, p. 107)
- 550 „....suppose the price of silks, velvets, furniture, and any other commodities, not required by the labourer, to rise in consequence of more labour being expended on them, would not that affect profits? Certainly not: for nothing can affect profits but a rise in

wages; silks and velvets are not consumed by the labourer, and therefore cannot raise wages." (*ibidem*, p. 118)

550 „...if the labour of ten men will, on land of a certain quality, obtain 180 quarters of wheat, and its value be 4 l. per quarter, or 720 l...." (*ibidem*, p. 110)

550 „...in all cases the same sum of 720 l. must be divided between wages and profits... Whether wages or profits rise or fall, it is this sum of 720 l. from which they must both be provided. On the one hand, profits can never rise so high as to absorb so much of this 720 l. that enough will not be left to furnish the labourers with absolute necessities; on the other hand, wages can never rise so high as to leave no portion of this sum for profits." (*ibidem*, p. 113)

551 „...profits depend on high or low wages, wages on the price of necessities, and the price of necessities chiefly on the price of food, because all other requisites may be increased almost without limit." (*ibidem*, p. 119)

551 „Although a greater value is produced, a greater proportion of what remains of that value, after paying rent, is consumed by the producers, and it is this, and this alone, which regulates profits." (*ibidem*, p. 127)

551 „...it is the essential quality of an improvement to diminish the quantity of labour before required to produce a commodity; and this diminution cannot take place without a fall of its price or relative value." (*ibidem*, p. 70)

551 „Diminish the cost of production of hats, and their price will ultimately fall to their new natural price, although the demand should be doubled, trebled, or quadrupled. Diminish the cost of subsistence of men, by diminishing the natural price of the food and clothing, by which life is sustained, and wages will ultimately fall, notwithstanding that the demand for labourers may very greatly increase." (*ibidem*, p. 460)

551 „In proportion as less is appropriated for wages, more will be appropriated for profits, and vice versa." (*ibidem*, p. 500)

551 „It has been one of the objects of this work to show, that with every fall in the real value of necessities, the wages of labour would fall, and that the profits of stock would rise – in other words, that of any given annual value a less portion would be paid

to the labouring class, and a larger portion to those whose funds employed this class." (*ibidem*, p. 511/512)

552 „Suppose the value of the commodities produced in a particular manufacture to be 1000 l., and to be divided between the master and his labourers, in the proportion of 800 l. to labourers, and 200 l. to the master; if the value of these commodities should fall to 900 l., and 100 l. be saved from the wages of labour, in consequence of the fall of necessaries, the net income of the masters would be in no degree impaired..." (*ibidem*, p. 512)

552 „If the shoes and clothing of the labourer, could, by improvements in machinery, be produced by one fourth of the labour now necessary to their production, they would probably fall 75 per cent.; but so far is it from being true, that the labourer would thereby be enabled permanently to consume four coats, or four pair of shoes, instead of one, that it is probable his *wages would in no long time be adjusted* by the effects of competition, and the stimulus to population, to the *new value of the necessities* on which they were expended. If these improvements extended to all the objects of the labourer's consumption, we should find him probably at the end of a very few years, in possession of only a small, if any, addition to his enjoyments, although the exchangeable value of those commodities, compared with any other commodity [...] had sustained a very considerable reduction; and though they were the produce of a very considerably diminished quantity of labour." (*ibidem*, p. 8)

552 „When wages rise, it is always at the expense of profits, and when they fall, profits always rise." (*ibidem*, p. 491, note)

552 „It has been my endeavour to show throughout this work, that the rate of profits can never be increased but by a fall in wages, and that there can be no permanent fall of wages but in consequence of a fall of the necessities on which wages are expended. If, therefore, by the *extension of foreign trade*, or by *improvements in machinery*, the food and necessities of the labourer can be brought to market, at a reduced price, profits will rise. If, instead of growing our own corn, or manufacturing the clothing and other necessities of the labourer, we discover a new market from which we can supply ourselves with these commodities at a cheaper price, wages will fall and profits rise; but if the commodities obta

ined at a cheaper rate, by the extension of foreign commerce, or by the improvement of machinery, be exclusively the commodities consumed by the rich, no alteration will take place in the rate of profits. The rate of wages would not be affected, although wine, velvets, silks, and other expensive commodities should fall 50 per cent., and consequently profits would continue unaltered.

Foreign trade, then, though highly beneficial to a country, as it increases the amount and variety of the objects on which revenue may be expended, and affords, by the abundance and cheapness of commodities, incentives to saving, and to the *accumulation of capital*, has no tendency to raise the profits of stock, unless the commodities imported be of that description on which the wages of labour are expended.

The remarks which have been made respecting foreign trade, apply equally to home trade. The rate of profits is *never increased* by a *better distribution of labour*, by the *invention of machinery*, by the *establishment of roads and canals*, or by *any means of abridging labour* [...] in the manufacture or in the conveyance of goods. These are causes which operate on price, and never fail to be highly beneficial to consumers; since they enable them, with the same labour [...] to obtain in exchange a greater quantity of the commodity to which the improvement is applied; but they have no effect whatever on profit. On the other hand, every diminution in the wages of labour raises profits, but produces no effect on the price of commodities. One is advantageous to all classes, for all classes are consumers, the other is beneficial only to producers; they gain more, but every thing remains at its former price. In the first case they get the same as before; but every thing on which their gains are expended, is diminished in exchangeable value." (*ibidem*, p. 137/138)

555 „If I have to hire a labourer for a week, and instead of ten shillings I pay him eight, no variation having taken place in the value of money, the labourer can probably obtain more food and necessaries, with his eight shillings, than he before obtained for ten. but this is owing, not to a rise in the *real value of his wages*, as stated by Adam Smith, and more recently by Mr. Malthus, but to a fall in the value of the things on which his wages are expended, things perfectly distinct, and yet for calling this a fall in the

real value of wages, I am told that I adopt new and unusual language, not reconcileable with the true principles of the science." (*ibidem*, p. 11/12)

555 „It is not by the *absolute quantity of produce* obtained by either class, that we can correctly judge of the rate of profit, rent, and wages, but by the quantity of labour required to obtain that produce. By improvements in machinery and agriculture, the whole produce may be doubled; but if wages, rent, and profit be also doubled, these three will bear *the same proportions to one another as before*, and neither could be said to have *relatively varied*. But if wages partook not of the whole of this increase; if they, instead of being doubled, were only increased one-half... it would, I apprehend, be correct for me to say, that... wages had fallen while profits had risen; for if we had an invariable standard by which to measure the *value* of this produce, we should find that a less value had fallen to the class of labourers..., and a greater to the class of capitalists, than had been given before." (*ibidem*, p. 49)

556 „....it will not the less be a real fall, because they might furnish him with a greater quantity of cheap commodities than his former wages." (*ibidem*, p. 51)

556 „When it was asked [...] what determined the value of all commodities; it was answered that this value was chiefly determined by wages. When again it was asked – what determined wages? It was recollectcd that wages must [...] be adjusted to the value of the commodities upon which they were spent; and the answer was in effect that wages were determined by the value of commodities." (*[Thomas de Quincey]*, „Dialogues of Three Templars on Political Economy chiefly in relation to the Principles of Mr. Ricardo" in „*The London Magazine*", vol. IX, 1824, p. 560)

558 „....so far are the two formulae from presenting merely two different expressions of the same law, that the very best way of expressing negatively Mr. Ricardo's law (viz. A is to B in value as the quantities of the producing labor) would be to say – A is not to B in value as the values of the producing labor." (*ibidem*, p. 348)

557 „If the price is ten shillings, then [...] wages and profits taken as

a whole, cannot exceed ten shillings. But do not the wages and profits as a whole, themselves, on the contrary, predetermine the price? No; that is the old superannuated doctrine." (*Thomas de Quincey, „The Logic of Political Economy”, Edinburgh and London 1844, p. 204*)

557 „...The new economy has shown that all price is governed by proportional quantity of the producing labour, and by that only. Being itself once settled, then, *ipso facto*, price settles the *fund* out of which both *wages and profits must draw their separate dividends.*" (*ibidem*, p. 204)

557 „Any change that can disturb the existing relations between wages and profits *must originate in wages...*" (*ibidem*, p. 205)

560 „The variation in the value of money, however great, makes no difference in the *rate of profits*; for suppose the goods of the manufacturer to rise from 1000 l. to 2000 l., or 100 per cent., if his *capital*, on which the variations of money have as much effect as on the value of produce, if his machinery, buildings, and stock in trade rise also 100 per cent., his *rate of profits* will be the same... If, with a capital of a given value, he can, by economy in labour, double the quantity of produce, and it fall to half its former price, it *will bear the same proportion to the capital that produced it* which it did before, and *consequently* profits will still be at the same rate. If, at the same time that he doubles the quantity of produce by the employment of the *same capital*, the value of money is by any accident lowered one half, the produce will sell for twice the money value that it did before; but the capital employed to produce it will also be of twice its former money value; and therefore in this case too, *the value of the produce will bear the same proportion to the value of the capital as it did before...*" (*David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy...”, cyt. wyd., p. 51/52*)

561 „...the *raw produce* of which commodities are made, is supposed to have fallen in price, and, therefore, commodities will fall on that account. True, they will fall, but their fall will not be attended with any diminution in the money income of the producer. If he sell his commodity for less money, it is only because *one of the materials from which it is made has fallen in value*. If the clothier sell his cloth for 900 l. instead of 1000 l., his income will not be

less, if the wool from which it is made, has declined 100 l. in value." (*ibidem*, p. 518)

.362 „But the *rate of profits* will fall still more, because the *capital* of the farmer... consists in a great measure of raw produce, such as his corn and hay-ricks, his unthreshed wheat and barley, his horses and cows, which would all rise in price in consequence of the *rise of produce*. His *absolute profits* would fall from 480 l. to 445 l. 15 s.; but if from the cause which I have just stated, his capital should rise from 3000 l. to 3200 l., the *rate of his profits* would, when corn was at 5 l. 2 s. 10 d. be under 14 per cent. If a manufacturer had also employed 3000 l. in his business, he would be obliged in consequence of the *rise of wages*, to increase his capital, in order to be enabled to carry on the same business. If his commodities sold before for 720 l. they would continue to sell at the same price; but the wages of labour, which were before 240 l., would rise when corn was at 5 l. 2 s. 10 d., to 274 l. 5 s. In the first case he would have a balance of 480 l. as profit on 3000 l., in the second he would have a profit only of 445 l. 15 s., on an increased capital, and therefore his profits would conform to the altered rate of those of the farmer." (*ibidem*, p. 116/117)

.363 „Articles of jewellery, of iron, of plate, and of copper, would not *rise* because none of the raw produce from the surface of the earth enters into their composition." (*ibidem* p. 117)

.364 „...in every case, agricultural, as well as manufacturing profits are lowered by a *rise in the price of raw produce*, if it be accompanied by a *rise of wages*." (*ibidem*, p. 113/114)

.364 „...suppose the price of silks, velvets, furniture, and any other commodities, not required by the labourer to rise in consequence of more labour being *expended on them*, *would not that affect profits?* Certainly not: for *nothing can affect profits but a rise in wages*; silks and velvets are not consumed by the labourer, and therefore cannot raise wages." (*ibidem*, p. 118)

.365 „I must again observe, that the *rate of profits* would fall much more rapidly than I have estimated in my calculation: for the *value of the produce* being what I have stated it under the circumstances supposed, the *value of the farmer's stock* would be *greatly increased from its necessarily consisting of many of the commodities*

which had risen in value. Before corn could rise from 4 l. to 12 l., his capital would probably be doubled in exchangeable value, and be worth 6000 l. instead of 3000 l. If then his profit were 180 l., or 6 per cent. on his *original capital*, profits would not at that time be really at a *bigger rate* than 3 per cent.; for 6000 l. at 3 per cent. gives 180 l.; and on *those terms only could a new farmer with 6000 l. money in his pocket enter into the farming business.* Many trades would derive some advantage, more or less, from the same source. The brewer, the distiller, the clothier, the linen manufacturer, would be *partly compensated for the diminution of their profits, by the rise in the value of their stock of raw and finished materials;* but a manufacturer of hardware, of jewellery, and of many other commodities, as well as those whose capitals uniformly consisted of money, would be subject to the *whole fall in the rate of profits, without any compensation whatever.*" (*ibidem*, p. 123/124)

⁵⁶⁷ „I have already remarked, that the *market price* of a commodity may *exceed its natural or necessary price*, as it may be produced in less abundance than the new demand for it requires. This, however, is but a *temporary effect*. The high profits on capital employed in producing that commodity, will naturally attract capital to that trade; and as soon as the requisite funds are supplied, and the quantity of the commodity is duly increased, *its price will fall*, and the *profits of the trade will conform to the general level*. A *fall in the general rate of profits* is by no means incompatible with a *partial rise of profits in particular employments*. *It is through the inequality of profits, that capital is moved from one employment to another.* Whilst then general profits are falling, and gradually settling at a lower level in consequence of the rise of wages, and the increasing difficulty of supplying the increasing population with necessaries, the profits of the farmer may, for an interval of some little duration, be above the former level. An extraordinary stimulus may be also given for a certain time, to a particular branch of foreign and colonial trade..." (*ibidem*, p. 118/119)

⁵⁶⁷ „It should be recollect that prices always vary in the market, and in the first instance, through the comparative state of demand and supply. Although cloth could be furnished at 40 s. per yard, and

give the *usual profits of stock*, it may rise to 60 or 80 s. from a general change of fashion... The makers of cloth will for a time have unusual profits, but capital will naturally flow to that manufacture, till the supply and demand are again at their fair level, when the price of cloth will again sink to 40 s., its natural or necessary price. In the same manner, with every increased demand for corn, it may rise so high as to afford more than the general profits to the farmer. If there be plenty of fertile land, the price of corn will again fall to its former standard, after the requisite quantity of capital has been employed in producing it, and profits will be as before; but if there be not plenty of fertile land, if, to produce this additional quantity, more than the usual quantity of capital and labour be required, corn will not fall to its former level. Its natural price will be raised, and the farmer, instead of obtaining permanently larger profits, will find himself obliged to be satisfied with the diminished rate which is the inevitable consequence of the rise of wages, produced by the rise of necessities." (ibidem, p. 119/120)

⁵⁷² „...any change from one foreign trade to another, or from home to foreign trade, cannot, in my opinion, affect the rate of profits." (ibidem, p. 413)

⁵⁷³ „...They contend, that the equality of profits will be brought about by the general rise of profits; and I am of opinion, that the profits of the favoured trade will speedily subside to the general level." (ibidem, p. 132/133)

⁵⁷⁸ „It is *not*, therefore, in consequence of the extension of the market that the rate of profits is raised..." (ibidem, p. 136)

⁶⁰² „...rent is [...] that portion of the produce from the soil (or *from any agency of production*) which is paid to the landlord for the *use of its differential powers*, as measured by comparison with those of similar agencies operating on the same market." (Thomas de Quincey, „The Logic of Political Economy", Edinburgh and London 1844, p. 163)

⁶⁰² „...no separate class of occupants and tenants distinct from the class of owners can have been formed." (ibidem, p. 176)

⁶⁰⁴ „Mr. Hallet insists that ears of corn, like race-horses, must be carefully reared, instead of, as is done ordinarily, grown in higgledy-piggledy fashion, with no regard to the theory of natural selection."

In illustration of what good education may do, even with wheat, some remarkable examples are given. In 1857, Mr. Hallet planted an ear of the first quality of the red wheat, exactly $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, and containing 47 grains. From the produce of the small crops ensuing, he again selected, in 1858, the finest ear, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and with 79 grains; and this was repeated, in 1859, with the again best offspring, this time $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and containing 91 grains. The next year, 1860, was a bad season for agricultural education, and the wheat refused to grow any bigger and better; but the year after, 1861, the best ear came to be $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, with no less than 123 grains on the single stalk. Thus the wheat had increased, in five years, to very nearly double its size, and to a threefold amount of productiveness in number of grains. These results were obtained by what Mr. Hallet calls the «natural system» of cultivating wheat; that is the planting of single grains at such a distance — about 9 inches from each other — every way — as to afford each sufficient space for full development... He asserts that the corn produce of England may be doubled by adopting «pedigree wheat» and the «natural system» of cultivation. He states that from single grains, planted at the proper time, one only of each square foot of ground; he obtained plants consisting of 23 ears in the average, with about 36 grains in each ear. The produce of an acre at this rate was, accurately counted, 1,001, 880 ears of wheat; while, when sown in the ordinary fashion, with an expenditure of more than 20 times the amount of seed, the crop amounted to only 934,120 ears of corn, or 67,760 ears less...” (źródła nie ustalone)

605 „With the progress of society the *natural price of labour* has always a tendency to rise, because one of the principal commodities by which its natural price is regulated, has a tendency to become dearer, from the greater difficulty of producing it. As, however, the improvements in agriculture, the discovery of new markets, whence provisions may be imported, may for a time counteract the tendency to a rise in the price of necessities, and may even occasion their natural price to fall, so will the same causes produce the correspondent effects on the natural price of labour.

The natural price of all commodities, excepting raw produce and labour, has a tendency to fall, in the progress of wealth and po-

pulation; for though, on one hand, they are enhanced in real value, from the rise in the natural price of the raw material of which they are made, this is more than counterbalanced by the improvements in machinery, by the better division and distribution of labour, and by the *increasing skill, both in science and art, of the producers.*" (*David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”*, third edition, London 1821, p. 86/87)

605 „As population increases, these necessities will be constantly rising in price, because more labour will be necessary to produce them... Instead, therefore, of the money wages of labour falling, they would rise; but they would not rise sufficiently to enable the labourer to purchase as many comforts and necessaries as he did before the rise in the price of those commodities... Notwithstanding, then, that the labourer would be really worse paid, yet *this increase in his wages would necessarily diminish the profits of the manufacturer*; for his goods would sell at no higher price, and yet the expense of producing them would be increased... It appears, then, that *the same cause which raises rent [...] the increasing difficulty of providing an additional quantity of food with the same proportional quantity of labour, will also raise wages*; and therefore if money be of an unvarying value, both rent and wages will have a tendency to rise with the progress of wealth and population.

