THE PRINCIPLES

 \mathbf{OF}

POLITICAL ECONOMY



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POLITICAL ECONOMY

BY

HENRY SIDGWICK,

AUTHOR OF "THE METHODS OF ETHICS."

Tis the day of the chattel,
Web to weave and corn to grind:
Things are in the saddle,
And ride mankind.

EMERSON.

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PREFACE.

THE character and scope of this treatise I have endeavoured to explain fully in the introductory chapter; it remains for me here to acknowledge my debts to the works that have chiefly aided me in composing it. After J. S. Mill's book, from which I first learned political economy, and on which the present work must be understood to be primarily founded, I believe that I owe most to Jevons' Theory of Political Economy, the leading ideas of which have been continually in my thoughts—though I have had occasion to dissent from many of Mr Jevons' particular opinions. I am also considerably indebted—in spite of still more fundamental disagreement—to Cairnes' Leading Principles of Political Economy: and also to the Economics of Industry, by Mr and Mrs Alfred Marshall, together with some papers by Mr Marshall on the theory of Value diagrammatically treated, which have been privately lent to me. I have also derived valuable suggestions from Mr Hearn's Plutology, and from Mr F. A. Walker's Wages; also from Mr Macleod, as

regards the theory of Money, and to some extent in treating of Wealth and Capital—though I do not agree with Mr Macleod's views about either of these fundamental terms, and am obliged to dissent most strongly from his general treatment of economic science. I must also express my obligations to the writer of an article on 'Industrial Monopolies' in the Quarterly Review of October, 1870.

Among foreign writers, I have derived most assistance from the works of Professors A. Held and A. Wagner; especially from the latter's elaborate systematic treatise on the subject.

Finally, I must acknowledge gratefully the aid that many friends have kindly given me, by supplying information or suggesting corrections required for various portions of the work while it was in progress; among whom I must particularly mention Mr F. W. Maitland, of Lincoln's Inn, and Mr J. N. Keynes, of Pembroke College, Cambridge. To the latter I am especially indebted for his kindness in reading and criticising the proof-sheets of the greater part of the book: which has enabled me to improve it in many respects.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I. THE PRESENT STATE OF ECONOMIC CONTROVERSY IN ENGLAND AND

	THE SPECIAL AIM OF THE PRESENT WORK.	
1.	During the last thirty years Political Economy in England has risen from the state of controversy on fundamental principles and method into that of an apparently estab- lished science, and again relapsed into the state of con-	PAGES
	troversy.	1—7
2.	My special aim is to eliminate needless polemics by a guarded restatement of traditional doctrines, with duo recognition of the advances made in economic theory by	~ 11
	recent writers.	7—11
	CHAPTER II.	
	THE SCOPE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.	,
1.	Is Political Economy a Science, concerned with what is, or an Art, concerned with what ought to be?	1214
2.	Originally it was conceived as an Art, and is formally so defined by Adam Smith; but the substance of the latter's doctrine inevitably rendered his exposition mainly that	
	of a science; ,	1418
3.	but not entirely, since the doctrine of laisser faire, characteristic of Adam Smith and his school, belongs to	
	Art;	18 - 24
4.	and, in the department of Production, the line between	
5.	Science and Art is difficult to draw.	2427
υ.	In this treatise, all questions as to proper governmental interference in economic matters are treated separately	
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CHAPTER III.

	THE METHOD OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE.	
1.	The ordinary treatment of the Theory of Production is mainly inductive and analytical—e.g. Mill's treatment is so.	30—36
2.	The traditional method of determining the Laws of Distribution and Exchange is primarily deductive and hypothetical, but obviously requires for application to concrete cases the aid of induction.	36 —38
3.	Both the general legitimacy of this method and its necessary limitations may be briefly shown by considering its chief hypotheses.	3 8—4 4
4.	In using the method, quantitative precision should be attained as far as possible; but the limits of attainable	
	precision should also be carefully noted	4446
	BOOK I.	
	PRODUCTION.	
	CHAPTER 1.	
	THE THEORY OF PRODUCTION.	
1.	In this book industry is viewed primarily as a function of the human community, without regard to the terms on which its members co-operate.	49-51
2,	But in order to use the notion of wealth with quantitative precision, we need a clear view of the measure of wealth,	
	and therefore of value	51
	CHAPTER II.	
	THE DEFINITION AND MEASURE OF VALUE,	
1.	Search for a definition is often the best way of examining what has to be defined. The definition often cannot be both useful for scientific purposes and in strict conformity with usage.	5256
2.	In making the notion of Exchange Value precise, the main difficulty is to find a measure of variations of value—since Labour is not the measure we require, either in	•
3.	Ricardo's sense or Adam Smith's	56—65
	exactness.	6569

CHAPTER III.

