

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT, ENLIGHTENMENT, AND THE EMERGENCE OF ECONOMICS TEACHING*

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INTRODUCTION

1. Foreword

Most economists work today as economic teachers as well as researchers or advisers. But economic teaching is not only important at present, but has played a crucial role as well in the past. The foundation of the first chairs on Political Economy meant a significant step in the development of economic science. They did not start in the then richer countries – England, France- but in the poorer ones. They took place in Naples 250 years ago, with Antonio Genovesi as protagonist (1754). The second occurred in Glasgow, conducted by Adam Smith, sometime between 1752 and 1763. The third, at Aragon in 1784, entrusted to Lorenzo Normante. And the fourth in Buenos Aires, in 1823, with Pedro J. Agrelo as professor.

Those regions were emerging from a state of either subjection to foreign rule, decline or relative backwardness. All four cases meant no hazardous event, but made part and parcel of a new political project, focused on *economic development* and *updating higher teaching*.

2. Approaches

The *isolated* study of the cases of xviith century Enlightenment at Scotland, Southern Italy, Spain and at the River Plate¹ have proved fruitful, when this line of research began, on the ground of comparative advantage due to singular factors –access to certain sources, command of certain language, etc.– But at present the isolated results have reached sufficient maturity, and is time to bring together these loose threads. They may indeed be assembled, provided that some common traits are stressed. A first one is the formation of a zone of free circulation of ideas among the regions involved. Not less fruitful is a second fact: the *diversity* of nations. Geography and history lead to distinguish among “advanced” and “backward” countries. As Scottish, Neapolitan, Spanish and South-American socio-economic

situation in the second half of the seventeenth century are not better described by pointing to their affluence, but rather to their *poverty*, the countries are properly ranked as 'lacking', 'poor' or 'impoverished' countries.²

3. Enlightenment and economic geography

All four countries were at the time in the imminence of emerging from a *backward* condition, and entering into an era of *economic reform* and *social improvement*. The conscience of the own backwardness, plus the political determination to overcome that state, were a powerful drive to look for in foreign or domestic authors and in education fruitful ways of promoting economic progress.³ Enlightenment itself was a companion of backward countries –as Scotland, Naples, Spain or the River Plate– rather than advanced ones.⁴ Our case is that of 'under-developed regions'.

In this background the agenda for the prospective ruler of a country was to fill the lacks with public works, and cultural and economic reforms. The economic thinking consistent with that agenda was one that urged reforms to overcome the lacks or obstacles to development. Backwardness plus political change prompted an eagerness for Enlightenment. It also put into motion the mechanism of transmission and reception of knowledge.

II

SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT: HUME AND SMITH

4. A poor country

At the beginning of XVIIIth century, Scotland was a poor country, her agriculture confined to subsistence farming, manufacturing still in the stage of craftsmanship, and her trade and commerce limited by the lack of roads and the abundance of legal hindrances

5. A political change

In 1707 the Treaty of Union with England was confirmed by the Scottish parliament, by which the latter was merged with the English. The Treaty, beyond politics, meant an economic union with England and Wales, that together amounted to the largest free-trade area in Europe. Trade-freedom triggered Scotland's economic growth. By the Treaty Scottish ports, in respect to trade, were placed on the same footing as English ports, and the situation of Glasgow enabled it to acquire a full share of the ever-increasing Atlantic trade. It enjoyed a monopoly of the sale of raw and refined sugars, had the right to distil spirits from molasses free of duty, dealt largely in cured herring and salmon, sent hides to English tanners and manufactured soap and linen. As to roads, after the Jacobite uprising (1715), Gen. Wade was entrusted with the task of constructing them in the Highlands with military purposes, but they also served to the gradual growth of trade and commerce, apparent during the rule of

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Walpole (1721-42). As to agriculture, after the attempt (1745) of Prince Charles Edward to recover the throne, hereditary jurisdictions were abolished, the owners received compensation, and many of them used the money to effect great improvements in agriculture that made Scotland the envy of Europe. That period marked a new era in the history of Scottish farming.

The Treaty of Union opened English colonies to Scottish trade, which thus became enormously increased. Scott (1937: 79) gives us a picture:

From 1730 to 1770 remarkable progress was made. The opening of the tobacco trade with the plantations after the Union established a commerce which from small beginnings came immense. The Clyde imported tobacco and other colonial products, the greater part of the former being re-exported. In order to pay for these imports, manufactures, large and small, sprang up which supplied all, or almost all, the wants of the settlers. Saddlery and leather goods were prominent among these, and Glasgow had several tanneries –one of which is said to have been the largest in Europe ... Though a fire at the Custom House in which the local records were lost, there remain only stray figures which had been extracted earlier. These are sufficiently impressive. In the year 1771-2 over 45 million lbs. Of tobacco were imported, of which only a small part was retained for home consumption, the remainder being re-exported to the Continent.