But there is this essential difference between the rise of rent and the rise of wages. The rise in the money value of rent is accompanied by an increased share of the produce; not only is the landlord's money rent greater, but his corn rent also... The fate of the labourer will be less happy; he will receive more money wages, it is true, but his corn wages will be reduced; and not only his command of corn, but his general condition will be deteriorated, by his finding it more difficult to maintain the market rate of wages above their natural rate." (*ibidem*, p. 96–98)

606 „Supposing corn and manufactured goods always to sell at the same price, profits would be high or low in proportion as wages were low or high. But suppose corn to rise in price because more labour is necessary to produce it; that cause will not raise the price of manufactured goods in the production of which no additional quantity of labour is required... if, as is absolutely certain, wages

should rise with the rise of corn, then their profits would necessarily fall." (*ibidem*, p. 108)

606 „...whether the *farmer at least* would not have the same rate of profits, although he should pay an additional sum for wages? Certainly not: for he will not only have to pay, in common with the manufacturer, an increase of wages to each labourer he employs, but he will be obliged *either to pay rent, or to employ an additional number of labourers to obtain the same produce*; and the rise in the price of raw produce will be proportioned only to that rent, or that additional number, and will not compensate him for the rise of wages." (*ibidem*, p. 108)

606 „We have shown that in *early stages of society*, both the landlord's and the labourer's share of the *value* of the produce of the earth, would be but small; and that it would increase in proportion to the progress of wealth, and the difficulty of procuring food." (*ibidem*, p. 109)

607 „The natural tendency of profits then is to fall; for, in the progress of society and wealth, the additional quantity of food required is obtained by the sacrifice of more and more labour. This tendency, this gravitation as it were of profits, is happily checked at repeated intervals by the improvements in machinery, connected with the production of necessaries, as well as by discoveries in the science of agriculture which enable us to relinquish a portion of labour before required, and therefore to lower the price of the prime necessary of the labourer." (*ibidem*, p. 120/121)

607 „Although a greater *value* is produced, a *greater proportion of what remains of that value*, after paying rent, is consumed by the producers, and *it is this, and this alone, which regulates profits.*" (*ibidem*, p. 127)

608 „In the form of money... capital is productive of no profit; in the form of materials, machinery, and food, for which it might be exchanged, it *would be productive of revenue...*" (*ibidem*, p. 267)

608 „The capital of the stockholder can never be made productive – *it is, in fact, no capital*. If he were to sell his stock, and employ the capital he obtained for it, productively, he could only do so by detaching the capital of the buyer of his stock from a productive employment." (*ibidem*, p. 289, note)

608 „...when poor lands are taken into cultivation, or when more ca-

pital and labour are expended on the old land, with a less return of produce, the effect must be permanent. A greater proportion of that part of the produce which remains to be divided, after paying rent, between the owners of stock and the labourers, will be apportioned to the latter." (*ibidem*, p. 127/128)

609 „Each man may, and probably will, have a less absolute quantity; but as more labourers are employed in proportion to the whole produce retained by the farmer, the value of a greater proportion of the whole produce will be absorbed by wages, and consequently the value of a smaller proportion will be devoted to profits." (*ibidem*, p. 128)

609 „The remaining quantity of the produce of the land, after the landlord and labourer are paid, necessarily belongs to the farmer, and *constitutes the profits of his stock.*" (*ibidem*, p. 110)

609 „In the Chapter on Wages, we have endeavoured to show that *the money price of commodities would not be raised by a rise of wages*;.. But if it were otherwise, if the prices of commodities were permanently raised by high wages, the proposition would not be less true, which asserts that high wages invariably affect the employers of labour, by depriving them of a portion of their real profits. Supposing the hatter, the hosier, and the shoemaker each paid 10 l. more wages in the manufacture of a particular quantity of their commodities, and that the price of hats, stockings, and shoes, rose by a sum sufficient to repay the manufacturer the 10 l., *their situation would be no better than if no such rise took place.* If the hosier sold his stockings for 110 l. instead of 100 l., his profits would be precisely the same money amount as before; but as he would obtain in exchange for this equal sum, one tenth less of hats, shoes, and every other commodity, and as he could *with his former amount of savings employ fewer labourers at the increased wages*, and purchase fewer raw materials at the increased prices, he would be in no better situation than if his money profits had been really diminished in amount, and every thing had remained at its former price." (*ibidem*, p. 129)

610 „In an improving state of society, the net produce of land is always diminishing in proportion to its gross produce..." (*ibidem*, p. 198)

611 „In rich and powerful countries, where large capitals are invested in machinery, more distress will be experienced from a revulsion

in trade, than in poorer countries *where there is proportionally a much smaller amount of fixed, and a much larger amount of circulating capital*, and where consequently *more work is done by the labour of men*. It is not so difficult to withdraw a circulating as a fixed capital, from any employment in which it may be engaged. It is often impossible to divert the machinery which may have been erected for one manufacture, to the purposes of another; but the clothing, the food, and the lodging of the labourer in one employment may be devoted to the support of the labourer in another; or the same labourer may receive the same food, clothing and lodging, whilst his employment is changed. This, however, is an evil to which a rich nation must submit; and it would not be more reasonable to complain of it, than it would be in a rich merchant to lament that his ship was exposed to the dangers of the sea, whilst his poor neighbour's cottage was safe from all such hazard." (*ibidem*, p. 311)

611 „Whatever capital becomes fixed on the land, must necessarily be the *landlord's*, and not the tenants, at the expiration of the lease. Whatever compensation the landlord may receive for this capital on re-letting his land, *will appear in the form of rent*; but no rent will be paid, if, with a given capital, more corn can be obtained from abroad, than can be grown on this land at home.” (*ibidem*, p. 315, note)

612 „In a former part of this work, I have noticed the difference between rent, properly so called, and the remuneration paid to the landlord under that name, for the advantages which the expenditure of his capital has procured to his tenant; but I did not perhaps sufficiently distinguish the difference which would arise from the different modes in which this capital might be applied. As a part of this capital, when once expended in the improvement of a farm, is inseparably amalgamated with the land, and tends to increase its productive powers, the *remuneration paid to the landlord for its use is strictly of the nature of the rent*, and is subject to all the laws of rent. Whether the improvement be made at the expense of the landlord or the tenant, it will not be undertaken in the first instance, unless there is a strong probability that the return will at least be equal to the *profit* that can be made by the disposition of any other equal capital; but when once made, the return

obtained will ever after be wholly of the nature of rent, and will be subject to all the variations of rent. Some of these expenses, however, only give advantages to the land for a limited period, and do not add permanently to its productive powers: being bestowed on buildings, and other perishable improvements, they require to be constantly renewed, and therefore do not obtain for the landlord any permanent addition to his real rent." (*ibidem*, p. 306, note)

612 „...in all countries, and at all times, profits depend on the quantity of labour requisite to provide necessaries for the labourers, on that land or with that capital which yields no rent." (*ibidem*, p. 128)

613 „From the account which has been given of the profits of stock, it will appear, that no accumulation of capital will permanently lower profits, unless there be some permanent cause for the rise of wages... If the necessities of the workman could be constantly increased with the same facility, there could be no permanent alteration in the rate of profit or wages, to whatever amount capital might be accumulated. Adam Smith, however, uniformly ascribes the fall of profits to the accumulation of capital, and to the competition which will result from it, without ever adverting to the increasing difficulty of providing food for the additional number of labourers which the additional capital will employ." (*ibidem*, p. 338/339)

615 „There is only one case, and that will be temporary, in which the accumulation of capital with a low price of food may be attended with a fall of profits; and that is, when the funds for the maintenance of labour increase much more rapidly than population; – wages will then be high, and profits low." (*ibidem*, p. 343)

616 „M. Say allows, that the rate of interest depends on the rate of profits; but it does not therefore follow, that the rate of profits depends on the rate of interest. One is the cause, the other the effect, and it is impossible for any circumstances to make them change places." (*ibidem*, p. 353, note)

616 „M. Say acknowledges that the cost of production is the foundation of price, and yet in various parts of his book he maintains that price is regulated by the proportion which demand bears to supply" (*ibidem*, p. 411)

- ⁶¹⁶ „The real and ultimate regulator of the relative value of any two commodities, is the cost of their production..” (*ibidem*, p. 411)
- ⁶¹⁶ „And does not Adam Smith agree in this opinion, when he says, that «the *prices* of commodities, or the *value* of gold and silver as compared with commodities, depends upon the proportion between the *quantity of labour* which is necessary in order to bring a certain quantity of gold and silver to market, and that which is necessary to bring thither a certain quantity of any other sort of goods?» That quantity will not be affected, whether profits be high or low, or wages low or high. *How then can prices be raised by high profits?*” (*ibidem*, p. 413/414)
- ⁶¹⁸ „...all the productions of a country are consumed, but it makes the greatest difference imaginable whether they are consumed by *those who reproduce, or by those who do not reproduce another value*. When we say that *revenue is saved*, and *added to capital*, what we mean is, that the *portion of revenue, so said to be added to capital*, is *consumed by productive instead of unproductive labourers*. There can be no greater error than in supposing that *capital is increased by non-consumption*. If the price of labour should rise so high, that notwithstanding the increase of capital, no more could be employed, I should say that such *increase of capital would be still unproductively consumed.*” (*ibidem*, p. 163, note)
- ⁶²² „The labour of a million of men in manufactures, will always produce the same value, but will not always produce the same riches.” (*ibidem*, p. 320)
- ⁶³⁵ „There will, indeed, where production and consumption are comparatively great, naturally be, at any given moment, a *comparatively great surplus* in the intermediate state, in the market, on its way from having been produced to the hands of the consumer; unless indeed the quickness with which things are sold off should have increased so as to counteract what would else have been the consequence of the increased production.” („An Inquiry into those Principles, respecting the Nature of Demand and the Necessity of Consumption, lately advocated by Mr. Malthus...”, London 1821, p. 6/7)
- ⁶⁴⁷ „M. Say has... most satisfactorily shown, that there is no amount of capital which may not be employed in a country, because *demand is only limited by production*. No man *produces, but with*

a view to consume or sell, and he never sells, but with an intention to purchase some other commodity, which may be immediately useful to him, or which may contribute to future production. By producing, then, he necessarily becomes either the consumer of his own goods, or the purchaser and consumer of the goods of some other person. It is not to be supposed that he should, for any length of time, be ill-informed of the commodities which he can most advantageously produce, to attain the object which he has in view, namely, the possession of other goods; and, therefore, it is not probable that he will continually produce a commodity for which there is no demand.” (David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, 339 i 340)

657 „Is the following quite consistent with M. Say’s principle? «The more disposable capitals are abundant in proportion to the extent of employment for them, the more will the rate of interest on loans of capital fall.» – Vol. II p. 108. If capital to any extent can be employed by a country, how can it be said to be abundant, compared with the extent of employment for it?” (*ibidem*, p. 340, note)

651 „There cannot, then, be accumulated in a country any amount of capital which cannot be employed productively, until wages rise so high in consequence of the rise of necessaries, and so little consequently remains for the profits of stock, that the motive for accumulation ceases.” (*ibidem*, p. 340)

651 „It follows, then... that there is no limit to demand – no limit to the employment of capital while it yields any profit, and that however abundant capital may become, there is no other adequate reason for a fall of profit but a rise of wages, and further it may be added, that the only adequate and permanent cause for the rise of wages is the increasing difficulty of providing food and necessaries for the increasing number of workmen.” (*ibidem*, p. 347/348)

654 „One would be led to think... that Adam Smith concluded we were under some necessity of producing a surplus of corn, woollen goods, and hardware, and that the capital which produced them could not be otherwise employed. It is, however, always a matter of choice in what way a capital shall be employed, and therefore there can never, for any length of time, be a surplus of any commodity; for if there were, it would fall below its natural price, and

capital would be removed to some more profitable employment.” (*ibidem*, p. 341/342)

655 „*Productions are always bought by productions, or by services; money is only the medium by which the exchange is effected.* Too much of a particular commodity may be produced, of which there may be such a glut in the market, as not to repay the capital expended on it; *but this cannot be the case with [...] all commodities...*” (*ibidem*, p. 341/342)

656 „*Whether these increased productions, and the consequent demand which they occasion,* shall or shall not lower profits, depends solely on the rise of wages; and the rise of wages, excepting, for a limited period, on the facility of producing the food and necessaries of the labourer.” (*ibidem*, p. 343)

655 „When merchants engage their capitals in foreign trade, or in the carrying trade, it is always from choice, and never from necessity: it is because in that trade their profits be somewhat greater than in the home trade.” (*ibidem*, p. 344)

660 „Too much of a *particular* commodity may be produced, of which there may be such a glut in the market, as not to repay the capital expended on it; *but this cannot be the case with respect to all commodities...*” (*ibidem*, p. 341/342)

663 „Too much of a particular commodity may be produced, of which there may be such a glut in the market, as not to repay the capital expended on it; *but this cannot be the case with respect to all commodities;* the demand for corn is limited by the mouths which are to eat it, for shoes and coats by the persons who are to wear them; but though a community, or a part of a community, may have as much corn, and as many hats and shoes, as it is able or may wish to consume, *the same cannot be said of every commodity produced by nature or by art.* Some would consume more wine, if they had the ability to procure it. Others having enough of wine, would wish to increase the quantity or improve the quality of their furniture. Others might wish to ornament their grounds, or to enlarge their houses. The wish to do all or some of these is implanted in every man’s breast; *nothing is required but the means, and nothing can afford the means, but an increase of production...*” (*ibidem*, p. 341/342)

687 „*Whe* merchants engage their capitals in foreign trade, or in the

carrying trade, it is always from choice, and never from necessity; it is because in that trade their profits be somewhat greater than in the home trade. Adam Smith has justly observed «that the desire of food is limited in every man by the narrow capacity of the human stomach, but the desire of the conveniences and ornaments of building, dress, equipage, and household furniture, seems to have no limit or certain boundary.» *Nature* then has necessarily limited the amount of capital which can at any [...] time be profitably engaged in agriculture, but she has placed no limits to the amount of capital that may be employed in procuring «the conveniences and ornaments» of life. To procure these gratifications in the greatest abundance is the object in view, and it is only because foreign trade, or the carrying trade, will accomplish it better, that men engage in them in preference to manufacturing the commodities required, or a substitute for them, at home. If, however, from peculiar circumstances, we were precluded from engaging capital in foreign trade or in the carrying trade, we should, though with less advantage, employ it at home, and while there is no limit to the desire of «conveniences, ornaments of building, dress, equipage, and household furniture,» there can be no limit to the capital that may be employed in procuring them, except that which bounds our power to maintain the workmen who are to produce them.

Adam Smith, however, speaks of the carrying trade as one, not of choice, but of necessity; as if the capital engaged in it would be inert if not so employed, as if the capital in the home trade could overflow, if not confined to a limited amount. He says, «when the capital stock of any country is increased to such a degree, that it cannot be all employed in supplying the consumption, and supporting the productive labour of that particular country, the surplus part of it naturally disgorges itself into the carrying trade, and is employed in performing the same offices to other countries»... But could not this portion of the productive labour of Great Britain be employed in preparing some other sort of goods, with which something more in demand at home might be purchased? And if it could not, might we not employ this productive labour, though with less advantage, in making those goods in demand at home, or at least some substitute for them? If we wanted vel etc., might

we not attempt to make velvets: and if we could not succeed, might we not make more cloth, or some other object desirable to us? We manufacture commodities, and with them buy goods abroad, because we can obtain a *greater quantity* than we could make at home. Deprive us of this trade, and we immediately manufacture again for ourselves. But this opinion of Adam Smith is at variance with all his general doctrines on this subject. «If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage. *The general industry of the country being always in proportion to the capital which employs it,* will not thereby be diminished, but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage»

Again. «Those, therefore, who have the command of more food than they themselves can consume, are always willing to *exchange the surplus*, or, what is the same thing, the price of it, for gratifications of another kind. What is over and above satisfying the limited desire, is given for the amusement of *those desires which cannot be satisfied, but seem to be altogether endless*. The poor, in order to obtain food, exert themselves to gratify those fancies of the rich; and to obtain it more certainly, they vie with one another in the cheapness and perfection of their work. The number of workmen increases with the increasing quantity of food, or with the growing improvement and cultivation of the lands; and as the nature of their business admits of the utmost subdivisions of labours, the quantity of materials which they can work up increases in a much greater proportion than their numbers. Hence arises a demand for every sort of material which human invention can employ, either usefully or ornamentally, in building, dress, equipage, or household furniture; for the fossils and minerals contained in the bowels of the earth, the precious metals, and the precious stones.»

It follows then from these admissions, that *there is no limit to demand – no limit to the employment of capital while it yields any profit, and that however abundant capital may become, there is no other adequate reason for a fall of profit but a rise of wages*, and further it may be added, that the only adequate and permanent cause for the rise of wages is the increasing difficulty of pro-

viding food and necessities for the increasing number of workmen." (*ibidem*, p. 344–348)

700 „When the annual productions of a country more than replace its annual consumption, it is said to increase its capital; when its annual consumption is not at least replaced by its annual production, it is said to diminish its capital. Capital may therefore be increased by an increased production, or by a diminished unproductive consumption." (*ibidem*, p. 162/163)

700 „...by those who do not reproduce another value." (*ibidem*, p. 163, note)

700 „When we say that revenue is saved, and added to capital, what we mean is, that the portion of revenue, so said to be added to capital, is consumed by productive instead of unproductive labourers." (*ibidem*, p. 163, note)

700 „If the price of labour should rise so high, that notwithstanding the increase of capital, no more could be employed, I should say that such increase of capital would be still unproductively consumed." (*ibidem*, p. 163, note)

701 „*There are two ways in which capital may be accumulated*: it may be saved either *in consequence of increased revenue, or of diminished consumption*. If my profits are raised from 1000 l. to 1200 l. while my expenditure continues the same, I accumulate annually 200 l. more than I did before. If I save 200 l. out of my expenditure, while my profits continue the same, the same effect will be produced; 200 l. per annum will be added to my capital." (*ibidem*, p. 135)

701 „If by the introduction of machinery, the *generality of the commodities on which revenue was expended* fell 20 per cent. in value, I should be enabled to save as effectually as if my revenue had been raised 20 per cent.; but in one case the *rate of profits* is stationary, in the other it is raised 20 per cent. – If, by the introduction of cheap foreign goods, I can save 20 per cent. from my expenditure, the effect will be precisely the same as if machinery had lowered the *expense of their production*, but profits would not be raised." (*ibidem*, p. 136)

702 „...the wealth of a country may be increased in two ways: it may be increased by *employing a greater portion of revenue in the maintenance of productive labour*, – which will not only add to the

quantity, but to the value of the mass of commodities; or it may be increased, without employing any additional quantity of labour, by making the same quantity more productive, – which will add to the abundance, but not to the value of commodities.