WEALTH,

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1.	The difficulties of measuring Value apply also to the measurement of wealth; and other difficulties arise from the varying relations of purchased and unpur-	-11-2-
_	chased utilities:	70—74
2.	however we cannot take Utility as a measure, discarding value;	74—77
3. 4.	especially, considering the variations in Needs	77—78
	may	79-80
5.	nor Culture or Skill,	80 - 82
6.	nor Debts—though used as medium of exchange	82 - 86
7.	We must distinguish Producers' wealth from Consumers' wealth, being primarily concerned with the latter, in	
8,	estimating the wealth of a community: and apply this distinction to the questions whether	86—88
	Patents, Copyrights, Goodwill, &c., are wealth	88—92
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2.	variations in amount of produce may be referred to several different causes:	96—98
3.	partly, to differences in men's material environment,	99 - 102
4.	partly, to differences in the quantity and quality of their labour.	102104
5.	These latter, again, are largely due to variously caused differences in the strength of motives to labour.	104110
6.	Efficiency of labour is greatly increased by cooperation, especially by Division of Employments: also by Invention—the development of which has at once aided, and been aided by, that of Cooperation—: also by Capital—	
	largely required in consequence of Invention	110120
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1.	'Capital' has to be differently defined from the point of view of the individual and that of the community; 'individual's capital' is wealth employed for profit;	120-124

~		PAGES
2.	and therefore includes land; but from the social point of view we must distinguish the two;	101 106
3.	restricting capital to results of human labour, but not ex-	124126
0.	cluding immaterial results, such as business connexion,	126-129
4.	and skill; but not physical strength, so far as this results	
	from consumption that is not merely a means to future	
	production	129 - 132
5.	Capital that is accumulated consists mainly of instru-	
c	ments, not food of labourers;	132135
6.	narrowest sense, though in a wider sense it may be	
	called (consumers') capital; as may all unconsumed	
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3.	Malthus' 'Law of Population,' and the Law of Diminishing Returns from Land are valid, when duly qualified,	
	as abstract statements of tendencies; also the concrete	
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5.	still less the Law of increase of social capital	163—167
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	CHAPTER I.	
	INTRODUCTION.	
	The question 'how is produce shared among the different	
	classes who cooperate in production' is convertible with	
	the question 'what determines the exchange value of	
	their services.' The theory of Distribution (assuming	
	free contract) has therefore close affinity to the Theory	
	of Exchange value of material products; and it is con-	171—179

CHAPTER II.

	THEORY OF EXCHANGE VALUE OF MATERIAL COMMODITI	
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2.	petition. Mill's exposition of the theory is in the main sound, but some of the cardinal terms—especially 'increase of	180—183
3,	demand'—involve ambiguities that need to be removed	183190
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4.	This is exemplified by the indefinite number of values possible in the case of a monopolized article;	192—193
5.	compared with that of a 'simply scarce' article	193196
6.	In explaining Market Value of wares that have a uniform cost of production, we have to show how Supply tends to be determined by prospects of loss and gain in hold-	
	ing back;	196 - 198
7.	and to note the diverse effects of speculation	198-200
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υ.	connexion, but has advantages.	228230
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2.	share of produce obtained by the owner of capital as such By 'rate of interest' is meant the commonly expected average yield of newly invested capital; which with	269—274

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3.	certain qualifications, may be taken as approximately uniform in a modern community at any given time. It depends on conditions of demand and supply combined:	274—279
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4.	It corresponds to average additional produce expected to be obtained by employment of last increment of floating capital, minus 'employer's fee'; therefore varies with variations in recognized opportunities of profitably using capital to aid labour.	283—289
5.	The reaction of changes in the rate of interest on the saving that supplies capital has an important, but not definitely measurable, tendency to keep the rate stable.	289—292
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5	duction';	378—380
5.	tion' or otherwise caused, and changes in purchasing power of money.	380383
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3.	exemplified further by special cases, in which the utility of socially useful services cannot be adequately appro- priated by the persons who might render them, or when ap-	419 414
4.	propriation and sale of such services would be wasteful: also where the gain of a change is largely counterbalanced	412—414
4,	by loss; and in case of monopoly:	414415
5.	also from the imperfectly employed labour that competi-	
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6.	also in the case of utilities distant in time	417—418
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3.	may take place for national defence,	428429
4.	for protection of life, health, reputation of individual citizens, adults or children,	429—432
5.	or of property from theft, fraud. Also governments have importantly restricted their enforcement of contracts	

		PAGES
6.	e. g. by bankruptcy laws—and, under the guise of judicial interpretation, have practically determined the conditions of ordinary engagements. Again many important questions as to the limits of the right of property have to be determined by government;	432—437
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٥. 4.	and the post-office. On somewhat similar grounds they	440449
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	and there are important advantages in its being under-	
	taken by government;	456 - 459
8.	which render it desirable that government should form a	
	special connexion with a bank; but not that it should undertake ordinary banking business—though certain	
	kinds of lending seem suited to government	459—463
9.	There are certain other departments in which govern-	400
	ments have intervened partly with a view to production:	
	thus in providing for education and culture they have	
	partly aimed at making labour more efficient	463—467
10.	They have partly on similar grounds assisted emigration:	467—469
II.	and arranged the sale of unoccupied lands on other than strictly commercial principles.	469—475
12.	Even in fully occupied countries, there are reasons for	100-110
	keeping certain portions of land under governmental	
	management, as forests; for restricting private property	
	in mines;	475-478
13,	and perhaps for interference with the tenure of agricultural land, in order to promote production.	A=0 A04
	rand, in order to promote production.	478484

CHAPTER V.