Finally, the successful repairing by the mathematical-instrument maker to Glasgow University, James Watt of a Newcomen fire (steam) engine (1764), marked the beginning of an era of shipbuilding on a colossal scale and enormous developments in the iron industries and engineering that characterized Industrial Revolution.

6. Cultural reform

We shall not dwell here upon the history and reform of the four traditional Scottish universities (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews), but let us briefly notice that among them Edinburgh and Glasgow corresponded to the areas of more intense development in Scotland, and certainly in both acted the main protagonist of this chapter, viz. Adam Smith.

7. Teaching economics

Adam Smith was in 1751 elected to the Chair of Logic in Glasgow University. But in 1752 he was translated to the Chair of Moral Philosophy. Smith's teaching fell into four parts, of which the fourth, 'expediency', referred to Economics.

8. Economic writings

David Hume and Adam Smith were the leading figures of Scottish Enlightenment, as economics is concerned. At the time Smith began to teach Moral Philosophy, there appeared

comments to a previous version.

Hume's *Economic Writings* (1752), largely influential throughout Europe, in particular upon Genovesi at Naples.

Two sets of lecture-notes taken by students of Smith at Glasgow are up to now collected, covering the terms 1762-3 and 1763, respectively. Those Glasgow Lectures show Smith's first explorations in economics. In particular, they reveal an early concern about economic growth, as manifested itself in capital accumulation, and the need of changing the political framework of society in order to promote it. For example:

Under the feudal constitution there could be very little accumulation of stock, which will appear from considering the situation of these three orders of men which made up the whole body of the people, the peasants, the landlords, and the merchants. The peasants had leases which depended upon the caprice of their masters. They could never encrease in wealth because the landlord was ready to squeeze it all from them, and therefore they had no motive to acquire it. As little could the landlords encrease their wealth as they lived so indolent a life and were involved in perpetual wars. The merchants again were oppressed by all ranks, and were not able to secure the produce of their industry from rapine and violence. Thus there could be little accumulation of wealth at all. But after the fall of the feudal government, these obstacles to industry were removed and the stock of commodities began gradually to encrease.⁵

It was apparent in Smith's work a sort of enlightened openmindedness, that led him to embrace every relevant issue, and to adopt every viewpoint consistent with his own. In this setting, Marshall's favourite saying, 'It is all in A. Smith', still holds true.

III

NEAPOLITAN ENLIGHTENMENT: GENOVESI

9. A deranged country

Naples was ruled, since 1522, as a viceroyalty, in the name of a foreign power –first Spain, later the Austrian empire– what gave rise to revolts against foreign rule. In 1734, the arrival to Naples of a singular figure, half-Italian, half-Spaniard, Charles of Bourbon, duke of Parma, first-born from Elisabetta Farnese, and Philip V of Bourbon, prompted acclamation by the Neapolitans, not solely for having Italian blood, but also for identifying his enthronement, and dynasty-change, with the recovery of political independence and a national rebirth.⁶ This marked the *Great Awakening*⁷ of Naples.

Charles of Bourbon, then 24-years old, would devote a similar span of his life to reign over Naples, and to introduce reforms. When he acceded to the throne, the kingdom of Naples was devastated. It lacked roads, bridges and factories. Economic activities evolved under chaos and disorder:

«With a chaotic monetary system, the grain commerce overwhelmed by a multitude of hindrances, the royal pasture lands embracing a surface of fifty miles long, and fifteen wide, wherein it was forbidden to plant a single tree; *common lands* covering a huge surface; private lands incapable of being

enclosed, subject to the servitude of grass: feuds, trust territories, privileges for hunting, baking, and milling, linked property and multiplied burdens, suits, and pettifoggers. There were almost ten thousand feudatories, that is, people's oppressors who had the right of appointing judges and governors, and to exact tolls, tithes, labour services and first-fruits; the number of religious was enormous. Only in the continent, within a population well below 5 million people, over 100 thousand were religious, including some thirty thousand friars, twenty three thousand nuns, and fifty thousand secular priests, all of whom were owners of wealthy estates and tax-exempt. On the other hand there was not a single court of justice along fourteen provinces, while the annual murders were reckoned in many thousands, and in thirty thousands the number of thieves. Poisonings were so frequent in the capital, that a council of poisoning had to be created, and in the meanwhile the jails lodged within their walls but smugglers or trespassers to the regulations about hunting or fishing». Cantù, C. (1838-47, v.6: 240)

Then a sort of "New Deal" was necessary.⁸ Ecclesiastical privileges and immunities were diminished, and the number of religious was reduced. Next came feudality, that was intended to be weakened and subdued; to achieve that end, the barons were invited to the court; among the feasts and magnificence of Naples many of them got ruined, while their absence diminished their power in the provinces.