In the first case, a country would not only become rich, but the value of its riches would increase. It *would become rich by parsimony*; by diminishing its expenditure on objects of luxury and enjoyment; and *employing those savings in reproduction.*

In the second case, there will not necessarily be either *any diminished expenditure on luxuries and enjoyments*, or *any increased quantity of productive labour employed*, but *with the same labour more would be produced*; wealth would increase, but not value. Of these two modes of increasing wealth, the last must be preferred, since it produces the same effect without the privation and diminution of enjoyments, which can never fail to accompany the first mode. *Capital is that part of the wealth of a country which is employed with a view to future production, and may be increased in the same manner as wealth.* An *additional capital* will be equally efficacious in the production of future wealth, whether it *be obtained from improvements in skill and machinery, or from using more revenue productively*; for wealth always depends on the quantity of commodities produced, without any regard to the facility with which the instruments employed in production may have been procured. A certain quantity of clothes and provisions will maintain and employ the same number of men, and will therefore procure the same quantity of work to be done, whether they be produced by the labour of 100 or 200 men: but they will be of twice the value if 200 have been employed on their production."

(*ibidem*, p. 327/328)

⁷⁰⁴ „The labour of a million of men in manufactures, will always produce the same value, but will not always produce the same riches. By the invention of machinery, by improvements in skill, by a better division of labour, or by the discovery of new markets, where more advantageous exchanges may be made, a million of men may produce double, or treble the amount of riches, of «necessaries, conveniences, and amusements», in one state of society, than they could produce in another, but they will not on that account add any thing to value; for every thing rises or falls in value, in pro-

portion to the facility or difficulty of producing it, or, in other words, in proportion to the quantity of labour employed on its production. Suppose with a given capital, the labour of a certain number of men produced 1000 pair of stockings, and that by inventions in machinery, the same number of men can produce 2000 pair, or that they can continue to produce 1000 pair, and can produce besides 500 hats; then the value of the 2000 pair of stockings and 500 hats, will be neither more nor less than that of the 1000 pair of stockings before the introduction of machinery; for they will be the produce of the same quantity of labour. But the *value of the general mass of commodities will nevertheless be diminished*; for although the value of the increased quantity produced, in consequence of the improvement, will be the same exactly as the value would have been of the less quantity that would have been produced, had no improvement taken place, *an effect is also produced on the portion of goods still unconsumed, which were manufactured previously to the improvement*; the value of those goods will be reduced, inasmuch as they must fall to the level, quantity for quantity, of the goods produced under all the advantages of the improvement: and the society will, notwithstanding the increased quantity of commodities, notwithstanding its augmented riches, and its augmented means of enjoyment, *have a less amount of value*. By *constantly increasing the facility of production, we constantly diminish the value of some of the commodities before produced*, though by the same means we not only add to the national riches, but also to the power of future production." (*ibidem*, p. 320–322)

⁷⁰⁶ „With respect to the third objection against taxes on raw produce, namely, that the raising wages, and lowering profits, is a discouragement to accumulation, and acts in the same way as a natural poverty of soil; I have endeavoured to show in another part of this work that *savings may be as effectually made from expenditure as from production; from a reduction in the value of commodities, as from a rise in the rate of profits*. By increasing my profits from 1000 l. to 1200 l., whilst *prices* continue the same, my power of increasing my capital by savings is increased, but it is not increased so much as it would be if *my profits continued as before*, whilst commodities were so lowered in price, that 800 l.

would procure me as much as 1000 l. purchased before." (*ibidem*, p. 183/184)

706 „The whole argument, however, of Mr. Malthus, is built on an infirm basis: it supposes, because the *gross income* of the country is diminished, that, therefore, the net income must also be diminished, in the same proportion. It has been one of the objects of his work to show, that with every fall in the real value of necessities, the wages of labour would fall, and that the profits of stock would rise – in other words, that of any given annual value a less portion would be paid to the labouring class, and a larger portion to those whose funds employed this class. Suppose the value of the commodities produced in a particular manufacture to be 1000 l., and to be divided between the master and his labourers, in the proportion of 800 l. to labourers, and 200 l. to the master; if the value of these commodities should fall to 900 l., and 100 l. be saved from the wages of labour [...] the net income of the masters would be in no degree impaired, and, therefore, he could with just as much facility pay the same amount of taxes, after, as before the reduction of price." (*ibidem*, p. 511/512)

707 „Notwithstanding the tendency of wages to conform to their natural rate, their market rate may, in an improving society, for an indefinite period, be constantly above it; for no sooner may the impulse, which an increased capital gives to a new demand for labour be obeyed, than another increase of capital may produce the same effect; and thus, if the increase of capital be gradual and constant, the demand for labour may give a continued stimulus to an increase of people." (*ibidem*, p. 88)

708 „An accumulation of capital naturally produces an increased competition among the employers of labour, and a consequent rise in its price," (*ibidem*, p. 178)

709 „In different stages of society, the accumulation of capital, or of the means of employing labour, is more or less rapid, and *must in all cases depend on the productive powers of labour*. The productive powers of labour are generally greatest when there is an abundance of fertile land: at such periods accumulation is often so rapid, that labourers cannot be supplied with the same rapidity as capital." (*ibidem*, p. 92)

⁷⁰⁸ „It has been calculated, that under favourable circumstances population may be doubled in twenty-five years; but under the same favourable circumstances, the whole capital of a country might possibly be doubled in a shorter period. In that case, wages during the whole period would have a tendency to rise, because the demand for labour would increase still faster than the supply. In new settlements, where the arts and knowledge of countries far advanced in refinement are introduced, it is probable that capital has a tendency to increase faster than mankind: and if the deficiency of labourers were not supplied by more populous countries, this tendency would very much raise the price of labour. In proportion as these countries become populous, and land of a worse quality is taken into cultivation, the tendency to an increase of capital diminishes; *for the surplus produce remaining, after satisfying the wants of the existing population, must necessarily be in proportion to the facility of production, viz. to the smaller number of persons employed in production.* Although, then, it is probable, that under the most favourable circumstances, the power of production is still greater than that of population, it will not long continue so, for the land being limited in quantity, and differing in quality, with every increased portion of capital employed on it, there will be a decreased rate of production, whilst *the power of population continues always the same,*” (*ibidem*, p. 92/93)

⁷¹² „The natural tendency of profits then is to fall; for, in the progress of society and wealth, the additional quantity of food required is obtained by the sacrifice of more and more labour. This tendency, this *gravitation as it were of profits, is happily checked* at repeated intervals by the improvements in machinery, connected with the production of necessaries, as well as by discoveries in the science of agriculture which enable us to relinquish a portion of labour before required, and therefore to lower the price of the prime necessary of the labourer. The rise in the price of necessaries and in the wages of labour is however limited; for as soon as wages should be equal... to 720 l., the whole receipts of the farmer, there *must be an end of accumulation; for no capital can then yield any profit whatever, and no additional labour can be demanded, and consequently population will have reached its highest point.* Long indeed before this period, the *very low rate of profits will have*

arrested all accumulation, and almost the whole produce of the country, after paying the labourers, will be the property of the owners of land and the receivers of tithes and taxes." (*ibidem*, p. 120/121)

712long before this state of prices was become permanent, there would no motive for accumulation; for no one accumulates but with a view to make his accumulation productive, and [...] consequently such a state of prices never could take place. The farmer and manufacturer can no more live without profit, than the labourer without wages. Their motive for accumulation will diminish with every diminution of profit, and will cease altogether when their profits are so low as not to afford them an adequate compensation for their trouble, and the risk which they must necessarily encounter in employing their capital productively." (*ibidem*, p. 123)

712 „I must again observe, that the rate of profits would fall much more rapidly... for the value of the produce, being what I have stated it under the circumstances supposed, the value of the farmer's stock would be greatly increased from its necessarily consisting of many of the commodities which had risen in value. Before corn could rise from 4 l. to 12 l., his capital would probably be doubled in exchangeable value, and be worth 6000 l. instead of 3000 l. If then his profit were 180 l., or 6 per cent. on his original capital, profits would not at that time be really at a higher rate than 3 per cent.; for 6000 l. at 3 per cent. gives 180 l.; and on those terms only could a new farmer with 6000 l. money in his pocket enter into the farming business..." (*ibidem*, p. 124)

718 „We should also expect that, however the rate of the profits of stock might diminish in consequence of the accumulation of capital on the land, and the rise of wages, yet that the aggregate amount of profits would increase. Thus supposing that, with repeated accumulations of 100,000 l., the rate of profit should fall from 20 to 19, to 18, to 17 per cent., a constantly diminishing rate, we should expect that the whole amount of profits received by those successive owners of capital would be always progressive, that it would be greater when the capital was 200,000 l., than when 100,000 l., still greater when 300,000 l.; and so on, increasing though at a diminishing rate, with every increase of capital. This progression however is only true for a certain time: thus 19 per cent. on

200,000 l. is more than 20 on 100,000 l.; again 18 per cent. on 300,000 l. is more than 19 per cent. on 200,000 l.; but after capital has accumulated to a large amount, and profits have fallen, the further accumulation diminishes the aggregate of profits. Thus suppose the accumulation should be 1,000,000 l., and the profits 7 per cent., the whole amount of profits will be 70,000 l.; now if an addition of 100,000 l. capital be made to the million, and profits should fall to 6 per cent., 66,000 l. or a diminution of 4000 l. will be received by the owners of stock, although the whole amount of stock will be increased from 1,000,000 l. to 1,100,000 l.

There can, however, be no accumulation of capital, so long as stock yields any profit at all, without its yielding not only an increase of produce, but an increase of value. By employing 100,000 l. additional capital, no part of the former capital will be rendered less productive. The produce of the land and labour of the country must increase, and its value will be raised, not only by the value of the addition which is made to the former quantity of productions, but by the new value which is given to the whole produce of the land, by the increased difficulty of producing the last portion of it. When the accumulation of capital, however, becomes very great, notwithstanding this increased value, it will be so distributed that a less value than before will be appropriated to profits, while that which is devoted to rent and wages will be increased..." (*ibidem*, p. 124-126)

⁷¹⁴ „Although a greater value is produced, a greater proportion of what remains of that value, after paying rent, is consumed by the producers, and it is this, and this alone, which regulates profits. Whilst the land yields abundantly, wages may temporarily rise, and the producers may consume more than their accustomed proportion; but the stimulus which will thus be given to population, will speedily reduce the labourers to their usual consumption. But when poor lands are taken into cultivation, or when more capital and labour are expended on the old land, with a less return of produce, the effect must be permanent..." (*ibidem*, p. 127)

⁷¹⁴ „The effects then of accumulation will be different in different countries, and will depend chiefly on the fertility of the land. However extensive a country may be where the land is of a poor

quality, and where the importation of food is prohibited, the most moderate accumulations of capital will be attended with great reductions in the rate of profit, and a rapid rise in rent; and on the contrary a small but fertile country, particularly if it freely permits the importation of food, may accumulate a large stock of capital without any great diminution in the rate of profits, or any great increase in the rent of land." (*ibidem*, p. 128-129)

⁷¹⁴ „...sufficient surplus produce may not be left to stimulate the exertions of those who usually augment by their savings the capital of the State." (*ibidem*, p. 206)

⁷¹⁴ „There is only one case, and that will be temporary, in which the accumulation of capital with a low price of food may be attended with a fall of profits; and that is, when the *funds for the maintenance of labour increase much more rapidly than population*; — wages will then be high, and profits low. If every man were to forego the use of luxuries, and be intent only on accumulation, a quantity of necessaries might be produced, for which there could not be any immediate consumption. *Of commodities so limited in number, there might undoubtedly be a universal glut*, and consequently there might neither be demand for an additional quantity of such commodities, nor profits on the employment of more capital. If men ceased to consume, they would cease to produce." (*ibidem*, p. 343)

⁷¹⁷ „It is of importance to distinguish clearly between gross revenue and net revenue, for it is from the net revenue of a society that all taxes must be paid. Suppose that all the commodities in the country, all the corn, raw produce, manufactured goods, etc. which could be brought to market in the course of the year, were of the value of 20 millions, and that in order to obtain this value, the labour of a certain number of men was necessary, and that the absolute necessities of these labourers required an expenditure of 10 millions. I should say that the gross revenue of such society was 20 millions, and its net revenue 10 millions. It does not follow from this supposition, that the labourers should receive only 10 millions for their labour; they might receive 12, 14, or 15 millions, and in that case they would have 2, 4, or 5 millions of the net income. The rest would be divided between landlords and capitalists; but the whole net income would not exceed 10 mil-

lions. Suppose such a society paid 2 millions in taxes, its net income would be reduced to 8 millions." (*ibidem*, p. 512/513)

⁷¹⁸ „...what would be the advantage resulting to a country from [...] a great quantity of productive labour, if, whether it employed that quantity or a smaller, its net rent and profits together would be the same. The *whole produce of the land and labour of every country is divided into three portions: of these, one portion is devoted to wages, another to profits, and the other to rent.* It is from the two last portions only, that any deductions can be made for taxes, or for savings; the former, if moderate, constituting always the necessary expenses of production." (*ibidem*, p. 416)

⁷¹⁹ „Perhaps this is expressed too strongly, as more is generally allotted to the labourer under the name of wages, than the absolutely necessary expenses of production. In that case a part of the net produce of the country is received by the labourer, and may be saved or expended by him; or it may be enable him to contribute to the defence of the country." (*ibidem*, p. 416, note)

⁷²⁰ „To an individual with a capital of 20,000 l., whose profits were 2000 l. per annum, it would be a matter quite indifferent whether his capital would employed a hundred or a thousand men, whether the commodity produced, sold for 10,000 l. or for 20,000 l. provided, in all cases, his profits were not diminished below 2000 l. Is not the real interest of the nation similar? Provided its net real income, its rent and profits be the same, it is of no importance whether the nation consists of ten or twelve millions of inhabitants. Its power of supporting fleets and armies, and all species of unproductive labour, must be in proportion to its net, and not in proportion to its gross income. If five millions of men could produce as much food and clothing as was necessary for ten millions, food and clothing for five millions would be the net revenue. Would it be of any advantage to the country, that to produce this same net revenue, seven millions of men should be required, that is to say, that seven millions should be employed to produce food and clothing sufficient for twelve millions? The food and clothing of five millions would be still the net revenue. The employing a greater number of men would enable us neither to add a man to our army and navy, nor to contribute one guinea more in taxes." (*ibidem*, p. 416/417)

- ⁷¹⁹ „...there is this advantage always resulting from a relatively low price of corn, — that the division of the actual production is more likely to increase the *fund for the maintenance of labour, inasmuch as more will be allotted, under the name of profit, to the productive class, a less under the name of rent to the unproductive class.*” (*ibidem*, p. 317)
- ⁷²⁰ „...rent is a creation of value... but not a creation of wealth. If the price of corn, from the difficulty of producing any portion of it, should rise from 4 l., to 5 l. per quarter, a million of quarters will be of the value of 5,000,000 l. instead of 4,000,000 l., ...the society altogether will be possessed of greater value, and in that sense rent is a creation of value. But this value is so far nominal, that it adds nothing to the wealth, that is to say the necessaries, conveniences, and enjoyments of the society. We should have precisely the same quantity, and no more of commodities, and the same million quarters of corn as before; but the effect of its being rated at 5 l. per quarter, instead of 4 l., would be to transfer a portion of the value of the corn and commodities from their former possessors to the landlords. Rent then is a creation of value, but not a creation of wealth; it adds nothing to the resources of a country...” (*ibidem*, p. 485/486)
- ⁷²⁰ „But it may be said, that the capitalist's income will not be increased; that the million deducted from the landlord's rent, will be paid in additional wages to labourers! Be it so;... the situation of the society will be improved, and they can bear the same money burthens with greater facility than before; it will only prove what is still more desirable, that the situation of another class, *and by far the most important class in society*, is the one which is chiefly benefited by the new distribution. All that they receive more than 9 millions, forms part of the net income of the country, and it cannot be expended without adding to its revenue, its happiness, or its power. Distribute than the net income as you please. Give a little more to one class, and a little less to another, yet you do not thereby diminish it; a greater amount of commodities will be still produced with the same labour, although the amount of the gross money value of such commodities will be diminished; but the net money income of the country, that fund from which taxes are paid and enjoyments procured, would be much more adequate, than before,

to maintain the actual population, to afford its enjoyments and luxuries, and to support any given amount of taxation." (*ibidem*, p. 515/516)

721 „...suppose... a machine which could in any particular trade be employed to do the work of one hundred men for a year, and that it would last only for one year. Suppose too, the machine to cost 5000 l. and the wages annually paid to one hundred men to be 5000 l., it is evident that it would be a matter of indifference to the manufacturer whether he bought the machine or employed the men. But suppose labour to rise, and consequently the wages of one hundred men for a year to amount to 5500 l., it is obvious that the manufacturer would now no longer hesitate, it would be for his interest to buy the machine and get his work done for 5000 l. But will not the machine rise in price, will not that also be worth 5500 l., in consequence of the rise of labour? It would rise in price if *there were no stock employed on its construction, and no profits to be paid to the maker of it.* If for example, the machine were the produce of the labour of one hundred men, working one year upon it with wages of 50 l. each, and its price were consequently 5000 l.; should those wages rise to 55 l., its price would be 5500 l., but this cannot be the case; less than one hundred men are employed or it could not be sold for 5000 l., for out of the 5000 l. must be paid the profits of stock which employed the men. Suppose then that only eighty-five men were employed at an expense of 50 l. each, or 4250 l. per annum, and that the 750 l. which the sale of the machine would produce over and above the wages advanced to the men, constituted the profits of the engineer's stock. Where wages rose 10 per cent. he would be obliged to employ an *additional capital* of 425 l. and would therefore employ 4675 l. instead of 4250 l., on which capital he would only get a profit of 325 l. if he continued to sell his machine for 5000 l.; but this is precisely the case of all manufacturers and capitalists; the rise of wages affects them all. If therefore the maker of the machine should raise the price of it in consequence of a rise of wages, an unusual quantity of capital would be employed in the construction of such machines, till their price afforded only the common rate of profits. We see then that machines would not rise in price, in consequence of a rise of wages.