PROTECTION.

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2.	still more from a purely national point of view, in spite of	
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2.	The institution of private property, as extended to land, cannot be defended as strictly 'realizing freedom', or	
	'securing the fruits of labour'; though the gain to labour	
	in the aggregate from the accumulation of capital that	
	the institution has caused vastly outweighs its loss	
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3.	It does not however appear that private property and free contract together tend to give each labourer the	
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4.	It has been believed that laisser faire gives, or will give,	
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	but it certainly leaves room for serious inequality—which	
	might be prevented by governmental interference, if this were not harmful to production—from monopoly and	
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•.	increase happiness:	517—519
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2.	but we have to allow for loss through increased idleness,	
	decreased saving, lessened efficiency of capital, pressure	
	of population, checked growth of culture	520 - 525
3.	It seems impossible to dispense, as Communism seeks to	
	do, with the individualistic stimulus to labour and care,	
	and check to population	525 - 527
4.	But the ideal of Socialism is not open to the same objec-	
	tions; and a gradual advance in the direction of this	
	ideal, by a judicious extension of governmental functions,	
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ð.	The chief communistic institution, actually established	
	in England, is the provision for poor-relief; this, how-	
	ever might perhaps be made in other ways	532537
6.	Most other distributional interferences have been designed	
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	proper limits of such interference are hard to determine;	
	one important consideration is the efficiency of voluntary	
	provision for social needs,	537 - 541
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	expenditure (the amount of which must partly de-	
	pend on the possibilities of conveniently providing for	
	it)	542 544
2.	The commodities required for the use of government are	
	generally obtained by free purchase; though under	
	certain circumstances it is more economical to obtain	
	services—especially of soldiers—by direct compulsion .	544 - 547
3.	The funds for such purchases may come from (1) Rents,	
	or (2) Loans—which are under certain circumstances	
	legitimate, whether for productive employment, or as a	
	means of lightening an occasional burden by spreading it	
	over a longer period.	547551
4.	or (3) from payments for commodities supplied by govern-	
	ment - the price of which, when they are monopolised,	
	may be determined on various principles	551555
3 .	Taxes, commonly so called, can be only to a very limited	
	extent treated as payments for services rendered by	
	government	555559
6.	Distinguishing 'taxes proper' from such payments, we	
	may note the complexity of considerations, political and	
	economical, productional and distributional, which ought	
	to have weight in the selection of taxes.	559 562

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7.	We shall aim at proportioning taxation to that part of the income which is not spent in necessaries, nor in ways socially useful, nor invested in any form: the adjustment can at best be rough, especially if taxes be largely laid on commodities—a method however which is on several grounds to be recommended.	562-567
8.	The incidence of taxes is hard to determine, from the varying degrees of completeness and rapidity with which their burden tends to be transferred; illustrated by	
9.	taxes on Incomes, taxes on Land,	567—572
10.	stances	572—574
11.	over and above the gain to the treasury. Taxes on inheritance require special and separate treat-	574—577
	ment	577—579
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	POLITICAL ECONOMY AND PRIVATE MORALITY.	
l.	Political economy tends to influence the common notion of fair dealing especially in respect of taking advantage of (a) ignorance,	580—584
2.	and (b) need. Economic reasoning does not tend to justify a man in exacting much more than the normal competitive price for his service; but it makes us hesitate to condemn any one for taking full advantage of competition, except in case of extreme need, when humanity requires some gain to be foregone.	584—586
3.	Economic teaching has had a doubtful effect on the current dislike of 'rings' and other combinations—and the severer censure commonly passed on 'making work,' 'scamping	
4,	work,' &c	587—589
5.	value of Cooperation	589—590
	rious expenditure of the rich benefits the poor; but it has also drawn attention to the dangers of almsgiving.	590—591

CORRIGENDA.

On p. 186, line 7 from bottom, for "rises" read "falls"

On p. 219, line 4 from bottom, transpose "A" and "B"

On p. 220, line 10 from bottom, for "A" read "B"

On p. 253, line 8 from top, for "change" read "increase"

On p. 253, line 13 from top, for "creditors" read "debtors"

On p. 255, line 23 from top, for "rise" read "fall"

On p. 386, line 11 from top, for "class" read "place"

On p. 402, note 1 ad fin.

for "desire wealth obtainable by some other kind of labour more than they dislike that other kind"

read "prefer some other kind of labour either for its own sake or for its results"

On p. 479, line 10 from bottom, for "philosophic" read "philanthropic"

On p. 492, line 8 from top, for "tax" read "productional disadvantage"

On p. 497, line 5 from bottom, for "overrating" read "enervating"

On p. 506, line 6 from bottom, for "when" read "where"

On p. 513, last line,

for "this has been denied by modern socialists"

read "modern socialists have held that this result would be brought about"

On p. 539, line 3 from top, for "wealth" read "health"

