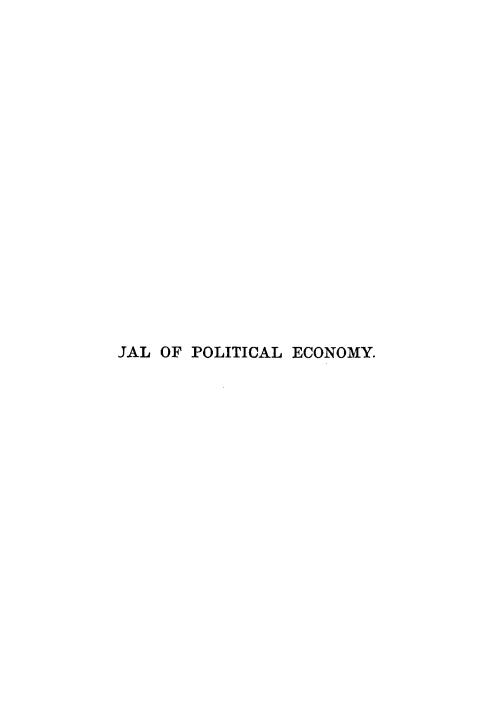
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# MANUAL

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# POLITICAL ECONOMY

BY

#### HON, HENRY FAWCETT, M.P. D.C.L. F.R.S.

OF TRINITY HALL, AND PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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The end I hope to attain, I may briefly state to be this. I think that all who take an interest in political and social questions, must desire to possess some knowledge of Political Economy. Mr Mill's treatise is so complete and so exhaustive, that many are afraid to encounter the labour and thought which are requisite to master it; perhaps, therefore, these may be induced to read an easier and much shorter work. I so well remember the great advantage which I derived from reading Mr Mill's book, that I would not publish my own work if I thought that it would withdraw students from the perusal of a more complete treatise. I am, however, convinced that those who become acquainted with the first principles of Political Economy, will be so much struck with the attractiveness and importance of the science, that they will not relinquish its study.

I have not attempted to discuss all the principles of Political Economy in full detail; but I believe no important branch of the subject has been omitted; and I therefore think that the principles which are explained in the present work will enable the reader to obtain a tolerably complete view of the whole science. In order to show how intimately Political Economy is connected with the practical questions of life, I have devoted a separate chapter to some subjects of great present interest; such, for instance, as Cooperative Societies-Strikes and Trades'-Unions—and The Effects of the Recent Gold Discoveries. For the convenience of the ordinary reader, and especially for those who may use the book to prepare themselves for examinations, I have prefixed a very detailed summary of Contents, which may be regarded as an analysis of the work.

I cannot conclude these prefatory remarks without acknowledging the kind assistance which I have derived from those who have verified my statistical facts; but have especially to thank my friend, Mr Leslie Stephon. Fellow of Trinity Hall. He has given me many m important suggestions, and has carefully revised the workathe accurate and complete knowledge which he possesses of the science makes his revision peculiarly valuable.

The labour of writing these pages would have be much greater, if I had not been fortunate enough have a most patient and excellent amanuensis in t youth who is to me so faithful an attendant.

<sup>&</sup>quot;RINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 1863.

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from England to France, English merchants will have a greater demand for bills drawn upon France, than French merchants for bills drawn upon England-Bills drawn upon France will consequently be at a premium-When this is the case, the exchange is said to be against England, and in favour of France-A country has consequently to export specie when the exchange is against her-Hence the expressions 'favourable' and 'unfavourable' exchange are remnants of the mercantile system-If the exchange is against a country, its money will be depreciated in value, when compared with the money of a country which has a favourable exchange—When a scarcity of gold is anticipated, bills may rise to a greater premium or fall to a greater discount than is represented by the cost of carriage—As an example, bills drawn on France rose 10 per cent. when it was known that Napoleon had landed from Elba—If an unfavourable exchange always required specie to be actually exported, the premium upon bills would always closely approximate to the cost of transmitting specie. There are, however, constant fluctuations in the premium upon bills, because an unfavourable exchange may be rapidly succeeded by a favourable exchange-An unfavourable exchange cannot be of long continuance. because it exerts a tendency to diminish the imports, and to increase exports-An export of the precious metals, as ordinary commodities of commerce, does not necessarily denote an unfavourable exchange.