The manufacturer, however, who in a general rise of wages, can have recourse to a machine which shall not increase the charge of production on his commodity, would enjoy peculiar advantages if he could continue to charge the same price for his goods; but he, as we have already seen, would be obliged to lower the price of his commodities, or capital would flow to his trade till his profits had sunk to the general level. Thus *then is the public benefited by machinery; these mute agents are always the produce of much less labour than that which they displace, even when they are of the same money value,*" (*ibidem*, p. 38-40)

⁷²³ „In contradiction to the opinion of Adam Smith, M. Say, in the fourth chapter, speaks of the value which is given to commodities by *natural agents*, such as the sun, the air, the pressure of the atmosphere, etc., which are sometimes substituted for the labour of man, and sometimes concur with him in producing. But these natural agents, though they add greatly to *value in use*, never add exchangeable value, of which M. Say is speaking, to a *commodity*; as soon as by the *aid of machinery, or by the knowledge of natural philosophy*, you oblige natural agents to do the work which was before done by man, the exchangeable value of such work falls accordingly." (*ibidem*, p. 335/336)

⁷²⁴ „If ten men turned a corn mill, and it be discovered that by the assistance of wind, or of water, the labour of these ten men may be spared, the flour which is the produce partly of the work performed by the mill, would immediately fall in value, in proportion to the quantity of labour saved; and *the society would be richer by the commodities which the labour of the ten men could produce, the funds destined for their maintenance being in no degree impaired.*" (*ibidem*, p. 336)

⁷²⁵ „...though Adam Smith, who defined riches to consist in the abundance of necessities, conveniences and enjoyments of human life, would have allowed that *machines and natural agents* might very greatly add to the riches of a country, he would not have allowed that they *add any thing to the value of those riches.*" (*ibidem*, p. 335, note)

⁷²⁷ „It is more incumbent on me to declare my opinions on this question, because they have on further reflection, undergone a considerable change; and although I am not aware that I have ever published

any thing respecting machinery which it is necessary for me to retract, yet I have in other ways given my support to doctrines which I now think erroneous; it, therefore becomes a duty in me to submit my present views to examination, with my reasons for entertaining them." (*ibidem*, p. 466)

⁷²⁸ „Ever since I first turned my attention to questions of political economy, I have been of opinion, that such an application of machinery to any branch of production, as should have the effect of saving labour, was a general good, accompanied only with that portion of inconvenience which in most cases attends the removal of capital and labour from one employment to another. It appeared to me, that provided the landlords had the same money rents, they would be benefited by the reduction in the prices of some of the commodities on which those rents were expended, and which reduction of price could not fail to be the consequence of the employment of machinery. The capitalist, I thought, was eventually benefited precisely in the same manner. He, indeed, who made the discovery of the machine or who first usefully applied it, would enjoy an additional advantage by making great profits for a time; but, in proportion as the machine came into general use, the price of the commodity produced, would, from the effects of competition, sink to its cost of production, when the capitalist would get the same money profits as before, and he would only participate in the general advantage, as consumer, by being enabled, with the same money revenue, to command an additional quantity of comforts and enjoyments. *The class of labourers also*, I thought, *was equally benefited by the use of machinery* as they would have the means of buying more commodities with the same money wages, and I thought that *no reduction of wages would take place, because the capitalist would have the power of demanding and employing the same quantity of labour as before*, although he might be under the necessity of employing it in the production of a new, or at any rate of a different commodity. If, by improved machinery, with the employment of the same quantity of labour, the quantity of stockings could be quadrupled, and the demand for stockings were only doubled, some labourers would necessarily be discharged from the stocking trade; but *as the capital which employed them was still in being, and as it was the interest of those who had it to*

employ it productively, it appeared to me that it would be employed on the production of some other commodity, useful to the society, for which there could not fail to be a demand... As, then, it appeared to me that *there would be the same demand for labour as before*, and that wages would be no lower, I thought that the labouring class would, equally with the other classes, participate in the advantage, from the general cheapness of commodities arising from the use of machinery.

These were my opinions, and they continue unaltered, as far as regards the landlord and the capitalist; but I am convinced, that *the substitution of machinery for human labour, is often very injurious to [...] the class of labourers.*" (*ibidem*, p. 466-468)

⁷⁴⁰ „My mistake arose from the supposition, that whenever the *net income* of a society increased, its *gross income* would also increase; I now, however, see reason to be satisfied that *the one fund, from which landlords and capitalists derive their revenue, may increase, while the other, that upon which the labouring class mainly depend, may diminish*, and therefore it follows, if I am right, that the *same cause* which may increase the net revenue of the country, may at the same time *render the population redundant*, and deteriorate the condition of the labourer.” (*ibidem*, p. 469)

⁷⁴² „A capitalist we will suppose employs a capital of the value of 20,000 l. and that he carries on the joint business of a farmer, and a manufacturer of necessaries. We will further suppose, that 7000 l. of this capital is invested in fixed capital, viz. in buildings, implements, etc., etc., and that the remaining 13,000 l. is employed as circulating capital in the support of labour. Let us suppose, too, that profits are 10 per cent., and consequently that the capitalist's capital is every year put into its original state of efficiency, and yields a profit of 2000 l.

Each year the capitalist begins his operations, by having food and necessaries in his possession of the value of 13,000 l., all of which he sells in the course of the year to his own workmen for that sum of money, and, during the same period, he pays them the like amount of money for wages; *at the end of the year* they replace in his possession food and necessities of the value of 15,000 l., 2000 l. of which he consumes himself, or disposes of as may best suit his pleasure and gratification. As far as these products are

concerned, the *gross produce* for that year is 15,000 l., and the net produce 2000 l. Suppose now, that the following year the capitalist employs half his men in constructing a machine, and the other half in producing food and necessaries as usual. During that year he would pay the sum of 13,000 l. in wages as usual, and would sell food and necessaries to the same amount to his workmen; but what would be the case the following year?

While the machine was being made, only one-half of the usual quantity of food and necessaries would be obtained, and they would be only one-half the value of the quantity which was produced before. The machine would be worth 7500 l., and the food and necessaries 7500 l., and, therefore, the capital of the capitalist would be as great as before; for he would have besides these two values, his fixed capital worth 7000 l., making in the whole 20,000 l. capital and 2000 l. profit. After deducting this latter sum for his own expenses, he would have a no greater circulating capital than 5500 l. with which to carry on his subsequent operations; and therefore, his means of employing labour, would be reduced in the proportion of 13,000 l. to 5500 l., and, consequently, *all the labour which was before employed by 7500 l., would become redundant.*" (*ibidem*, p. 469-471)

⁷⁴¹ „The reduced quantity of labour which the capitalist can employ, must, indeed, with the assistance of the machine, and after deductions for its repairs, produce a value equal to 7500 l., it must replace the circulating capital with a profit of 2000 l. on the whole capital; but if this be done, if the net income be not diminished of what importance is it to the capitalist, whether the gross income be of the value of 3000 l., of 10,000 l., or of 15,000 l.?

In this case, then, although the net produce will not be diminished in value, although its power of purchasing commodities may be greatly increased, the gross produce will have fallen from a value of 15,000 l. to a value of 7500 l., and as *the power of supporting a population, and employing labour, depends always on the gross produce of a nation, and not on its net produce...*" (*ibidem*, p. 471)

⁷⁴⁵ „Adam Smith constantly magnifies the advantage which a country derives from a large gross, rather than a large net income." (*ibidem*, p. 415)

- 715 ...there will necessarily be a diminution in the demand for labour, population will become redundant, and the situation of the labouring classes will be that of distress and poverty." (*ibidem*, p. 471)
- 715 „As, however, the power of saving from revenue to add to capital, must depend on the efficiency of the net revenue, to satisfy the wants of the capitalist, it could not fail to follow from the reduction in the price of commodities consequent on the introduction of machinery, that with the same wants he would have increased means of saving, - increased facility of transferring revenue into capital." (*ibidem*, p. 471/472)
- 716 „But with every increase of capital he would employ more labourers, and, therefore, a portion of the people thrown out of work in the first instance, would be subsequently employed; and if the increased production, in consequence of the employment of the machine, was so great as to afford, in the shape of net produce, as great a quantity of food and necessaries as existed before in the form of gross produce, there would be the same ability to employ the whole population, and, therefore, there would not necessarily be any redundancy of people." (*ibidem*, p. 472)
- 717 „All I wish to prove, is, that the discovery and use of machinery may be attended with a diminution of gross produce; and whenever that is the case, it will be injurious to the labouring class, as some of their number will be thrown out of employment, and population will become redundant, compared with the funds which are to employ it." (*ibidem*, p. 472)
- 717 „If these views be correct, it follows, 1st. That discovery, and useful application of machinery, always leads to the increase of the net produce of the country, although it may not, and will not, after an inconsiderable interval, increase the value of that net produce." (*ibidem*, p. 474)
- 717 „2dly. That an increase of the net produce of a country is compatible with a diminution of the gross produce, and that the motives for employing machinery are always sufficient to insure its employment, if it will increase the net produce, although it may, and frequently must, diminish both the quantity of the gross produce, and its value.
- 3dly. That the opinion entertained by the labouring class, that the

employment of machinery is frequently detrimental to their interests, is not founded on prejudice and error, but is conformable to the correct principles of political economy.

4tly. That if the improved means of production, in consequence of the use of machinery, should increase the net produce of a country in a degree so great as not to diminish the gross produce, (I mean always quantity of commodities and not value) then the situation of all classes will be improved. The landlord and capitalist will benefit, not by an increase of rent and profit, but by the advantages resulting from the expenditure of the same rent, and profit, on commodities, very considerably reduced in value, while the situation of the labouring classes will also be considerably improved; 1st. *from the increased demand for menial servants*, 2dly, from the stimulus to savings from revenue, which such an abundant net produce will afford, and 3dly, from the low price of all articles of consumption on which their wages will be expended." (*ibidem*, p. 474/475)

751 „...that as much of the revenue as possible should be diverted from expenditure on luxuries, to be expended in the support of menial servants," (*ibidem*, p. 476)

751 „...to the former demand for labourers, and this addition would take place only because I chose this mode of expending any revenue." (*ibidem*, p. 476)

751 „...whether it was expended in the one way or in the other, there would be *the same quantity of labour employed in production*; for the food and clothing of the soldier and sailor would require the same amount of industry to produce it as the more luxurious commodities; but in the case of the war, there would be the additional demand for men as soldiers and sailors; and consequently, a war which is supported out of the revenue, and not from the capital of a country, is favourable to the increase of population." (*ibidem*, p. 477)

751 „There is one other case that should be noticed of the possibility of an *increase in the amount of the net revenue of a country*, and even of its gross revenue, with a diminution of demand for labour, and that is, when the labour of horses is substituted for that of man. If I employed one hundred men of my farm, and if I found that the food bestowed on fifty of those men, could be diverted

to the support of horses, and afford me a greater return of raw produce, after allowing for the interest of the capital which the purchase of the horses would absorb, it would be advantageous to me to substitute the horses for the men, and I should accordingly do so; but this would not be for the interest of the men, and unless the income I obtained, was so much increased as to enable me to employ the men as well as the horses, *it is evident that the population would become redundant*, and the labourer's condition would sink in the general scale. It is evident he could not, under any circumstances, be employed in agriculture; but if the produce of the land were increased by the substitution of horses for men he might be employed in manufactures, or as a menial servant."

(*ibidem*, p. 477/478)

758 „I have before observed, too, that *the increase of net incomes, estimated in commodities, which is always the consequence of improved machinery*, will lead to new savings and accumulations. These savings, it must be remembered, are *annual*, and must soon create a fund, *much greater than the gross revenue, originally lost by the discovery of the machine*, when the demand for labour will be as great as before, and the situation of the people will be still further improved by the increased savings which the increased net revenue will still enable them to make.” (*ibidem*, p. 480)

759 „With every increase of capital and population, food will generally rise, on account of its being more difficult to produce.” (*ibidem*, p. 478/479)

760 „The consequence of a rise of food will be a rise of wages, and every rise of wages will have a tendency to determine *the saved capital in a greater proportion than before to the employment of machinery. Machinery and labour are in constant competition, and the former can frequently not be employed until labour rises.*” (*ibidem*, p. 479)

761 „To elucidate the principle, I have been supposing, that improved machinery is *suddenly discovered, and extensively used*; but the truth is, that these discoveries are gradual, and rather operate in determining *the employment of the capital which is saved and accumulated, than in diverting capital from its actual employment.*” (*ibidem*, p. 478)

762 „In America and many other countries, where the food of man is

easily provided, there is not nearly such great temptation to employ machinery as in England, where food is high, and costs much labour for its production." (*ibidem*, p. 479)

754 „Man is a machine-making animal» ...if we consider the American as a representative man, the definition is... perfect. It is one of the cardinal points of an American's system to do nothing with his hands that he can do by a machine. From rocking a cradle to making a coffin, from milking a cow to clearing a forest, from sewing on a button to voting for President, almost, he has a machine for everything. He has invented a machine for saving the trouble of masticating food... *The exceeding scarcity of labour* and its consequent high value, as well as a certain innate cuteness, have stimulated this inventive spirit... The machines produced in America are, generally speaking, inferior in value to those made in England... they are rather, as a whole, *makeshifts to save labour* than inventions to accomplish former impossibilites... in the United States department [...] is *Emery's cottongin*. For many a year after the introduction of cotton to America the crop was very small; because not only was the demand rather limited, but the difficulty of cleaning the crop by manual labour rendered it anything but remunerative. When Eli Whitney, however, invented the saw cotton-gin there was an immediate increase in the breadth planted, and that increase has up to the present time gone on almost in an arithmetical¹ progression. In fact, it is not too much to say that Whitney made the cotton trade. With modifications more or less important and useful his gin has remained in use ever since; and until the invention of the present improvement and addition Whitney's original gin was quite as good as the most of its would-be supplacers. By the present machine, which bears the name of Messrs. Emery, of [...] Albany, N. Y., we have no doubt that Whitney's gin, on which it is based, will be almost entirely supplanted. It is as simple and more efficacious; it delivers the cotton not only cleaner, but in sheets like wadding, and thus the layers as they leave the machine are at once fit for the cotton press and the bale... In American Court proper there is little else than machinery [...] *The cow-milker... a belt-shifter... a hemp carding and spinning machine*, which at one operation reels the cliver direct from the bale... ma-

¹ W rekonstrukcji: geometrical.

chines [...] for the manufacture of paper-bags, which it cuts from the sheet, pastes, folds, and perfects at the rate of 300 a minute... Hawe's clothes-wringer, which by two indiarubber rollers presses from clothes the water, leaving them almost dry [...] saves time, but does not injure the texture... bookbinder's machinery... machines for making shoes. It is well known that the uppers have been for a long time made up by machinery in this country, but here are machines for putting on the sole, others for cutting the sole to shape, and others again for trimming the heels... A stone-breaking machine is very powerful and ingenious, and no doubt will come extensively into use for ballasting roads and crushing ores... A system of marine signals by Mr. W. H. Ward of Auburn, New York ...Reaping and mowing machines are an American invention coming into very general favour in England [...] M'Cormick's [...] the best... Hansbrow's California Prize Medal Force-Pump, is in simplicity and efficiency the best [...] in the Exhibition... it will throw more water with the same power than any pump in the world.. Sewing machines..." („Standard”, 19 September 1862)

⁷⁵⁶ „The same cause that raises labour, does not raise the value of machines, and, therefore, with every augmentation of capital, a greater proportion of it is employed on machinery. The demand for labour will continue to increase with an increase of capital, but not in proportion to its increase; the ratio will necessarily be a diminishing ratio.” (David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 479)

⁷⁵⁶ „In both cases the net revenue would be the same, and so would be the gross revenue, but the former would be realised in different commodities.” (ibidem, p. 476)

⁷⁵⁷ „The demand for labour depends on the increase of circulating, and not of fixed capital. Were it true that the proportion between these two sorts of capital is the same at all times, and in all countries, then, indeed, it follows that the number of labourers employed is in proportion to the wealth of the State. But such a position has not the semblance of probability. As arts are cultivated, and civilization is extended, fixed capital bears a larger and larger proportion to circulating capital. The amount of fixed capital employed in the production of a piece of British muslin is at least a hundred, probably a thousand times greater than that

employed in the production of a similar piece of Indian muslin. And the proportion of circulating capital employed is a hundred or a thousand times less. It is easy to conceive that, under certain circumstances, the whole of the annual savings of an industrious people might be added to fixed capital, in which case they would have no effect in increasing the demand for labour." (John Barton, „Observations on the Circumstances which influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society”, London 1817, p. 16 do 17, cytowane według: David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 479/480)

757 „It is not easy, I think, to conceive that under any circumstances, an increase of capital should not be followed by an increased demand for labour; the most that can be said is, that the *demand will be in a diminishing ratio*. Mr. Barton, in the above publication, has, I think, taken a *correct view* of some of the effects of an increasing amount of fixed capital on the condition of the labouring classes. His Essay contains much valuable information". (David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 480, note)

758 „Fixed capital [...] when once formed, ceases to affect the demand for labour, but during its formation it gives employment to just as many hands as an equal amount would employ, either of circulating capital, or of revenue." (John Barton, „Observations on the Circumstances which influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society”, London 1817, p. 56)

758 „The demand for labour [...] depends absolutely on the joint amount of revenue and circulating capital." (*ibidem*, p. 34/35)

758 „...that the number of labourers employed is..." (*ibidem*, p. 16)

758 „...in proportion to the wealth of the state." (*ibidem*, p. 16)

759 „...render the population redundant..." (David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, third edition, London 1821, p. 469)

762 „...realised in different commodities" (*ibidem*, p. 476)

763 „...the proportion which the *wages of labour at any particular time bear to the whole produce of [...] labour [...]* determine the appropriation [...] in one way or the other." (John Barton, „Observations on the Circumstances which influence the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society”, London 1817, p. 17)

- 763 „For if [...] the rate of wages should decline, while the price of goods remained the same, or if goods should rise, while wages remained the same, the profit of the employer would increase and he would be induced to hire more hands. If on the other hand, wages should rise in proportion to commodities [...] master [...] would [...] keep as few hands as possible. – He would aim at performing every thing by machinery...” (*ibidem*, p. 17/18)
- 763 „...we have good evidence that population advanced much more slowly under a gradual rise of wages during the earlier part of the last century, than during the latter part of the same century while the real price of labourer fell rapidly.” (*ibidem*, p. 25)
- 763 „A rise of wages, of itself, then, never increases the labouring population; – a fall of wages may sometimes increase it very rapidly. Suppose that the English poor should experience such a change in their habits as to be content with a mud cabin and patatoes, like the Irish; can it be no doubted that the employer of labour would be willing and desirous to engage more hands, when wages should be reduced in proportion to the diminished expense of maintenance?” (*ibidem*, p. 26) (Część tego cytatu Marks formułuje własnymi słowami, streszczając myśl Bartona)
- 764 „...it is the difficulty of finding employment, much more than the insufficiency of the rate of wages, which discourages marriage.” (*ibidem*, p. 27)
- 764 „It is admitted that every increase of wealth has a tendency to create a fresh demand for labour; but as labour, of all commodities, requires the greatest length of time for its production, so, of all commodities, it is the most raised [...] by a given increase of demand; and as every rise of wages produces a ten-fold reduction of profits; it is evident that the accumulation of capital can operate only in an inconsiderable degree in adding to the effectual demand for labour, unless preceded by such an increase of population as shall have the effect of keeping down the rate of wages.” (*ibidem*, p. 28)
- 767 „...wages [...] increased from the middle of the seventeenth, till near the middle of the eighteenth century, for the price of corn declined within that space of time not less than 35 per cent” (*ibidem*, p. 25)