The reforms and public works provoked a significant expansion of the money supply, and consequently an increase in employment and industry. Not only the splendour of a brilliant court implied greater *current* expenses, but also *capital* expenses: the construction of magnificent buildings, like the Court Theatre of San Carlo, the Royal Palace of Capodimonte, and the Royal Palace of Caserta with its park over more than 120 ha, spending in it over six millions ducats, engrossed monetary circulation. There also began the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Great roads were opened in the surroundings of Naples. Magnificence, and with it a greater money supply, proceeded for two decades as a main concern of Neapolitan govern.

10. A chair, a book

After two decades of intense reforming policy, the work of order and progress of king Charles was thought to acquire social scope and political aim if it was illuminated by the light of reason: reformism wanted enlightenment. Bartolommeo Intieri was the man who imagined that idea. The way of achieving it had no antecedent: the teaching of economics. The creation of a chair, wherein the many European economic studies would be joined together, in a sole *Corpus*, synthesized and delivered as lectures to alert listeners.

Antonio Genovesi was a candidate to perform such a deed.⁹ He had taught philosophy at the University of Naples since 1741, had written works recognized as masterworks. His command on classic and living languages would pave the way of getting acquainted with Greek and Roman classics as well as English, French and Spanish authors.

Intieri offered to endow the chair with 7500 ducats, and its annual rent of 300 ducats would be the wages of the professor.¹⁰ He set as proviso that the chair should be commanded by Genovesi, that after his death no religious would occupy it, and that the

lectures were given in "good Italian language". Some anticlericalism was apparent in the *Intierian chair*.

The king on 16 March 1754 conferred his approval upon the Intierian project. This support implied personal involvement in the project.¹¹ Genovesi in turn corresponded by lending his support to the king's reform-maker Bernardo Tanucci. Economic reform became backed by welfare economics.

Genovesi was not only a profound thinker, but also a productive researcher, unduly neglected. The recognition of Genovesi's contribution is shown to fall short of their worth. The ***New Palgrave*** (vol.2: 514) disqualifies him for lacking "any systematic order", being "a mercantilist", and "want of originality", shortcomings largely untenable. Schumpeter only recognised his coining of the concept "just population". Current literature ignores Genovesi's contributions, such as the "just (optimum) quantity of money. His specific contribution was to conceive money within a normative or welfare framework, and to prescribe a limit to money circulation. With regard to markets, Genovesi clearly was a forerunner of Smith's *Invisible Hand*, nowadays a theorem in welfare economics.

11. Genovesi's *Lezioni*: an original contribution

The comprehensiveness of Genovesi's treatise gained to it domestic repercussion, for being written in the common language and not in Latin as was usual, as well as to collect innumerable proposals for the Kingdom of Naples. The book started discussing the motives of human action, and classifying human needs (primary, secondary). The primary, linked to subsistence, were related to five productions: hunting, fishing, shepherding, agriculture and mining. The secondary were activities of comfort (manufacturing industry) or luxury-oriented. According to which was prevalent, so was the degree of development of the nation: in the early ages, with few needs, the activities were hunting and fishing; the multiplying of needs led to domesticate cattle, and a second stage was reached; population increase prompted to develop agriculture, a third stage; discovery of iron and with it the production of tools, marked the fourth stage; that in turn encouraged manufacturing to improve raw material; lastly, manufacturing would make possible foreign trade, "inexhaustible source of riches", as said Genovesi. Population needs would determine the scale of operation in each activity, which did not implied autarky: Naples should be inserted in the commercial world, and it should choose its own mode of insertion, i. e. what activity operate to a scale higher than the domestic needs, in order to achieve an "exportable surplus". Genovesi searched for an answer in the past literature from the foreign policy followed by the great powers, including the Austrians – and so in Hörnigk's book –, or in the English writers. Therefore he supported that the export of raw produce in exchange for manufactures would be harmful for Naples.