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#### CHAPTER X. The Functions of Credit.

Credit signifies borrowing and lending, and therefore implies confidence—Credit is said to be good when there is confidence in those who borrow—The credit of an individual, as well as the credit of a state, is measured by the rate of interest paid for money borrowed—The oft-repeated maxim, that credit is capital, is a meaningless expression—Credit greatly assists the production of wealth, because wealth which is employed as capital is often borrowed from those who would not themselves employ productively the wealth which they lend—The deposit accounts which are held by banks illustrate the extent to which credit increases the capital of a country—Large public works, such as railways, could not be carried out if credit did not exist; the capital which they require is so large, that it must be borrowed from a great number of individuals—Credit enables all wealth which is saved to be applied to the most productive purposes.

### CHAPTER XI. The Influence of Credit on Prices.

Bills of exchange, telegraph drafts, bank-notes, and cheques may be regarded as instruments of credit—A bill of exchange is a written promise to pay a certain amount at a fixed date; a bank-note is a promise to pay a certain amount upon demand—Different bankers exchange their cheques and bills at the Clearing House, and the convenience of this course is great—Bills of exchange, bank-notes, and cheques provide substitutes for money—Hence the influence exerted by credit on prices—When commodities are bought and sold by bills of exchange, the use of money is as completely dispensed with as if commodities were exchanged by barter—If bills of exchange were not employed, one of two things would happen; either the money in

circulation must be increased, or specie would rise in value-It is credit, and not the particular form in which credit is given, which provides a substitute for money-Book-credits, for instance, although not existing in a transferable form, may provide as complete a substitute for money as bills of exchange—Bills of exchange cause the amount of credit which is given in a country to be much greater than it would be if book credits were alone employed-A bank-note is a more complete substitute for money than bills of exchange, because if bank-notes did not exist, money must be employed in most of the transactions which are carried on by bank-notes—If bank-notes did not exist, either more money must be brought into circulation or general prices would decline—A country requires a smaller amount of money if it employs bank-notes; hence bank-notes economise wealth, because gold and silver are valuable commodities—No effect is exerted on prices by bank-notes, if they simply occupy the place of a corresponding amount of money-General prices are advanced by a banknote circulation if bank-notes are added to the circulation without causing a corresponding amount of money to be withdrawn-Credit increases the purchasing power of each individual, and in this way exerts a great effect on prices—The effect, though great, is, however, temporary—Credit-purchases may enormously increase the demand for a commodity, and hence raise its price—But this rise in price is only temporary, because the price of all commodities ultimately approximates to their cost of production—The great purchasing power which may be exerted by credit illustrated by the tea speculations in 1830—The provisions of the Bank Charter Act explained—Speculative purchases which lead to a panic are not in the first instance made by bank-notes; hence restrictions upon the issue of bank-notes do not prevent commercial panics—In the latter stages of a panic, the demand for bank-notes and other money increases because credit collapses-Hence it has frequently been necessary to suspend the Bank Charter Act after a panic has continued some time-When trade is in its ordinary state, the bank-note circulation would not be increased if the Bank Act were repealed-The impression that the Bank Act will be suspended in a commercial crisis, increases the uncertainty and distrust prevalent at such a period-Creditors may be defrauded, and general prices may be raised without limit, if inconvertible notes are made a legal tender-These serious consequences do not occur if 

### CHAPTER XII. On the Rate of Interest.

The current rate of interest is determined by the price of Funds, because these securities involve no risk—In this chapter, two questions have to be investigated; in the first place, the causes which determine the normal or average current rate of interest must be explained, and secondly, the daily fluctuations in the current rate of interest must be accounted for—The current rate of interest must be such as will equalise the demand for loans to the supply—The average current rate of interest may be affected by national character, because some nations are more prudent, and therefore satisfied with a smaller rate of interest than others—If the average rate of profit advances, the current rate of interest must also rise—The rate of profit depends on the cost of labour; the cost of labour increases if food becomes more

expensive—If the current rate of interest advances, the price of securities and the price of land will decline—The causes which advance the rate of interest generally exert an influence to diminish the rent of land—Different rates of interest may prevail in different countries, because the people of one country will not invest their capital in another country without receiving some additional remuneration—Temporary fluctuations in the rate of discount or in the rate of increase in the demand for money—An increase in the demand for money is generally produced by contraction of credit.