- 767 „The following statement will show what proportion the *wages of husbandry* [...] have borne to the price of corn [...] during the last seventy years [...]” (*ibidem*, p. 25/26)
- 767 „From a table of the number of Bills for the inclosing of land passed in each session since the revolution, given in the Lord's Report on the Poor Laws, it appears that in sixty-six years from 1688 to 1754 that number was 123; in the sixty-nine years from 1754 to 1813 it was 3315. – The progress of cultivation was then about twenty-five times more rapid during the last period than the former. But during the first sixty-six years more and more corn was grown continually for exportation; whereas, during the greater part of the last sixty-nine years, we not only consumed all that we had formerly sent abroad, but likewise imported an increasing, and at last a very large quantity, for our own consumption ...the increase of population in the former period, as compared with the latter, was still slower than the progress of cultivation might appear to indicate.” (*ibidem*, p. 11/12)
- 767 „In the year 1688, the population of England and Wales was computed by Gregory King, from the number of houses, at five millions and a half [...] 1780 is put down by Mr. Malthus at 7,700,000. In ninety-two years then it had increased 2,200,000 – in the succeeding thirty years it increased something more than 2,700,000. But of the first increase [...] there is every probability, that the far greater part took place from 1750 to 1780.” (*ibidem*, p. 13)
- 768 „...the number of inhabitants in 1750 [will be] 5,946,000, making an increase since the revolution of 446,000, or 7200 per annum...” (*ibidem*, p. 14)
- 768 „At the lowest estimate, then [...] the progress of population of late years has been ten times more rapid than a century ago. Yet it is impossible to believe, that the accumulation of capital has been ten times greater.” (*ibidem*, p. 14)
- 771 „...corn [...] is scarce or not scarce in proportion to the consumption of it. If there are *more mouths*, there will be *more corn*, because there will be *more hands* to till the earth; and if there is *more corn*, there will be more mouths, because *plenty* will bring *people*...” ([John Arbuthnot], „An Inquiry into the Connection bet-

ween the present Price of Provisions, and the Size of Farms... By a Farmer", London 1773, p. 125)

771 „...the culture of the earth cannot be over-done." (*ibidem*, p. 62)

772 „...if... the *price of corn* is nearly what it ought to be, which can only be determined by the proportion that the *value of land* bears to the *value of money...*" (*ibidem*, p. 132)

772 „...the old method of calculating the *profits* of the farmer by the *three rents*. In the *inuncy of agriculture*, it was a conscientious and equal partition of property; such as is now practised in the less enlightened parts of the world... the one finds land and capital, the other knowledge and labour; but on a well-cultivated and good soil, the rent is now the least object: it is the *sum which a man can sink in stock*, and in the annual expense of his labour, on which he is to reckon the interest of his money, or income." (*ibidem*, p. 34)

773 „...the *landed* and *trading interests* are eternally jarring, and jealous of each other's advantages" ([*Nathaniel Forster*], „An Enquiry into the Causes of the present High Price of Provisions...", London 1767, p. 22, note)

774 „When the... producers were both agriculturists and manufacturers, the land-owner received, as *rent of land*, a value of 10 l. Suppose this rent to have been paid one half in raw produce, and the other half in manufactures; – on the *division* of the producers into the two classes of agriculturists and manufacturers... In practice, however, it would be found more convenient for the cultivators of the land, to *pay the rent*, and to charge it on their produce. when exchanging it against the produce of the labour of the manufacturers; so as to divide the payment into two equitable proportions between the two classes, and to leave wages and profits equal in each department." (*Thomas Hopkins*, „Economical Enquiries relative to the Laws which regulate Rent, Profit...", London 1822, p. 26)

775 „It will be observed that we consider the owner and farmer always as *one and the same person...* Such it is in the United States." (*H[enry] C[harles] Carey*, „The Past, the Present and the Future", Philadelphia 1848, p. 97, note)

775 „...man [...] is always going from a poor soil to better, and then returning on his footsteps to the original poor one, and turning up the marl or the lime; and so on, in continued succession..."

and [...] at each step in this course, he is making a better machine..." (*ibidem*, p. 128/129)

775 „...capital may be invested in agriculture with *more* advantage than in *engines*, because the last are *only of equal*, whereas the other is of *superior power.*” (*ibidem*, p. 129)

776 „The gain from its use is the wages of [...] labour, *minus* the loss by deterioration of the machine. Labour applied to fashioning the earth produces wages, plus the gain by improvement of the machine.” (*ibidem*, p. 129)

775 „A piece of land that yields 1. 100 per annum will sell...” (*ibidem*, p. 130)

775 „...the buyer of the first knows that it will pay him wages and interest, plus the increase of its value by use. The buyer of the other knows it will give him wages and interest, minus the diminution in its value by use [...]. The one buys a machine that improves by use. The other, one that deteriorates with use... The one is a machine upon which new capital and labour may be expended with constantly increasing return; while upon the other no such expenditure can be made.” (*ibidem*, p. 131)

776 „...to increase rent ultimately. The increased capital, which is employed in consequence of the opportunity of making great temporary profits, *can seldom or ever be entirely removed from the land*, at the expiration of the current leases; and on the renewal of these leases, the landlord feels the benefit of it in the increase of his rents.” (*T[homas] R[obert] Malthus*, „An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent...”, London 1815, p. 26)

776 „If, until the prevalence of the late high prices, arable land in general bore but *little rent*, chiefly by reason of the acknowledged necessity of frequent fallows; the rents must be again reduced, to admit of a return to the same system.” (*J[ames] D[eacon] Hume*, „Thoughts on the Corn-Laws...”, London 1815, p. 72)

778 „...a diminishing surface suffices to supply man with food as population multiplies...” (*[Thomas Hodgskin]*, „The natural and artificial Right of Property contrasted...”, London 1832, p. 69)

PRZYPISY

¹ Po ukończeniu obszernego rozdziału pt. „Teorie pracy produkcyjnej i nieprodukcyjnej” i po napisaniu dalszych trzech rozdziałów, które ze względu na swój charakter stanowią uzupełnienie działu o fizjokratach (są one poświęcone Neckerowi, „Tableau économique” Quesnaya i Linguetowi), Marks powinien był zgodnie ze swym planem przystąpić do opracowania działu o Ricardzie. Jednakże Marks nie od razu zabrał się do tej pracy. Po rozdziale o Linguecie zaczął pisać rozdział o Brayu. Nastąpiło to widocznie w związku z tym, że w rozdziale o Linguccie wskazał on na „kilku pisarzy socjalistycznych”, o których „zamierzał mówić w niniejszym przeglądzie” (patrz „Teorie wartości dodatkowej” w: Marks–Engels, Dzieła, t. 26 (część pierwsza), str. 392). Odpowiednio do tego Marks w planie spisu rzeczy zeszytu X przekreślił w nagłówku rozdziału „f” (nagłówek ten znajduje się bezpośrednio po nagłówku rozdziału „e” – „Linguet”) napisane przedtem nazwisko „Ricardo” i wpisał zamiast niego „Bray” (patrz tamże, st. 3). Rozdział o Brayu nie został jednak ukończony. Marks postanowił później odłożyć analizę poglądów Braya do rozdziału zatytułowanego „Przeciwnicy ekonomistów”.

Kiedy Marks zaczął pisać rozdział o Brayu, zamierzał rozpocząć dział o Ricardzie od następnego rozdziału „g”. Ale i tym razem przekreślił w nagłówku nazwisko „Ricardo”. Rozdziałem „g” stała się „Dygresja”, zatytułowana „Pan Rodbertus. Nowa teoria renty gruntowej”.

Pracę nad rozdziałem o Rodbertusie Marks rozpoczął w czerwcu 1862 r. W liście z dnia 2 czerwca 1862 r. Ferdynand Lassalle przypomina Marksowi: „Musisz mi... na początku października odesłać... również książki, które Ci pożyczylem (Rodbertusa, Roschera i in.)” (patrz „Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich

Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle". Herausgegeben von Franz Mehring. Tom IV. Stuttgart 1902, str. 355). Widocznie pod wpływem tego listu Marks zabrał się niezwłocznie do pracy nad rozdziałem o Rodbertusie. Ale istniały też poważne pobudki wewnętrzne, które sprawiły, że Marks poddał krytycznej analizie przede wszystkim Rodbertusową teorię renty gruntowej.

Jak wynika z listów Marks'a (patrz Marks i Engels, Listy o „Kapitale”, Warszawa 1957), był on już podówczas zupełnie świadomego, na czym polegają błędy Ricardowskiej teorii renty gruntowej. Za jedną z największych wad Ricardowskiej teorii renty gruntowej Marks uważa brak pojęcia renty absolutnej. W trzecim „Liście socjalnym do von Kirchmanna” Rodbertus przedsięwziął próbę analizy tego pojęcia. Zanim Marks przystąpił do specjalnego rozpatrzenia Ricardowskiej teorii renty gruntowej, poddał w niniejszej „Dygresji” tę próbę Rodbertusa szczegółowej analizie krytycznej. – 3.

² Marks ma tu na myśli swoją, skierowaną przeciw Proudhonowi, rozprawę „Misère de la Philosophie...” (§ 4 drugiego rozdziału: „Właściwość ziemska, czyli renta”). (Patrz Marks-Engels, Dzieła, t. 4, str 180). – 9.

³ Przez „*materiał surowy*” Marks rozumie tu taki przedmiot pracy, który nie uległ żadnej zmianie za pośrednictwem pracy, lecz dany jest przez naturę. We wszystkich innych wypadkach Marks w rękopisie z lat 1861/63 używa terminu „materiał surowy” w znaczeniu sformułowanym w rozdziale piątym I tomu „Kapitału”, czyli w znaczeniu takiego przedmiotu pracy, który „sam jest już produktem pracy” (patrz „Kapitał”, t. I w: Marks-Engels, Dzieła, t. 23, str. 210). „Przedmiot pracy jest tylko wtedy surowym materiałem, kiedy za pośrednictwem pracy uległ już jakieś zmianie” (tamże, str. 207).

To odstępstwo od ścisłego znaczenia terminu „materiał surowy” tłumaczy się w danym wypadku tym, że krytykując Rodbertusa, Marks posługuje się niekiedy w celach polemicznych właściwym Rodbertusowi sposobem wyrażania się. – 13.

⁴ W IV zeszycie swego rękopisu z 1861/63 r. (str. 149 i nast.) Marks określa jako „*pierwszy podział pracy*” ów podział pracy, który istnieje w obrębie społeczeństwa między niezależnymi od siebie producentami towarów, a jako „*drugi podział pracy*” – podział

pracy w obrębie przedsiębiorstwa kapitalistycznego, w szczególności w obrębie warsztatu manufaktury (porównaj „Kapital”, t. I w: Marks-Engels, Dzieła, t. 23, str. 414–425). – 15.

⁵ Są to cytaty z książki Thomasa Charlesa Banfielda „The Organization of Industry...”, która w 1848 r. ukazała się w Londynie w drugim wydaniu (str. 40 i 42). – 16.

⁶ Terminu „cena kosztu” („Kostenpreis” lub „Kostpreis”, „cost price”) używa Marks w trzech różnych znaczeniach: 1. w znaczeniu kosztów produkcji dla kapitalisty ($c + v$), 2. w znaczeniu „immanentnych kosztów produkcji” towaru ($c + v + m$), które pokrywają się z wartością towaru, i 3. w znaczeniu ceny produkcji ($c + v + \text{przecienny zysk}$). W części pierwszej „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” (por. np. str. 77) termin ten został użyty w znaczeniu drugim – immanentnych kosztów produkcji. W trzeciej części „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” terminu „Kostenpreis” używa Marks raz w znaczeniu ceny produkcji, raz w znaczeniu kosztów produkcji dla kapitalisty, tzn. $c + v$.

Trojakie użycie terminu „Kostenpreis” tłumaczy się tym, że wyraz „Kosten” używany bywał w ekonomii politycznej w trzech znaczeniach, co podkreśla Marks w trzeciej części „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” (str. 788–790 i 928 rękopisu z lat 1861–1863): 1. w znaczeniu nakładów kapitalisty, 2. w znaczeniu ceny wyłożonego kapitału plus zysk przeciętny i 3. w znaczeniu realnych (czyli immanentnych) kosztów produkcji towaru.

W wulgarnym znaczeniu terminu „koszty produkcji” używa ponadto J.-B. Say, określając koszty produkcji jako „to, co się płaci za usługi produkcyjne pracy, kapitału i ziemi” (J.-B. Say, „Traité d'économie politique”, wyd. drugie, t. II, Paris 1814, str. 453). – 20.

⁷ Pojęcia „okres produkcji” (w znaczeniu okresu, który oprócz czasu pracy obejmuje też czas, w którego przebiegu przedmiot pracy poddany jest wyłącznemu oddziaływaniu procesów naturalnych) i „okres roboczy” bądź też „czas produkcji” i „czas pracy” Marks rozwiniął szczegółowo w II tomie „Kapitału”, dział drugi, rozdział trzynasty: „Czas produkcji”. O różnicę między czasem produkcji a czasem pracy w rolnictwie patrz też „Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie”, Berlin 1953, str. 560–562. – 22.

⁸ Tę charakterystykę kapitalistów jako wrogo do siebie usposobio-

nych konkurentów, a zarazem „pobratymów”, Marks uzasadnił w III tomie „Kapitału”. Rozpatrując proces wyrównywania stóp zysku, w którym to procesie „każdy poszczególny kapitalista – jak i ogół kapitalistów w każdej poszczególnej sferze produkcji – zaинтересowany jest w wyzysku całej klasy robotniczej przez cały kapitał i w stopniu tego wyzysku”, Marks pisał: „Wykazano tu więc z matematyczną dokładnością, dlaczego kapitaliści, choć nie darzą się nawzajem braterskimi uczuciami konkurując ze sobą, występują jednak wobec całej klasy robotniczej solidarnie, niby prawdziwy związek masonów” („Kapitał”, t. III, cz. I, Warszawa 1957, str. 210 i 212). – 24.

⁹ P.J. Stirling, „The Philosophy of Trade; or, Outlines of a Theory of Profits and Prices...”, Edinburgh 1846, str. 209/210. – 28.

¹⁰ G. Opdyke, „A Treatise of Political Economy”, New York 1851. str. 60. – 29.

¹¹ Marks ma na myśli książkę Francisa Williama Newmana „Lectures on Political Economy”, London 1851. Na str. 155 tej książki Newman pisze: „...jeżeli obserwuje się większość tych farmerów, którzy nie są biedni i których należy bezsprzecznie uważać za kapitalistów, to musimy dojść do wniosku, że umiłowanie życia na wsi każe im poprzestawać (w stałej przeciętnej) na *mniejszym* zysku niż zysk, którego mogliby się spodziewać stosując taki sam kapitał w innych przedsiębiorstwach”. – 34.

¹² W rękopisie następuje tu notatka, w której Marks pisze tytułem przykładu o plantatorze bawełny, właścielowi przedziałni i właścielowi tkalni. Od sprawy zysku, który każdy z nich osiąga z osobna, Marks przechodzi do rozrząsań o wielkości zysku, zakładając, że właściciel tkalni jest zarazem właścicielem przedziałni i plantatorem bawełny. Marks nie był jednak zadowolony z tego, co napisał, Nie dokończył więc notatki, przekreślił ją i dał potem przytoczone przez nas w tekście ściślejsze sformułowanie swej myśli. – 48.

¹³ Marks ma tu na myśli swoją obszerną dygresję poświęconą Johnowi Stuartowi Millowi. Znajduje się ona w zeszytach VII i VIII (str. 319–345 jego rękopisu z lat 1861/63). Zgodnie ze spisem treści sporządzonym przez Marksa i wskazówką zamieszczoną w zeszycie VII rękopisu (str. 319), ustęp o Johnie Stuarcie Millu będzie ogłoszony w trzeciej części „Teorii wartości dodatkowej”, w rozdziale o rozkładzie szkoły Ricarda. – 48.

- ¹⁴ Patrz „Teorie wartości dodatkowej” w: Marks-Engels, Dzieła, t. 26 (część pierwsza), str. 131 i 230–231 oraz rozdział czwarty, część 10, „Wymiana dochodu i kapitału”. – 48.
- ¹⁵ Marks ma tu na myśli trzecią część swego studium o „Kapitale w ogóle”, z którego wyrósł potem III tom „Kapitału”. – 48, 210.
- ¹⁶ Marks powołuje się tu na XII zeszyt swoich wyciągów z tekstów ekonomicznych. Na okładce zeszytu napisał on: „Londyn 1851, lipiec”. Marks ma na myśli znajdujący się na 14 str. XII zeszytu ustęp książki Thomasa Hopkinса pt. „Economical Enquiries relative to the Laws which regulate Rent, Profit, Wages, and the Value of Money” (London 1822). Ustęp ten Marks przepisał potem na okładce XIII zeszytu swego rękopisu z 1861/63 r. (str. 669 b). Ustęp ten zamieszczony jest na str. 774 niniejszego tomu. – 57, 774.
- ¹⁷ O wpływie cen surowca na przemysł poddający ten surowiec obróbce mówi Marks we wspomnianej w przypisie 13 obszernej dygresji o J. St. Millu (str. 335–339 rękopisu), którą zgodnie z sugestią Marksa przeniesiono w niniejszym wydaniu do części trzeciej „Teorii wartości dodatkowej”, do rozdziału o rozpadzie szkoły Ricarda. – 70.
- ¹⁸ To wyrażenie Malthusa (Malthus, „Principles of Political Economy”, wyd. drugie, London 1836, str. 268) cytuje i analizuje Marks w rozdziale „T. R. Malthus” (patrz część trzecią „Teorii wartości dodatkowej”). – 75.
- ¹⁹ Marks ma na myśli przykład przytoczony przez siebie w zeszycie VIII swego rękopisu (str. 335/336) w obszernej dygresji poświęconej Johnowi Stuartowi Millowi. Na temat tej dygresji patrz przypis 13. – 84.
- ²⁰ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 83. – 89.
- ²¹ Patrz Marks-Engels, Dzieła, tom 26 (część pierwsza), str. 245–271. – 91.
- ²² Do przytoczonego cytatu z Rodbertusa Marks wprowadził „niezbędne zmiany”, które wynikają z nie uwzględnionej przez Rodbertusa okoliczności, że wartość maszyn i innych środków produkcji z taką samą koniecznością wchodzi do produktu rolnego, jak i wartość surowców rolnych wchodzi do produktu przemysłowego. W tej postaci, w której ustęp ten znajduje się u Rodbertusa, Marks przy-

toczył go wyżej na str. 60–61. Nie bez ironii Marks używa terminu „wartość maszyn” („Maschinenwert”), wzorując się na Rodbertusowej „wartości materiału” („Materialwert”). Wszystkie wyrazy wprowadzone przez Marksą są w tekście złożone drukiem rozstrzelonym. – 92.

²³ Patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, tom 26 (część pierwsza), str. 245–271. – 95.

²⁴ Patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, tom 26 (część pierwsza), str. 250–261. – 95.

²⁵ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 432. – 103.

²⁶ W rękopisie następuje tu wstawiona przez Marksą krótka notatka o kapitale jako „the legalized reflexion to others people labour” [„zalegalizowanym odbiciu cudzej pracy”]. Notatkę tę Marks ujął w klamry i zaopatrzył we wskazówkę, że należy ją umieścić gdzie indziej, zakłóca ona bowiem wątek jego wywodów. Ową notatkę czytelnik znajdzie w formie odsyłacza na str. 29. – 111.

²⁷ W tym ustępie, który zawiera dociekania Marksа na temat zależności sumy rent (renty absolutnej i renty różniczkowej) od względnej urodzajności gleby, bierze on za punkt wyjścia doraźne przypuszczenie, że suma renty jest wprost proporcjonalna do urodzajności gleby (w tym znaczeniu, że jeżeli jakakolwiek kategoria gruntów jest o jedną piątą urodzajniejsza od innej, to i suma renty osiąganej w tej kategorii jest o jedną piątą większa od renty, którą uzyskuje się na gruntach mniej urodzajnej kategorii). Kontynuując te badania, Marks nie ucieka się już do powyższego przypuszczenia i daje ścisłe sformułowanie zależności sumy renty od względnej urodzajności gleby.

Jeżeli w myśl tych dalszych wyjaśnień Marksа obliczyć sumę renty w kategoriach II, III i IV, biorąc przy tym za punkt wyjścia liczbę kwaterów przynoszonych przez grunty wymienionych kategorii i sprzedawanych we wszystkich kategoriach po takiej samej cenie wynoszącej $\frac{1}{3}$ f. szt. za kwarter, to w kategorii II otrzymamy 34 f. szt., w kategorii III – $62\frac{4}{5}$ f. szt. i w kategorii IV – $97\frac{9}{25}$ f. szt. Obliczenia dokonywa się w następujący sposób: ponieważ grunty kategorii II są o $\frac{1}{5}$ urodzajniejsze od gruntów kategorii I, to przynoszą one $360 + 72$, tzn. 432 kwartery, które sprzedaje się za $\frac{432}{3}$ f. szt., czyli za 144 f. szt. W tej sumie 110 f. szt. stanowią koszty produkcji plus przeciętny zysk; na rentę gruntową (absolutną

i różniczkową) pozostają 34 f. szt. Tak samo dokonywa się obliczenia w kategorii III i IV.

Ścisłą metodę obliczania sumy renty Marks stosuje szeroko w rozdziale XII („Tablice renty różniczkowej oraz ich objaśnienie”), ale metoda ta zarysowuje się już w niniejszym rozdziale VIII. Tak więc na str. 123 Marks powtarza przytoczoną na str. 115 sumę 177/25 f. szt. jako wyraz pieniężny renty w kategorii IV i podaje kwotę 77/25 f. szt. jako rentę różniczkową w tej samej kategorii, wskazując tym samym właściwą drogę do określania renty różniczkowej w IV kategorii, a mianowicie: 207⁹/25 f. szt. – 120 f. szt. = = 87⁹/25 f. szt. Jeżeli do tej sumy dodać 10 f. szt. renty absolutnej, to łączna renta kategorii IV będzie wynosiła 97⁹/25 f. szt., co zupełnie zgadza się z następującymi potem konkluzjami Marks-a. – 115.

- ²⁸ Tezę tę Storch formułuje na str. 78/79 drugiego tomu swej pracy „Cours d'économie politique...”, St.-Pétersbourg 1815. O tym poglądzie Storcha Marks wspomina też w III tomie „Kapitału” (cz. I, Warszawa 1957, str. 195/196 i cz. II, Warszawa 1959, str. 225/226). – 115, 371.
- ²⁹ W odsyłaczu 30 do 10 rozdziału III tomu „Kapitału” (cz. I, Warszawa 1957, str. 195/196) Marks pisze, że w sprawie wartości rynkowej produktów rolnych obaj, zarówno Ricardo, jak i Storch, „mają rację i obaj jej nie mają i że obaj zupełnie pominęli wypadek pośredni”. – 120.
- ³⁰ Patrz Marks-Engels, Dzieła, t. 26 (część pierwsza), str. 43–63 i 76–79. – 125.
- ³¹ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 406. – 127.
- ³² Powiększenie wysokości renty jest tylko pozorne w tym sensie, że ma ono za swoją podstawę „fałszywą wartość społeczną”. Na ten temat pisze Marks wyczerpująco w III tomie „Kapitału” w rozdziale trzydziestym dziewiątym. – 128.
- ³³ Marks nie daje tu dokładnego obliczenia. Jeżeli chce się w ogólnych zarysach zilustrować tezę, że wytworzenie produktu cztery razy większego od produktu gruntów kategorii I wymaga przy równoczesnej uprawie gruntów wszystkich czterech kategorii mniejszych wydatków, niż wymagałoby wytworzenie ich na gruntach samej tylko kategorii I, to wystarczy, aby liczby, które wyrażają koszty w każdej z tych czterech kategorii oddzielnie, stanowiły linię zstęp-

ną. Pragnąc uprościć sprawę, Marks bierze tutaj okrągle liczby 100, 90, 80, 70.

Przy dokładnym obliczeniu otrzymamy inne liczby. Jeżeli na przykład przypuścimy, że ilość produktu w kategorii I równa się 330 buszlom, to w kategorii II, w której urodzajność jest o jedną piątą większa, ilość produktu będzie równała się 396 buszlom przy nakładzie kosztów w wysokości 100 f. szt.; wytworzenie 330 buszli na gruntach kategorii II będzie wtedy kosztowało

$$\frac{100 \times 330}{396} = 83\frac{1}{3} \text{ f. szt.} - 128.$$

³⁴ Ustęp ten, który Marks umieścił w nawiasie, znajduje się w rękopisie o dwa akapity niżej (na tej samej 494 stronicy), włączony do krótkiej dygresji historycznej poświęconej poglądom Petty'ego i D'Avenanta w sprawie zmian wielkości renty. Ustęp ujęty przez Marks'a w nawias łączy się pod względem treści z jego poprzednimi rozważaniami na temat stosunku między produkcyjnością rolnictwa a produkcyjnością przemysłu. – 133.

³⁵ Chodzi o pracę Andersona „An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws, with a View to the new Corn Bill proposed for Scotland”, Edinburgh 1777. – 135.

³⁶ Marks ma na myśli wydane w 1776 r. w Londynie dwutomowe dzieło Adama Smitha „An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations”. – 135.

³⁷ Chodzi o przedmowę Ricarda do pierwszego wydania jego dzieła „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, które w 1817 r. ukazało się w Londynie. – 136.

³⁸ Chodzi o książkę Malthusa „An Essay on the Principle of Population.”, która ukazała się anonimowo w 1798 r. w Londynie. – 136.

³⁹ Marks ma tu na myśli wydaną anonimowo w 1876 r. w Londynie książkę Josepha Townsenda „A Dissertation on the Poor Laws...”, którą Marks cytuje w zeszycie III swego rękopisu (str. 112/113) w dziale „Absolutna wartość dodatkowa”. – 136.

⁴⁰ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 177 i nast. – 138.

⁴¹ Patrz przypis 38. – 141.

⁴² Chodzi o wydane w 1815 r. w Londynie broszury Malthusa: „The Grounds of an Opinion on the Policy of Restricting the Import-

- tation of Foreign Corn..." oraz „An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent...” – 141.
- ⁴³ Chodzi o ustawy zbożowe z 1815 r., które zakazywały importu zboża do Anglii dopóty, dopóki cena zboża w samej Anglii wynosiła poniżej 80 szyl. za kwarter. – 141.
- ⁴⁴ Jest to aluzja do wulgarnego ekonomisty Wilhelma Roschera, profesora uniwersytetu w Lipsku. – 143.
- ⁴⁵ W rękopisie następuje tu krótka wstawka, w której Marks przeciwstawia pogląd Ricarda na poziom płacy roboczej poglądowi Malthusa na tę sprawę. Wstawkę tę znajdujemy w odsyłaczu na str. 143. – 144.
- ⁴⁶ Marks ma na myśli pracę Johna Ramsaya McCullocha „The Literature of Political Economy...”, która ukazała się w 1845 r. w Londynie. – 145.
- ⁴⁷ Marks nadaje Roscherowi imię greckiego historyka Tucydidesa w związku z tym, że „pan profesor Roscher”, jak pisze Marks w XV zeszycie swego rękopisu (str. 922), „obwieścił skromnie, że jest Tucydensem ekonomii politycznej”. Pretensjonalna wzmianka Roschera o Tucydidesie znajduje się w przedmowie do jego „Podstaw ekonomii politycznej”. – 145.
- ⁴⁸ Marks ma na myśli wydaną w 1815 r. anonimowo w Londynie pracę Edwarda Westa „Essay on the Application of Capital to Land...”, jak i wydaną w tym samym roku rozprawę Davida Ricarda „An Essay on the Influence of a low Price of Corn on the Profits of Stock...” – 147.
- ⁴⁹ Mowa tu jest o książce Thomasa Hopkinaa „Economical Enquiries relative to the Laws which regulate Rent, Profit, Wages, and the Value of Money”, London 1822. Odpowiedni ustęp tej pracy Marks przytacza niżej (str. 171). – 151.
- ⁵⁰ Chodzi o legendarne wejście do podziemnego królestwa Hadesa. Mieścić się ono miało nad kraterowym jezorem Averno (w Italii), które w starożytności zionęło trującymi oparami. – 157.
- ⁵¹ Marks nie powraca już na stronicach „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” do analizy tych poglądów Roschera. W trzeciej części „Teorii”, w rozdziale zatytułowanym „Rozkład szkoły Ricarda”, poddaje on jednak szczegółowej krytyce analogiczne wulgarnie poglądy McCullocha. Podobnie jak poglądy Roschera, powstały one pod silnym wpływem apologetycznej koncepcji „usług produkcyjnych”, którą

wysunął Jean-Baptiste Say i o której Marks wypowiada się w następnym dziale. W odsyłaczu 22 w rozdziale szóstym I tomu „Kapitału” Marks wzmiankuje o poglądzie Roschera na naturę jako na jedno ze źródeł wartości. Patrz też III tom „Kapitału” (cz. II. Warszawa 1959, str. 407/408). – 158.

⁵² O enclosures [grodzeniach] ziem gminnych w Anglii mówi Marks w I tomie „Kapitału” (patrz Marks-Engels, Dzieła, tom 23, str. 861–865). – 176.

⁵³ James Anderson cytuje to zdanie z przekładu francuskiego wydanej w 1567 r. w Wenecji książki Włocha Camillo Tarello da Lonato „Ricordo d’Agricoltura” [„Szkice o rolnictwie”]. Stwierdzono, że książka ukazała się w 12 wydaniach: w Wenecji w latach 1567, 1609, 1704 i 1722; w Mantui w latach 1577, 1585, 1622, 1735; w Treviso w latach 1601, 1731; w Bergamo w 1736 r.; w Mediolanie w 1816 q. Anderson powołuje się na pierwsze wydanie mantuańskie i cytuje przekład francuski tej książki, wydany przez Société économique w Bernie. – 178.

⁵⁴ Patrz Marks-Engels, Dzieła, tom 26 (część pierwsza), str. 79–90. – 186.

⁵⁵ J. Mill, „Elements of Political Economy”, London 1821, str. 198. – 188.

⁵⁶ W dwudziestym czwartym rozdziale I tomu „Kapitału” Marks pisze, że między 1801 a 1831 r. angielskiej ludności wiejskiej zrabowano 3 511 770 akrów gruntów gminnych, „które uchwałą parlamentu landlordowie sami sobie podarowali”. – 195.

⁵⁷ Patrz Marks-Engels, Dzieła, tom 4, str. 183. – 197.

⁵⁸ Tamże, str. 186. – 197.

⁵⁹ Tamże, str. 189. – 197.

⁶⁰ Tamże, str. 183. – 197.

⁶¹ Przez „maszyny rolnicze” Rodbertus rozumie tu różne pod względem urodzajności kategorie gruntów. Porównanie kategorii gruntów z maszynami różnej efektywności Rodbertus zapozyczył u Malthusa. – 197.

⁶² Termin „Kostenpreis” [„cena kosztu”] został użyty tutaj w znaczeniu „Produktionspreis” [„kosztów produkcji”]. Patr. przypis 6. – 200.

⁶³ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 179. – 200.

⁶⁴ Adam Smith, „An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the

Wealth of Nations. With Notes and an additional Volumen, by David Buchanan". Tom II, Edinburgh 1814, str. 55. Notkę Buchanan cytuje się według Ricardo „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, wyd. trzecie, London 1821, str. 66, przypis. – 201.

⁶⁵ Por. tom niniejszy, str. 29. – 201.

⁶⁶ Por. tom niniejszy, str. 29, 169–170. – 202.

⁶⁷ Patrz Jean-Baptiste Say, „Traité d'économie politique...”, wydanie piąte, t. I, Paryż 1826, str. LXXXIII do LXXXIV (albo: wydanie szóste, Paryż 1841, str. 41). – 206.

⁶⁸ Do 12 rozdziałów (VIII–XVIII i XXIX), które w książce Ricarda poświęcone są podatkom we właściwym znaczeniu tego wyrazu, Marks dołączył jeszcze rozdziały XXII i XXIII („Premie wywozowe i zakazy przywozu” oraz „O premiach od produkcji”), w których również poruszone są sprawy opodatkowania. W myśl teorii Ricarda premie płaci się z funduszu, który powstaje z tych lub owych podatków wymierzanych ludności. – 207.

⁶⁹ Przez „środki utrzymania, które wchodzą do konsumpcji w ogóle”, Marks rozumie tu z jednej strony indywidualne środki konsumpcji robotników, a z drugiej strony materiały pomocnicze, stanowiące dla maszyn środki konsumpcji przemysłowej (jak węgiel, smary itp.). – 216.

⁷⁰ Tu i w wielu innych miejscach tej książki Marks określa jako *cenę kosztu* (*Kostenpreis*) to, co w „Kapitale” określa jako *cenę produkcji* (*Produktionspreis*) (wyłożony kapitał plus przeciętny zysk). Por. przypis 6. – 217.

⁷¹ Przeciętny zysk tylko wtedy wynosi 20^{5/26}%, kiedy fabrykant i farmer wykładają jednakowe kapitały. Jeżeli jednak uwzględnić różnicę wielkości wyłożonych kapitałów: 800 f. szt. u farmera i 1300 f. szt. u fabrykanta (razem 2100 f. szt.), to przy łącznym zysku obu (wynoszącym 400 f. szt.) przeciętny zysk równa się:

$$\frac{400 \times 100}{2100} = 19^{1/21}\%. - 233.$$

⁷² O poglądach Torrensa, Jamesa Milla i McCullocha patrz odpowiednie działy trzeciej części „Teorii wartości dodatkowej”. – 239.

⁷³ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 721–723. – 247.

⁷⁴ Przez „liczebność lub wzajemny stosunek wielkości” różnych ka-

tegorii Marks rozumie tu ilość produktów, które każda z tych kategorii dostarcza na rynek. – 257.

⁷⁵ Marks powołuje się tu na wydaną w Londynie w 1841 r. książkę Thomasa Corbeta „An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals...”. W książce tej Corbet utrzymuje, że w przemyśle ceny regulowane są przez te towary, które produkuje się w najlepszych warunkach i które, jego zdaniem, stanowią właściwie przeważną większość wszystkich towarów danego rodzaju (patrz st. 42–44 książki Corbeta). – 257.

⁷⁶ Patrz dziewiąty rozdział niniejszego tomu, str. 146/147. – 264.

⁷⁷ Zakłada się, że przeciętna stopa zysku wynosi 10%. – 275.

⁷⁸ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 721 i nast. – 285.

⁷⁹ Marksowi chodzi tu o wydaną w 1770 r. w Dublinie książkę Jamesa Steuarta „An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy...”, tom I. Steuart opisuje w niej proces wyodrębniania się miasta ze wsi, któremu to procesowi towarzyszyła przemiana rolnictwa w jedną z gałęzi przedsiębiorczości, intensyfikacja pracy w rolnictwie oraz wyzucie z własności ludności wiejskiej. – 292.

⁸⁰ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 287. – 301.

⁸¹ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 209. – 308.

⁸² Tezę, według której łączna suma renty (renta absolutna razem z rentą różniczkową) równa się różnicy między wartością rynkową a ceną kosztu, Marks rozpatruje szczegółowo w dalszym ciągu niniejszego tomu. – 326.

⁸³ $16/85$ f. szt. uzyskano tutaj przez odjęcie indywidualnej wartości tony węgla = $18/5$ f. szt. od jej nowej ceny rynkowej. – 326.

⁸⁴ Poprzednie przykłady nie dotyczyły rolnictwa, lecz eksploatacji kopalni węgla o różnej wydajności. Ale wszystko, co powiedziano o tych kopalniach, można zastosować też w rolnictwie do gruntów o różnej urodzajności. – 327.