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# CHAPTER XIII. On the Tendency of Profits to full as a Nation advances.

Adam Smith erroneously supposed that the rate of profit depended upon general prices—A rise or fall in general prices need not necessarily affect the rate of profit—Adam Smith was led into the error above alluded to by misinterpreting the phenomena connected with the depression and activity of trade—The average rate of profit is partly the cause and partly the effect of the amount of capital accumulated-When a country advances in population and wealth, two agencies operate to reduce profits: in the first place, food becomes more expensive, and the cost of labour is increased; and secondly, a greater capital is accumulated in proportion to the profits which can be realised upon it—The decline in the rate of profit in England retarded by the great amount of capital which we invest in foreign countries—Industrial improvements, and the importation of cheap food, may prevent the cost of labour increasing as a country advances in population—This explains the fact that the rate of profit has not declined in England, although her population and wealth have both greatly increased—A nation is said to be in a stationary state, when the rate of profit is so low that the accumulation of capital does not further increase.—The stationary state was more likely to be attained in the last century than at the present time-Surplus capital is absorbed, or rather destroyed, in a commercial panic; thus an influence is exerted to sustain the average rate of profit—A high rate of profit prevails in a colony, because fertile land is abundant-Agriculture must be the staple industry of a young colony-The returns to agriculture must be great when only the most fertile soils need be cultivated-Hence, in a colony, wages and profits are both generally

# CHAPTER XIV. Of Over-production or Excess of Supply.

Malthus, Chalmers, and Sismondi feared over-production, and therefore affirmed that some moral restraint ought to be exercised with regard to the accumulation of capital—Over-production has two meanings; it may either signify that commodities produced cannot be sold at remunerative prices, or it may signify that commodities are produced which are really not wanted—Over-production in its first signification will cause the profits of a particular trade to be low: the trade is then said to be dull or depressed, but such depression can only be temporary—The Lancashire Cotton Trade would have exhibited this first

kind of over-production, if the American Civil War had not occurred—This excessive supply of cotton goods would not be wasted; they would be readily purchased, if sold at sufficiently low prices—The accumulation of capital may reduce profits, but never causes more commodities to be produced than can be consumed—If capital continues to be accumulated, the wages of labourers would be increased—As an extreme case, it may be supposed that wages are so much increased, that all the wants of the labourer are satisfied; if, then, his wages are still further increased, he will shorten his hours of toil.

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#### CHAPTER XV. The Gold Discoveries.

The annual supply of gold was trebled by the discoveries in Australia and California-The expectation that this increased supply would cause a great fall in the value of gold was not fulfilled. There was only a moderate decline in its value, and during the last few years (1873-83) it is thought by some that in consequence of a falling-off in the supply of gold, accompanied by an increased demand, there has been a rise in its value—The disadvantages which result to a country from a variation in the value of the substance which it uses as money—Difficulty of estimating the change in the value of gold by a comparison of prices at different periods—It is probable that there was a rise in general prices after the gold discoveries of about 15 per cent.—This opinion was supported by the late Prof. Cairnes and by the late Prof. Jevons-The value of the precious metals is determined by the same laws which govern the price of agricultural produce, but because mining is a more speculative industry than agriculture a decline in the value of gold and silver will not so rapidly lead to the abandonment of the least productive mines as a fall in the value of agricultural produce will throw the least fertile soils out of cultivation—The absorption of the large additional supplies of gold without producing a great fall in its value affords conclusive evidence that the value of gold would have risen if these additional supplies had not been forthcoming-The increase of commerce consequent on free trade and the development of the railway system absorbed much of the new gold-There was also a large additional demand for silver: great quantities of silver were sent to India during the American civil war to purchase cotton and also for the construction of public works-As there was until lately but a slight increase in the annual supply of silver, the additional silver required for the East was to a considerable extent supplied from the currencies of France, Germany and other countries; gold partly took the place of this silver; there was thus an increased demand for gold, and another influence was in this way brought into operation to maintain the value of gold-During the last ten years various circumstances have occurred to arrest the depreciation in the value of gold: its supply has diminished and the demand for it has increased—It has been thought by some that the value of gold has lately increased—As there is much uncertainty about the future value of gold and silver, arrangements which involve fixed pecuniary payments over a long period of years should as far as possible be avoided—Why the gold discoveries have exerted a special influence in promoting the prosperity of Australia-Gold-digging is not more profitable than other kinds of industry, but a gold discovery acts more powerfully than any other cause to attract labour and capital to a colony—Other kinds of industry in a young colony involve, in the first