⁸⁵ Terminem *wartość różniczkowa* Marks – jak to wyjaśnia dalej – oznacza różnicę między wartością rynkową a wartością indywidualną. Wartość różniczkową Marks określa w stosunku do jednostki miary produktu, rentę różniczkową natomiast – w stosunku do całego produktu wytworzzonego w danej kategorii. Kiedy wartość rynkowa jednostki miary produktu jest większa od jej wartości indywidualnej, różnica będzie wielkością dodatnią, kiedy natomiast wartość rynkowa jest mniejsza od wartości indywidualnej, różnica

będzie stanowiła wielkość ujemną. Stąd też biorą się znaki + i -, umieszczone przez Marks'a w zestawieniu na str. 574 jego rękopisu (patrz wkładkę między str. 332–333).

W tablicach C, D i E na str. 572 rękopisu (str. 331) Marks umieszcza znaki + i - przed liczbami, które wyrażają w funtach szterlingów wielkość renty różniczkowej. Na przykład w tablicy C umieścił on w rubryce „renta różniczkowa” wielkość ujemną „ $-9\frac{9}{18}$ f. szt.”. Oznacza to, że w danym wypadku urodzajność gruntów kategorii I jest tak mala, iż przy istniejącej wartości rynkowej grunty tej kategorii nie tylko nie przynoszą renty różniczkowej, ale nawet renta absolutna spada tu znacznie niżej swej normalnej wielkości. W wypadku I C renta absolutna wynosi łącznie zaledwie $10\frac{10}{18}$ f. szt., czyli jest o $9\frac{9}{18}$ f. szt. niższa od swej normalnej wielkości, która w danym przykładzie wynosi 10 f. szt.

W zestawieniu znajdującym się na str. 574 rękopisu Marks wyraża to samo zjawisko ujemnej renty różniczkowej za pomocą ujemnej wartości różniczkowej i w takich wypadkach wstawia po prostu do rubryki „renta różniczkowa” cyfrę „0”, która oznacza tu brak dodatniej renty różniczkowej (*ujemną rentę różniczkową* ujawnia odpowiednie zmniejszenie się renty absolutnej, które odzwierciedla rubryka „renta absolutna”). Przeniesienie wielkości ujemnych do rubryki „wartość różniczkowa” usuwa tę niedogodność, która powstała w tablicy C na str. 572 rękopisu Marks'a, kiedy zachodziła potrzeba zsumowania renty różniczkowej poszczególnych kategorii: do sumy wchodziły tylko dodatnie renty różniczkowe poprzedzone znakiem +, gdy tymczasem wielkość ujemną „ $-9\frac{9}{18}$ f. szt.” potraktowano przy zsumowaniu rent różniczkowych po prostu jako zero, aby w ten sposób uniknąć podwójnego rachunku. Dlatego też Marks przy obliczaniu ujemnych rent różniczkowych wprowadził do swego zestawienia specjalną rubrykę: „wartość różniczkowa tony”, włączając do niej również i ujemne wartości różniczkowe. – 332.

⁸⁶ Bezpośrednio po tych słowach Marks zamieszcza na str. 573 swego rękopisu zestawienie tablic A, B, C i D, które zawiera wszystkie wymienione tu rubryki. Na następnej stronie rękopisu (574) Marks przepisał jeszcze raz w bardziej uporządkowanej postaci wszystkie dane zamieszczone w tablicach A, B, C i D, dodając do nich odpowiednie dane tablicy E. Powstało dzięki temu jednolite ze-

stawienie, które czytelnik znajdzie w niniejszym tomie między str. 332–333. Naszkicowane przez Marks'a na str. 573 rękopisu zestawienie tych samych danych z tablic A, B, C i D włączone zostało przezeń w całości do nowego zestawienia, wobec czego nie odtworzono go tutaj. – 332.

⁸⁷ „Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie”, 1. Heft, Berlin 1859: patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, t. 13, str. 57. – 334.

⁸⁸ Patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, t. 26 (część pierwsza), str. 222–228. – 336.

⁸⁹ W przykładzie przytoczonym przez Marks'a produkt, którego wytworzenie zależne jest od własności ziemi, wchodzi w równomiernej proporcji do obu części składowych wyłożonego kapitału. Marks zakłada, że wartość produktu równa się jak przedtem 120, mimo że powiększył się kapitał stały (88c zamiast 80c – wskutek podrożenia surowca) i kapitał zmienny (22v zamiast 20v – wskutek podrożenia środków konsumpcji robotników). Mogło to stać się tylko dlatego, że przywieszczana sobie przez kapitalistów wartość dodatkowa zmniejszyła się z 20 do 10. Takie zmniejszenie się wartości dodatkowej wywołane zostało przez to, że renta różniczkowa podniosła się o 10 jednostek, wzrastając na bardziej produkcyjnych terenach w związku z przejściem do eksploatacji mniej produkcyjnych obszarów. Toteż nowo wytworzona wartość, która jak przedtem równa się 40 (gdyż sposób produkcji się nie zmienia), ulega tu nowemu podziałowi: 10 jednostek stanowi teraz wartość dodatkową, którą zabiera kapitalista, 20 jednostek idzie na kapitał zmienny i 10 jednostek służy do powiększenia renty różniczkowej, które nastąpiło wskutek powiększenia wartości kapitału stałego o 8 jednostek i wartości kapitału zmiennego o 2 jednostki. W dalszym ciągu na stronicach 684–686 rękopisu Marks rozpatruje podobny wypadek. – 352.

⁹⁰ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 356. – 359.

⁹¹ Marks używa tu, a niekiedy i później, terminu „Produktionskosten” w znaczeniu kosztów produkcji plus przeciętny zysk, czyli w znaczeniu ceny produkcji. – 371.

⁹² O Wakefielda teorii kolonizacji patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, t. 23, str. 907–918. – 383.

⁹³ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 287, 301. – 392.

⁹⁴ W poprzednim rozdziale Marks wskazywał, że kategoria I w ta-

beli D „odgrywa zupełnie bierną rolę” (patrz tom niniejszy, str. 372). To nie kategoria I określa rynek, „lecz wbrew niej kategoria IV, III, II” (patrz tom niniejszy, str. 374). – 408.

⁹⁵ Przez „*the market cost-price*” [„*rynkową cenę kosztu*”] Marks rozumie ogólną cenę kosztu, która reguluje ceny rynkowe towarów w określonej sferze produkcji. Por. str. 151. – 409.

⁹⁶ W ostatniej rubryce tablicy odtworzonej we wkładce między str. 418–419 Marks przez „*rentę absolutną*” rozumie *stopę renty absolutnej*. – 418.

⁹⁷ Ricardo mówiąc, że renta „tworzy wartość”, ma to na myśli, iż umożliwia ona właścicielom ziemskim dysponowanie tym przyrostem wartości łącznego produktu społecznego, który – według Ricarda – powstaje wskutek wzmagającej się trudności produkowania tej lub owej części zboża. W XXXII rozdziale swej książki Ricardo krytykuje pogląd Malthusa na rentę jako „*a clear gain and a new creation of riches*” [„na czystą wygraną i nowo wytworzone bogactwo”] i wysuwa tezę, że renta nic nie dodaje do bogactwa społeczeństwa, jako całości, lecz tylko „*transfers a portion of the value of the corn and commodities from their former possessors to the landlords*” [„przenosi część wartości zboża i towarów z rąk ich dawnych posiadaczy do rąk właścicieli ziemskich”] (patrz David Ricardo, „*On the Principles...*”, London 1821, str. 484 i 485). – 440.

⁹⁸ Marks ma na myśli tezę Rodbertusa, według której wartość surowca nie wchodzi w skład kosztów wytwarzania produktów rolnych. Patrz rozdział ósmy, część 4, str. 43–57. – 441.

⁹⁹ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 438. – 463.

¹⁰⁰ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 432–438. – 471.

¹⁰¹ Obydwa przytoczone w tym miejscu urywki dzieła Smitha Marks cytuję nie według dokonanego przez Garniera przekładu francuskiego, lecz według trzeciego angielskiego wydania książki Davida Ricarda „*On the Principles...*” (London 1821), str. 227 i 229/230. – 476.

¹⁰² Dalej w rękopisie znajduje się fragment, w którym Marks analizuje to, co Ricardo mówi o swoim własnym pojmowaniu renty. Wspomniany fragment, oddzielony kreską od poprzedzającego go tekstu, stanowi uzupełnienie rozdziałów, w których Marks rozpatruje Ricardowską teorię gruntowej. Ze względu na swą treść

fragment ten wiąże się z rozdziałem trzynastym, w którym go też umieściliśmy (patrz str. 405).

W rękopisie po tym fragmencie następuje ujęte w okrągły nawias uzupełnienie analizy Ricardowskiej teorii ceny kosztu, której to analizie Marks poświęcił rozdział dziesiąty. Dlatego też uzupełnienie, o którym mowa, włączyliśmy do rozdziału dziesiątego (patrz str. 271). – 486.

¹⁰³ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 571–574 i 617. – 490.

¹⁰⁴ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 255 i 401. – 492.

¹⁰⁵ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 565, – 496.

¹⁰⁶ W rękopisie (str. 641) następuje potem ustęp, który dotyczy poglądów Smitha na komorne (Wohnungsmiete). Ustęp ten został włączony do rozdziału czternastego (patrz str. 475–476). – 502.

¹⁰⁷ W rękopisie (str. 642/643) znajduje się w tym miejscu ustęp traktujący o przeciwnych zmianach wartości kapitału stałego i zmiennego. Ustęp ten, który stanowi uzupełnienie stronnic 640/641 rękopisu, odtwarzamy na str. 499–502. – 504.

¹⁰⁸ Tę definicję ceny monopolowej Ricardo daje w rozdziale XVII swej książki „On the Principles...” (wydanie trzecie, London 1821, str. 289/290). Analogiczną definicję ceny monopolowej, którą dał Adam Smith, Marks przytoczył wyżej na str. 442. – 506.

¹⁰⁹ Marks powołuje się tutaj na ustęp IV i V pierwszego rozdziału książki Ricarda „On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation”, gdzie Ricardo bada zagadnienie, czy wzrost lub spadek płacy roboczej wywiera wpływ na „relatywne wartości towarów” wyprowadzonych przez kapitały o różnym składzie organicznym. Wyczerpującą analizę krytyczną obydwojnych przypadków daje Marks na str. 217 i nast. niniejszego tomu. – 511.

¹¹⁰ Marks zaznacza tu tytułem przykładu kierunek, w którym może nastąpić proces zbliżenia organicznego składu kapitału rolnego z organicznym składem kapitału przemysłowego. Za punkt wyjścia Marks bierze

$$60c + 40v \text{ dla kapitału rolnego oraz}$$

$$80c + 20v \text{ dla kapitału nierolnego.}$$

Marks zakłada, że wskutek wzrostu wydajności pracy na roli liczba robotników w rolnictwie zmniejsza się o jedną czwartą. Następuje więc zmiana organicznego składu kapitału rolnego: produkt, który wymagał przedtem wydatkowania kapitału w wysokości

100 jednostek (60c + 40v), wymaga teraz wydatkowania kapitału w wysokości już tylko 90 jednostek (60c + 30v), co w przeliczeniu na 100 jednostek stanowi $66^{2}/8c + 33^{1}/8v$. W ten sposób organiczny skład kapitału rolnego zbliżył się do organicznego składu kapitału przemysłowego.

Marks zakłada, następnie, że równocześnie ze zmniejszeniem się liczby robotników rolnych zmniejsza się też o jedną czwartą płaca robocza, a to wskutek potanienia zboża. W takim razie należy przy-puszczać, że i w przemyśle płaca robocza musi obniżyć się w takim samym stosunku. Jednakże spadek płacy roboczej powinien w większym stopniu odbić się na kapitale rolnym, który ma niższy skład organiczny, niż na kapitale nierolnym. Doprowadziłoby to do dalszego zmniejszenia się różnicy między składem organicznym kapitału rolnego a składem organicznym kapitału przemysłowego.

Przy obniżce płacy roboczej o jedną czwartą kapitał rolny przekształciłby się z $66^{2}/8c + 33^{1}/8v$ w kapitał o składzie $66^{2}/8c + 25v$, co w przeliczeniu na 100 jednostek stanowi $72^{8}/11c + 27^{3}/11v$.

Przy obniżce płacy roboczej o jedną czwartą kapitał nierolny o składzie organicznym $80c + 20v$ przekształca się w kapitał o składzie $80c + 15v$, co w przeliczeniu na 100 jednostek stanowi $84^{4}/10c + 15^{15}/10v$.

Wraz z dalszym zmniejszeniem się liczby robotników rolnych i dalszym spadkiem płacy roboczej skład organiczny kapitału rolnego zbliży się jeszcze bardziej do organicznego składu kapitału nierolnego.

Marks, który rozpatruje powyższy hipotetyczny wypadek w celu objaśnienia wpływu, jaki na organiczny skład kapitału rolnego wywiera wzrost wydajności pracy na roli, pomija tu równoczesny, w większości wypadków jeszcze szybszy, wzrost wydajności pracy w przemyśle wyrażający się w dalszym podniesieniu się organicznego składu kapitału przemysłowego w porównaniu z kapitałem rolnym. – 512.

¹¹¹ Numerując stronice rękopisu Marks opuścił liczbę 649. – 516.

¹¹² Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 255, 401 i 492. – 516.

¹¹³ Marks powołuje się na broszurę Jamesa Deacona Hume'a „Thoughts on the Corn Laws...” [„Myśli o ustawach zbożowych...”] (London 1815). Zastanawiając się nad tezą Adama Smitha, że „the

price of labour is governed by the price of corn” [„cenę pracy reguluje cena zboża”] (str. 59), Hume oświadcza tu, iż Adam Smith „in speaking of corn must be understood to be speaking of food, because the value of all agricultural produce... has a naturally tendency to equalize itself” [kiedy Adam Smith „mówi o zbożu, należy rozumieć, że mówi o wyżywieniu, gdyż wartość wszystkich produktów rolnych ma naturalną tendencję do zrównania się”] (tamże). – 526.

¹¹⁴ Marks ma na myśli ów dział swego rękopisu z lat 1861–1863, który zaczyna się na stronicy 95b zeszytu III i nosi nagłówek: „2. Absolutna wartość dodatkowa”. Miejsce, o którym mówi Marks, znajduje się na stronicach 102–104 rękopisu, w części tego działu zatytułowanej „Równoczesne dni pracy”. – 536.

¹¹⁵ Marksowi chodzi o nową wartość wytworzoną przez dwudziestu robotników: w ciągu jednej godziny pracy tych dwudziestu robotników stwarza wartość, która równa się 2 f. szt., a w ciągu 14-godzinnego dnia pracy – wartość, która równa się 28 f. szt. Produkt pracy dwudziestu robotników, mający wartość 28 f. szt., składa się z 10 godzin pracy niezbędnnej, które równą się 20 f. szt., plus 4 godziny pracy dodatkowej, które równą się 8 f. szt. – 538.

¹¹⁶ Wartość łącznego produktu zawiera przeniesioną na produkt wartość (c) oraz nowo wytworzoną wartość (v + m). Ponieważ Marks w danym wypadku pomija kapitał trwały, przeto przeniesiona wartość sprowadza się tu do wartości surowca. W roztrząsanym przykładzie wartość surowca równa się $93\frac{1}{3}$ f. szt. (w ciągu jednej godziny przerabia się na przedzę $133\frac{1}{3}$ funta bawełny, w ciągu 14 godzin – $1866\frac{2}{3}$ funta; 1 funt bawełny kosztuje 1 szylinga). Razem z nowo wytworzoną wartością (28 f. szt.) wynosi to $121\frac{1}{3}$ f. szt. – 538.

¹¹⁷ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 225–226. – 559.

¹¹⁸ Patrz przypis 17. – 573.

¹¹⁹ Marks ma tu na względzie takich krytyków Ricarda, jak Jean-Baptiste Say, który np. w przedmowie do piątego wydania swej książki „Traité d'économie politique...” (Paryż 1826) stawia Ricardowi zarzut „de raisonner quelquefois sur des principes abstraits auxquels il donne trop de généralité” [„że rozważania swe opiera niekiedy na oderwanych zasadach, którym nadaje zbyt ogólne znaczenie”], przy czym powstają wnioski, które nie odpowiadają realnej rzeczy-

wistości. (Patrz wymienione wyżej wydanie, str. LXXXI, albo wydanie szóste, Paryż 1841, str. 40/41). – 574.

¹²⁰ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 576–579. – 586.

¹²¹ Łączną liczbę $51\frac{11}{39}$ tony otrzymuje się w wyniku następującego obliczenia: jeżeli $16\frac{2}{3}$ robotnika w kategorii III tablicy E (wkładka między str. 590 i 591) wytwarza $62\frac{1}{2}$ tony, to przy takiej samej wydajności pracy $13\frac{7}{117}$ robotnika będzie wytwarzalo

$$\frac{13\frac{7}{117} \times 62\frac{1}{2}}{16\frac{2}{3}} = 51\frac{11}{39} \text{ tony.} - 597.$$

¹²² W. Blake, „Observations on the Effects produced by the Expenditure of Government during the Restriction of Cash Payments”, London 1823. Wyciągi z tej książki na temat poruszonego w tekście zagadnienia wraz z uwagami Marks'a znajdują się w jego rękopisie ekonomicznym 1857/1858. (Patrz „Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie”, Berlin 1953, str. 672–674). – 604.

¹²³ Mowa tu o otwartej w dniu 1 maja 1863 r. w Londynie wystawie światowej, na której eksponowano wzorce wyrobów rolniczych i przemysłowych, dzieła sztuki i najnowsze zdobycze wiedzy. – 604, 754.

¹²⁴ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 374. – 613.

¹²⁵ Zacytowaną tu uwagę Ricarda w sprawie poglądów Saya na stosunek między zyskiem a procentem Marks powtórzył na 736 stronicy swego rękopisu, umieścił ją jednak w kwadratowym nawiasie, jako nie tyczącą się tego, o czym mowa na str. 736, a końcowe słowa Ricarda: „i żadne okoliczności nie mogą ich zmusić, aby zamieniły się miejscami”, zaopatrzył w taką replikę: „To ostatnie jest «under certain circumstances» [«w pewnych okolicznościach»] zupełnie błędne”.

W dwudziestym drugim rozdziale III tomu „Kapitalu” Marks wskazuje na to, że w różnych fazach cykli kapitalistycznych możliwe są przeciwwstawne ruchy stopy zysku i stopy procentowej. Marks pisze: „Jeżeli będziemy rozpatrywali cykle obrotów, przez które przechodzi nowoczesny przemysł..., to przekonamy się, że niski poziom procentu przypada przeważnie na okres pomyślnej koniunktury, czyli na okres nadzwyczajnego zysku, wzrost procentu – na czas między okresem pomyślnej koniunktury a zastojem, maksimum zaś procentu – aż do najwyższego, lichwiarskiego poziomu – na okres kryzysu” („Kapitał”, t. III, część I, Warszawa 1957, str. 391). – 616.

- ¹²⁶ Marks powraca tu do zagadnienia rozpatrywanego na 672 stronie rękopisu (str. 571–573), mianowicie do zagadnienia wpływu wywieranego przez zyski, osiągane w handlu z kolonią i w ogóle w handlu zagranicznym, na przeciętną stopę zysku i odpowiednio na ceny kosztu, które w koloniach są wyższe niż w metropolii. Marks wskazuje na to, że Smith zajmował w tej sprawie słuszniejsze stanowisko od Ricarda. Patrz też Karola Marks'a „Kapital”, t. III, część I, rozdział czternasty, punkt V: „Handel zagraniczny” (Warszawa 1957, str. 254–257). – 617.
- ¹²⁷ Patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, tom 26 (część pierwsza), str. 113–129 i 250–261. – 620.
- ¹²⁸ Patrz tamże, str. 129–144, 190–203 i 261–271. – 621.
- ¹²⁹ Przytoczony przez Marks'a przykład opiera się na przypuszczeniu, że wskutek wzmożonej produkcyjności pracy 20 kwaterów pszenicy zastosowane jako nasiona przyniosą o połowę większy plon niż przedtem. Jeżeli przedtem zbiory dawały, dajmy na to, 100 kwaterów, to teraz przy zastosowaniu takiej samej ilości pracy otrzymuje się 150 kwaterów. Ale te 150 kwaterów kosztują to samo, co przedtem kosztowało 100 kwaterów, czyli 300 f. szt. Przedtem nasiona (zarówno pod względem ilości kwaterów, jak i wartości) stanowiły 20%, teraz zaś już tylko 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ %. – 623.
- ¹³⁰ Umieszczone w nawiasie słowa „Patrz McCullocha” Marks dopisał później ołówkiem. W liście do Engelsa z dnia 24 sierpnia 1867 r. Marks zawiadamia Engelsa – powołując się na swój list z dnia 20 sierpnia 1862 r., w którym po raz pierwszy sformułował myśl o zużytkowaniu funduszu amortyzacyjnego do celów akumulacji – że znalazł później u McCullocha pewne aluzje do tej sprawy. Marks ma na względzie książkę McCullocha „The Principles of Political Economy.” (str. 181/182 wydania edynburskiego z 1825 r.). Marks powraca do tego zagadnienia w trzeciej części „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” na str. 777 i 781 swego rękopisu. – 630.
- ¹³¹ Patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, tom 26 (część pierwsza), str. 129–144, 190–203, 261–271. – 642.
- ¹³² Chodzi o rozprawę „Przyczynek do krytyki ekonomii politycznej” (patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, tom 13, str. 88–89, 136–137 i 141–142). – 646.
- ¹³³ J.–B. Say, „Traité d'économie politique”, wyd. drugie, tom II, Paris 1814, str. 382: „Produkty wymienia się tylko na produkty”.

- To sformułowanie Saya powraca prawie dosłownie u Ricarda. Marks poddaje tę tezę krytyce w tomie niniejszym na str. 654–662 jak również w części trzeciej tego tomu w rozdziale dwudziestym. – 646.
- ¹³⁴ Marks ma na myśli rozważania Jamesa Mill'a o stałej i koniecznej równowadze produkcji i konsumpcji, podaży i popytu, sumy aktów sprzedaży i sumy aktów kupna, które to rozważania znajdują się w trzeciej części rozdziału czwartego książki Mill'a pt. „Elements of Political Economy”, na str. 186–195 wydania londyńskiego z 1821 r. Ten pogląd Jamesa Mill'a (wygłoszony po raz pierwszy w jego wydanej w Londynie w 1808 r. broszurze pt. „Commerce defended...”) Marks rozpatruje bardziej szczegółowo w dziale „Metamorfoza towarów” w swojej pracy pt. „Przyczynek do krytyki ekonomii politycznej” (zeszyt pierwszy), która ukazała się w Berlinie w czerwcu 1859 r. (patrz Marks–Engels, Dzieła, tom 13). – 647, 660.
- ¹³⁵ [Bailey], „A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures, and Causes of Value...”, London 1825, str. 71–93. – 649.
- ¹³⁶ W. Roscher, „Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie...”, wyd. trzecie, Stuttgart i Augsburg 1858, str. 368–370. – 653.
- ¹³⁷ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 647. – 658.
- ¹³⁸ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 627–630. – 665.
- ¹³⁹ Marks powołuje się tutaj na ustęp „Metamorfoza towarów” w swojej pracy „Przyczynek do krytyki ekonomii politycznej”, zeszyt 1, Berlin 1859. (Patrz również tom 13 niniejszego wydania, str. 79–91). – 665.
- ¹⁴⁰ Marks mówi tu o tej części swoich badań, która urosła potem do rozmiarów III tomu „Kapitału”. Patrz przypis 12 w części I „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” (Marks–Engels, Dzieła, tom 26 (część pierwsza)). – 672.
- ¹⁴¹ Krótkie uwagi o formach kryzysu naszkicował Marks wkrótce po tym na okładkach zeszytu XIII (strona 770a rękopisu) i zeszytu XIV (strony 771a i 861a). Tekst tych stron zamieszczony został zgodnie z uwagą Marks'a „Do str. 716” w ustępie „O formach kryzysu”. – 678.
- ¹⁴² W rękopisie następuje tu dopisana przez Marks'a krótka wstawka o poglądach Ricarda na pieniądz i wartość wymienną. Wstawkę tę Marks umieścił w nawiasie i zaopatrzył we wskazówkę, że należy przenieść ją na inne miejsce, gdyż utrudnia zrozumienie bezpośred-

- niego związku wywodów autora. Stosownie do tego zalecenia wstawkę zamieściliśmy jako odsyłacz na str. 661. – 681.
- ¹⁴³ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 647 i 651. – 681.
- ¹⁴⁴ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 259–264. – 682.
- ¹⁴⁵ Marks powołuje się tutaj na zeszyty I–V swojego rękopisu z lat 1861–1863, w szczególności na zamieszczone tam fragmenty o produkcji absolutnej wartości dodatkowej oraz produkcji względnej wartości dodatkowej. – 683.
- ¹⁴⁶ Patrz David Ricardo, „On the Principles of Political Economy”, cyt. wyd., str. 342. – 684.
- ¹⁴⁷ Do rękopisu Marks włączył tu w nawiasie niewielką wstawkę, której treścią jest przykład częściowego kryzysu – nadprodukcja przędzy, wywołana przez wprowadzenie maszyny przędzalniczej. Wstawkę tę umieszczono w postaci odsyłacza na str. 682. – 685.
- ¹⁴⁸ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 655, 660 i 663. – 694.
- ¹⁴⁹ Marks ma tutaj na myśli rozważania Saya (zawarte w jego „*Lettres à Malthus*”, Paris–London 1820, str. 15), że przyczyną, na przykład, przepelnienia włoskiego rynku towarami angielskimi jest niewystarczająca produkcja określonych towarów włoskich, które by mogły być wymienione na towary angielskie. Rozważania te zostały przytoczone w wydanej anonimowo broszurze „*An Inquiry into those Principles...*”, London 1821, str. 15, i znajdują się w sporządzonych przez Marksę wypisach (zeszyt XII, str. 12). Por. również w związku z tym tezę Saya, że trudności w zbycie pewnych produktów spowodowane są rzadkością jakichś innych, którą Marks poddaje krytyce w części pierwszej niniejszego tomu, str. 293. – 695.
- ¹⁵⁰ Th. Tooke, „A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation”, tomy I–VI, London 1838–1857. O wpływie pogody na ceny wspomina Tooke w wielu miejscach swojej sześciotomowej pracy, która ukazała się w roku 1848. – 697.
- ¹⁵¹ Por. tom niniejszy, str. 651–652. – 698.
- ¹⁵² Sismondi ujmował kryzysy jako „disproportion croissante entre la production et la consommation” [„wzrastającą dysproporcję między produkcją a konsumpcją”] („Nouveaux principes d'économie politique ou de la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population”, wydanie drugie, tom pierwszy, Paryż 1827). W „Nędzy filozofii...” Marks mówi, że według teorii Sismondiego „dochód zmniejsza się w stosunku prostym do wzrostu produkcji” (patrz Marks–Engels,

Dzieła, tom 4, str. 75). W trzeciej części „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” Marks powraca do poglądów Sismondiego na kryzysy, podkreślając zarówno cenne elementy koncepcji tego autora, jak i właściwe jej podstawowe wady (patrz zwłaszcza str. 775 rękopisu). – 699.

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¹⁵⁵ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 732–739. – 726.

¹⁵⁶ Według wszelkiego prawdopodobieństwa Ricardo ma tu na myśli przemówienie, które w dniu 16 grudnia 1819 r. wygłosił w angielskiej Izbie Gmin z powodu wniosku Williama de Crespigny o powołanie specjalnej komisji do zbadania Owenowskiego planu likwidacji bezrobocia i poprawy sytuacji klas pracujących.

W przemówieniu tym Ricardo utrzymywał, że nie można na ogół zaprzeczyć, iż „machinery did not lessen the demand for labour” („maszyny nie zmniejszyły popytu na pracę”) (patrz: The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo. Edited by Piero Sraffa. tom V, Cambridge 1952, str. 30). – 727.

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¹⁵⁸ W sprawie pojęcia „*real wages*” w rozumieniu Ricarda patrz str. 525, 529, 546 i 555–556. – 731.

¹⁵⁹ Ogłoszone tu jako załączniki do II części „Teorii wartości dodatkowej” zwięzłe uwagi Marks napisał na okładkach XI, XII i XIII zeszytu rękopisu. Zawierają one materiał uzupełniający niektóre zagadnienia, które Marks roztrząsa w niniejszej książce. – 769.

¹⁶⁰ Patrz tom niniejszy, str. 458 i nast. – 771.

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Darwin, Charles Robert (1809–1882), przyrodnik angielski, twórca teorii ewolucyjnego powstawania gatunków. – 139, 143–144.

D'Avenant (Davenant), Charles (1656–1714), angielski ekonomista i statystyk, jeden z najwybitniejszych teoretyków mercantylizmu. – 134, 155.

De Quincey, Thomas (1785–1859), angielski pisarz i ekonomista, komentator Ricarda. – 556–557, 601–602.

Dombasle, Christophe-Joseph-Alexandre Mathieu de (1777–1843), agronom francuski. – 17.

Emery, Charles Edward (ur. 1838), wynalazca amerykański. – 755.

Forster, Nathaniel (ok. 1726–1790), duchowny angielski, autor prac ekonomicznych. – 773.

Fourier, François-Marie-Charles (1772–1837), wybitny francuski socjalista utopijny. – 290.

Fullarton, John (1780–1849), ekonomista angielski, autor prac z zakresu obiegu pieniądza i kredytu. – 653.

Hallett, Frederic Francis (XIX w.), agronom angielski. – 604.

Hansbrow (XIX w.), wynalazca amerykański. – 756.

Hawes (XIX w.), wynalazca amerykański. – 755.

Henryk VII (1457–1509), król angielski (1485–1509). – 299.

Herbert, Claude-Jacques (1700–1758), ekonomista francuski, jeden z poprzedników Malthusa. – 143.

Hodgskin, Thomas (1787–1869), angielski ekonomista i publicysta, utopijny socjalista. – 777.

Hopkins, Thomas (XIX w.), ekonomista angielski. – 29, 57, 151, 165–171, 774.

Hüllmann, Karl Dietrich (1765–1846), historyk mediewista. – 296.

Humie, David (1711–1776), szkocki filozof, historyk i ekonomista. – 149.

Humie, James Deacon (1774–1842), ekonomista angielski, zwolennik wolnego handlu. – 526, 775–776.

King, Gregory (1648–1712), statystyk angielski. – 767.

Kirchmann, Julius Hermann von (1802–1884), niemiecki prawnik, filozof i publicysta, w 1848 r. poseł do pruskiego Zgromadzenia Narodowego (lewe centrum), a w 1849 r. – do Drugiej Izby; później działacz Partii Postępowej. – 3, 57, 185–186, 197, 303.

Ludwik XIV (1638–1715), król francuski (1643–1715). – 167.

Ludwik XV (1710–1774), król francuski (1715–1774). – 167.

Ludwik XVI (1754–1793), król francuski (1774–1792). – 167.

Maltbus, Thomas Robert (1766–1834), duchowny angielski, ekonomista, autor teorii, według której nadmierny przyrost ludności jest źródłem nędzy mas. – 26, 29, 75, 135–146, 167–168, 177–184, 201, 207, 238, 249, 281, 439–440, 514, 519, 545, 555, 635, 706, 717, 758, 771, 775–776.

McCulloch (MacCulloch), John Ramsay (1789–1864), ekonomista szkocki. wulgaryzator teorii Ricarda. – 136, 145, 148, 179, 239–241, 630.

M'Cormick (MacCormick), Cyrus Hall (1809–1884), wynalazca amerykański. – 756.

Megerle, Hans Ulrich (pseudonim: *Abraham a Santa Clara*) (1644–1709), kaznodzieja i pisarz niemiecki. – 143.

Mill, James (1773–1836), angielski ekonomista i filozof, zwolennik Ricarda. – 188, 239, 646, 660–661.

Mill, John Stuart (1806–1873), angielski filozof i ekonomista, syn Jamesa Mill'a. – 48, 146, 658.

Newman, Francis William (1797–1842), amerykański filozof i ekonomista. – 16, 34, 412.

Opdyke, George (1805–1880), amerykański przedsiębiorca i ekonomista. – 29.

Owidiusz (Ovidius Naso Publius) (43 p.n.e. – 17 n.e.), poeta rzymski. – 147.

Petty, sir William (1623–1687), angielski ekonomista i statystyk. – 133–134, 155.

Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1809–1865), francuski socjolog i ekonomista, ideolog drobnomieszczaństwa, jeden z pierwszych teoretyków anarchizmu. – 9, 197.

Quesnay, François (1694–1774), francuski ekonomista i lekarz, założyciel szkoły fizjokratów. – 43–44.

Quincey, Thomas de – patrz *De Quincey, Thomas*.

Ramsay, sir George (1800–1871), ekonomista angielski. – 761.

Ricardo, David (1772–1823), ekonomista angielski, stworzył podstawy ekonomii klasycznej. – 3, 8–10, 21, 26–29, 41–42, 59, 71, 81, 98, 102–103, 109–127, 129–130, 135–316, 345–348, 370, 380–381, 390–440, 455–456, 463, 469, 471, 476, 485, 487–757, 759, 761–763.

Rodbertus (-Jagetzow), Johann Karl (1805–1875), pruski wielki właściciel ziemski, ekonomista. – 3–135, 148, 151–154, 184–199, 303, 308, 441, 771–772.

Roscher, Wilhelm Georg Friedrich (1817–1894), ekonomista niemiecki, twórca tzw. starszej historycznej szkoły w ekonomii politycznej. – 144–151, 158–159, 264, 653.

Say, Jean-Baptiste (1767–1832), ekonomista francuski, zwolennik liberalizmu i wolności życia gospodarczego. – 159, 204, 206, 271, 492–493, 522, 524, 615–616, 646–647, 657–658, 695, 723, 726.

Sismondi, Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de (1773–1842), szwajcarski ekonomista i historyk. – 40, 400, 493, 699.

Smith, Adam (1723–1790), ekonomista i filozof angielski, stworzył podstawy ekonomii klasycznej. – 21, 109, 125–126, 148, 185–186, 191, 200, 204–207, 210–211, 238, 250, 263–265, 267, 270, 272–297, 301, 305, 309–310, 314, 392–393, 399, 406–410, 424–

-439, 441–487, 490, 506, 518–523, 525–528, 530, 541–542, 546, 550, 555, 569, 571–572, 574, 608, 614, 616–622, 638, 644, 653–654, 687–689, 691, 708, 723, 726, 744–745, 758, 760, 767, 771.

Stewart (Stewart), sir James (znany również jako *Denham*) (1712–1780), ekonomista angielski, jeden z rzeczników merkantylizmu. – 135, 136, 143, 148, 292, 726.

Stirling, Patrick James (1809–1891), ekonomista angielski. – 28, 603.

Storch, Heinrich Friedrich von (1766–1835), ekonomista, statystyk i historyk rodem z Rygi. – 115, 371.

Tarello da Lonato, Camillo (XVI w.), agrobiolog włoski. – 178.

Tooke, Thomas (1774–1858), ekonomista angielski, zwolennik wolnego handlu, krytyk Ricardowskiej teorii pieniądza. – 136, 697.

Torrens, Robert (1780–1864), ekonomista angielski. – 239.

Townsend, Joseph (1739–1816), duchowny angielski, geolog i socjolog. – 136, 143.

Ure, Andrew (1778–1857), angielski chemik i ekonomista. – 653.

Wade, John (1788–1875), angielski publicysta, ekonomista i historyk. – 10.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796–1862), brytyjski mąż stanu i ekonomista. – 302, 383, 521.

Wallace, Robert (1697–1771), angielski teolog i statystyk. – 143–144.

Ward, W. H. (XIX w.), wynalazca amerykański. – 756.

West, sir Edward (1782–1828), ekonomista angielski. – 29, 136, 145, 165, 178, 309.

Whitney, Eli (1765–1825), wynalazca amerykański. – 755.

Wilson, James (1805–1860), angielski polityk i ekonomista, założyciel i redaktor pisma „*Economist*”, minister finansów (1853–1858). – 653.

Young, Arthur (1741–1820), angielski agronom i ekonomista. – 167.

W Y K A Z
W A G, M I A R, J E D N O S T E K
M O N E T A R N Y C H

W A G I

Tona (angielska)	1 016,05 kg
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M I A R Y

Miary powierzchni

akr	40,5 ara wzgl. 4 046,7 m ²
morga (dawna miara pola)	od 0,25 ha (w Hesji) do 0,36 ha (w Badenii)

Miary długości

łokieć (niemiecki)	2/3 m
jard	91,44 cm

Miary objętości

kwarter	290,79 l
buszel = 1/8 kwartera	36,35 l
pinta	0,567 l

J E D N O S T K I M O N E T A R N E

Frank (fr.)	około 81 fenigów
Gwinea (dawna angielska moneta złota)	21 szyllingów
Funt szterling (pound sterling, £, l.)	20 szyllingów
Szylling (shilling, sh.)	12 pensów
Pens (penny, pence, d.)	1/12 szyllinga
Farthing (najmniejsza ang. moneta miedziana)	1/4 pensa