instance, great risks; a supply of labour must be insured, and much fixed capital has to be expended in constructing roads, &c.—These obstacles impede gold-digging less than any other industry.

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#### CHAPTER XVI. The Depreciation in the Value of Silver.

The supply of silver remained almost stationary until about 1870, when it very greatly increased—Silver has rapidly declined in price—The rapidity of the fall when compared with the slight and gradual fall in the value of gold explained by the circumstance that when the gold discoveries were made there was a great additional demand for gold; whereas there has been a great falling off in the demand for silver at the very time when its supply was increased—The falling-off in the demand for silver has been partly produced by the demonetisation of silver in Germany and other European countries—There has been a great falling-off in the demand for silver in India-The quantity exported during the last ten years is less than a third what it was during the ten years previously-This falling-off in the demand is chiefly produced by the increasing proportion of the Indian Revenue which is spent in England-The depreciation in silver may be estimated in two ways: first by comparing its value with that of gold, and secondly by considering its general purchasing power-The recent fall in the price of silver has not yet been accompanied by a general rise of prices in India-This rise in prices will probably however occur, because it will become exceptionally profitable to purchase goods in India and exceptionally unprofitable for the people of India to purchase goods abroad-This will stimulate the export of silver to India and check the fall in its price-India suffers peculiar inconvenience and loss from a depreciation in the value of silver, because a large portion of her revenue is fixed in pecuniary amount and is paid in silver, and she has annually to pay a large sum to England in gold—A gold currency is wholly unsuitable to India—The unadvisability of attempting to maintain the value of the rupee in India by limiting the coinage—The importance of guarding against fluctuations in the value of gold and silver-India has to bear a serious loss from the depreciation of silver, which must be met by increased economy ...... 493-510

# BOOK IV.

#### IMMALION.

# CHAPTER I. On the General Principles of Taxation.

Mr Mill and others give to this portion of the subject the general title 'The influence of Government'—We think it advisable to limit this portion of our subject to an inquiry into taxation—Adam Smith's four rules, or 'canons' of taxation are the following—1st. Taxation should be equal; and. Taxation should be certain in its amount; 3rd. Taxes should be levied at the time and in the mode which cause the least inconvenience to the tax-payer; 4th. A tax ought to obtain for the Government as much as possible of the whole amount which is levied from the tax-payer—Equality of taxation is impracticable, if it means taxing people in proportion to their means; this illustrated by the case of two individuals possessing equal incomes, one of whom is

#### CHAPTER II. On the Income-tax.

The proposal that temporary incomes should be taxed at a lower rate than permanent incomes is supported, by some persons, first upon arithmetical grounds, and secondly, upon the general principles of taxation—The arithmetical argument is conclusive, that temporary incomes ought to be taxed at the same rate as permanent incomes, if it is assumed that the income-tax is uniform in amount, and permanent—Temporary and permanent incomes ought to be taxed at a different rate, if the continuance of the income-tax could ever be restricted to a definite period—Experience proves that this is impossible—The difficulty and expense of collecting the income-tax would be greatly increased, if an equitable rating of temporary and permanent incomes should be attempted—It is generally affirmed that the income-tax ought to be so adjusted, that each person shall contribute to it in proportion to his means-This principle, even if it could be carried out, would not necessarily secure equality of taxation; this proposition illustrated by considering the remission of the tax upon small incomes-Various other difficulties described, which render the adjustment of the income-tax almost impracticable—Objection to a graduated or progressive income-tax—The incidence of a tax distinguishes the real from the nominal payer of the tax.—The incidence of the incometax will partly fall on the labourers, if any portion of the tax is paid out of capital—The wealth of a country may be seriously affected by an income-tax, if the tax diminishes the national capital-Hence, in India an income-tax would produce very serious consequences, because there capital is accumulated very slowly—If the income-tax is remitted upon incomes of less than 100l. a year, this amount ought to be deducted from all larger incomes, and only the remainder should be taxed -One serious inequality affecting the income-tax, is caused by the power which dishonest people have of evading it—The advantages of an income-tax in such a country as England outweigh the disadvantages .....

#### CHAPTER III. Taxes on Commodities and other Indirect Taxes.

Distinction between a direct and an indirect tax; the former is really paid by the person from whom it is levied; the latter is levied from one person, and paid by another—A tax is often made indirect by custom; for instance, the poor-rates are often paid by farmers, and are therefore an indirect tax—Poor-rates might be paid by the landlord; they would then be a direct tax—None of our taxes on commodities are protective—Taxes on commodities must be generally characterised by

inequality, because they can rarely be made ad valorem-Taxes on commodities are generally certain in their amount, and therefore obey Adam Smith's second rule-As far as the consumer is concerned, taxes on commodities are always paid at a convenient time, and therefore obey Adam Smith's third rule—Some taxes, such as the tax on hops, were obliged to be levied from the producer at a very inconvenient time -The convenience of bonding houses-Taxes on commodities ought. as far as possible, to be made consistent with Adam Smith's last rule -Customs duties are most inexpensive to levy in an island, because a land frontier is more difficult to protect against smuggling-Excise and customs duties should be confined to a few articles of consumption-The most serious objection against taxes on commodities is due to the fact that a tax increases the price of a commodity by an amount which exceeds the sum which the tax yields to the State—This objection ought to be, as far as possible, guarded against; hence a manufactured commodity ought to be taxed in preference to the raw material-A tax on a manufactured commodity is objectionable, because it necessitates the enforcement of vexatious regulations by Government officers-It is intended that import and excise duties should be paid by the consumers, but an export duty is supposed to be mainly paid by foreigners —This, however, rarely happens; such a duty usually diminishes the export trade of a country, and thus decreases her national wealth-It would be most disastrous for England to impose an export duty on silk goods, because, as far as this branch of industry is concerned, we should be unable in foreign commerce to compete with other countries-The theory of international trade proves the impolicy of protective duties-Landowners are the only class that can be permanently benefited by protective duties; the value of the natural monopoly which they possess may be artificially increased by protection-Protective duties cannot, in the long run, increase the profits of any class of traders, because the competition of capital equalises profits in different trades—The Corn Laws benefited the landowners. not the tenant-farmers-The increased prosperity of the country compensates landowners for the abolition of protective duties; this illustrated by the rise in the rent of land in this country since the passing of free trade-An industry artificially fostered by protection may be destroyed by free trade; but this cannot be ultimately a loss to a nation—A strong party in Australia are in favour of imposing protective import duties.—They have supported this policy by a remark in Mr Mill's Political Economy, in reference to an apparent exception which he makes in favour of protective duties in certain branches of industry in a young colony-Reasons against imposing protective duties, even as a temporary expedient - A comparison between direct and indirect taxation useless—Each system has its peculiar disadvantages; hence equality of taxation is best secured by raising the revenue, partly by 

#### CHAPTER IV. On the Land-Tax.

The chief part of the revenue of India is raised by a land-tax.—A land-tax is simply rent.—When land is not cultivated by its owner a land-tax neither diminishes the profits of cultivation nor increases the price of agricultural produce.—If a land-tax exceeds a rack-rent in amount, the price of agricultural produce must rise, and therefore the consumers of this produce will be virtually taxed.—The importation of produce will be encouraged if the land-tax

exceeds a rack-rent; hence land will be thrown out of cultivation, and the land-tax will yield a smaller revenue—The land-tax in this country is small, because commuted at a fixed money payment—The tax-payers would have been benefited if the land-tax had not been thus commuted, but had been fixed at a certain definite proportion of the value of the land—A tithe may be regarded as a rent-charge, and tithes neither diminish the profits of the cultivator nor affect the price of agricultural produce—The Tithe Commutation Act was not quite fair to tithe-proprietors, because tithes are not affected by a rise in the price of stock—Agricultural improvements may be impeded if tithes are not commuted.

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# CHAPTER V. The Poor Law and its Influence on Pauperism.

An historical sketch of poor law legislation—The stringent laws against begging and vagrancy in the reign of Richard II.—Further legislation imperatively required in the time of Henry VIII. in consequence of the suppression of monasteries which had been centres of almsgiving-Various acts endeavouring to discriminate between voluntary and involuntary pauperism and to control private charity were passed— The experience gained of their working led to the passing of the poor law of Elizabeth in 1601 which first definitely established the right of every destitute person to receive relief and at the same time provided efficient safeguards against voluntary pauperism-The Elizabethan poor law continued in operation virtually unchanged, save for acts strengthening its principle, such as that which in 1723 established the workhouse test, till the latter half of the 18th century-Pauperism was at that time so insignificant in its proportions that it appears to have been thought unnecessary to maintain the stringency of Elizabeth's poor law—The workhouse test was abandoned—Gilbert's Act in 1782 and East's Act in 1815 abolished nearly all the checks on voluntary pauperism-The consequence of these relaxations and of the encouragement given in various ways to immorality, thriftlessness and dependence brought England to the verge of national bankruptcy-Rates threatened to absorb more than the entire value of the soil— Pauperism became a more remunerative profession than honest labour -This disastrous state of things led to the appointment of the Poor Law commission in 1832 and in 1834 to the passing of the New Poor Law re-enacting most of the Elizabethan checks on voluntary pauperism-A comparison of the poor laws of England, Ireland and Scotland proves that the amount of pauperism depends to a very large degree on the restrictions placed upon the distribution of out-door relief—Although pauperism has lately decreased in England and Scotland, and increased in Ireland, there is even now (1883) considerably less pauperism in Ireland in proportion to the population than in England and Scotland-The Union Chargeability Act-The Metropolitan Poor Act discourages out-door relief in London, and has been most useful in diminishing pauperism—The amount of pauperism in the various unions of England varies largely, and is in the main controlled by the degree of skill with which the existing law is administered-Proportion of pauperism to population in the unions of Whitechapel, Linton (Cambs), Preston, Atcham, Oxford and Cambridge -Nearly all the motives for economical administration of the poor law would disappear if there were a national poor-rate—The dangers

associated with the poor law do not lead us to advocate its abolition—
It is valuable in affording some control over unorganised and indiscriminate private charity: it also protects the poorest classes from the desperation caused by the prospect of absolute destitution—Hence, though socialistic in its character, the poor law affords a safeguard against the extremes of revolutionary socialism—The influence of education, cooperation and thrift in preventing pauperism—Hindrances to the employment of women encourage pauperism—Every occupation which is closed to women drives them in additional numbers into those occupations which remain open, and hence a tendency is exerted to depress wages already sufficiently low—The principle of the factory acts is just as applied to children but is indefensible when applied to adult women.

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#### CHAPTER VI. Local Taxation.

# CHAPTER VII. The Incidence of Local Taxation.

Local taxation consists almost entirely of rates on real property-Figures quoted to prove that rates in towns are generally much higher than in country districts-Land is contributing a constantly decreasing amount to local taxation in comparison with other kinds of property—In the case of cultivated land, although the rates are usually paid by the occupier, their real incidence is upon the owner of the land... In the case of houses the incidence of by far the larger portion of the rates is upon the occupier; a small portion only falling upon the owner of the land on which the house is built—If, however, the house possesses such exceptional advantages of situation that the rent is only in a small degree determined by the cost of building, then the incidence of the rates is almost entirely upon the owner of the ground—When a uniform and general rate is imposed on business premises the rate really falls on the consumer-When rates are exceptionally high in a particular district they are a special tax on the profits of trade in that district -Rates imposed on railways and the railway passenger duty are a charge upon the profits of the shareholders and are not paid by railway passengers-The rates imposed upon water-works and gas-works are, except in certain exceptional cases, paid by the shareholders—The injustice explained of carrying out works of improvement by loans, the interest and capital of which are paid off in a fixed number of years, in the form of additional rates by the leasehold occupier, as distinguished from the owner of houses, land, and other rateable property...606-623

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