Instead, the export of manufactures in exchange for raw produce would be an advantageous trade. In this judgement he adopted a criterion of *social benefit*, based on the number of employments that each alternative allowed to create, and the possibility of opening outlets to surplus goods and allowing to dispose of goods wanted.

The *Lezioni* did not confine themselves to “codify” the literature, but contained original contributions, that will be discussed presently.

12. Monetary policy

Genovesi's monetary theory found practical application to the Neapolitan economy. He had witnessed the program of reform and public works undertaken by the king and his ministers. Those public works had implied a reform of the tax system, to increase public revenues, and a constant expansion of the money supply owing to much greater public expenses.

13. Trade freedom

Genovesi condemned the foreign commerce consisting of exporting raw produce and importing manufactures. He urged regulating foreign trade so as to avoid harmful trade and promote beneficial trade. With regard to the internal market system, he held that *libertà di trafficare* (liberty of commerce) was desirable.¹² The development of the latter assertion made Genovesi a precursor of Adam Smith.

The alleged excellence of the market system is usually founded upon Adam Smith’s widely known parable of the *Invisible Hand*, whence is drawn the statement that the individual profit-maximising behaviour also maximises the society’s aggregate income.

Decomposing the *Invisible Hand* passage into its main sentences, it may be appreciated that Adam Smith’s text was foretold by Genovesi:

<p><u>Smith (1776)</u></p> <p><i>Every individual endeavours as much as he can ... so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value;</i></p> <p><i>He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest ... He intends only his own gain</i></p> <p><i>every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. ... By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society</i></p>	<p><u>Genovesi (1765)</u>¹³</p> <p><i>the profit and return that they nearby foresee, and that may be actually reaped, makes them feel a great wish of working, trading, and enriching.</i>¹⁴</p> <p><i>And notwithstanding when endeavouring to enrich people only aim at their own interest</i>¹⁵</p> <p><i>it is no less true that enriching they promote the public interest by enriching the whole Nation.</i>¹⁶</p>
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The Invisible Hand parable is deemed the best eulogy of the free market system. However Professors Julio H. G. Olivera (1976) and Paul A. Samuelson (1977) have seen it as an anticipation of a theorem on maximum welfare which may be found in contemporary textbooks. Prof. Olivera interpreted all the reasoning of Smith as the gradual unfolding of a theorem on Linear Economics.¹⁷

If Genovesi's "libertà di trafficare" led to a precursor form of Smith's theorem, then two denials follow about Genovesi's performance: 1) he was *not* a "mercantilist", and 2) he was *not* unoriginal.

IV

SPANISH ENLIGHTENMENT: NORMANTE

14. King and messenger

Spain's decline in the xviith century has been explored many times, and we only need a brief outline of the main facts, which formed the Austrian legacy handed on the Bourbons: decrease of population, fall of silver inflow, decline of agricultural and cattle-breeding, fall of exports, and industrial retrocession.¹⁸

After having occupied a quarter of a century the throne of the Two Sicilies, Charles of Bourbon, abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand. The death of his brother Ferdinand VI on 10 August 1759 had made him to become king of Spain, as Charles III. When the new king arrived at Spain, the spectacle before his eyes was like an area after an earthquake. The task of reconstruction promised not to be smaller than that he had undertaken at Naples. He then started an era of reforms, as he had accomplished at Naples.¹⁹

Charles' landing at Barcelona was warmly welcome, as it had occurred at Palermo twenty-five years earlier. Behind remained Genovesi and his lecturing. His *Lezioni* would be published six years later, and the treatise would not pass unnoticed, neither to the king nor to Spain.

15. The Aragonese Society

Carlos III's strategic ally of his reform policy was the system of Royal Economic Societies of Friends of the Country, founded at the main cities and regions of Spain, overtly backing the King. The boom of Societies began after the publication of *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (Discourse on the encouragement of popular industry) by Campomanes, the Asturian economist called «Charles III's economist».²⁰ The societies encouraged "practical arts", dignifying of artisans, and technological advance applied to production.

The *Royal Aragonese Society* (RAS), founded in 1776 at Saragossa,²¹ was one of the most active.²² Therein flourished four great²³ Aragonese authors: the priest Antonio Arteta de Monteseuro²⁴, “spokesman” of the RAS²⁵; the young lawyer Lorenzo Normante y Carcavilla, his professor at Huesca Victorián de Villava, and the exile Miguel Dámaso Generés. Arteta and Generés supported the nucleus of the Aragonese economic enlightenment.²⁶ The doctrinal sources of their thought were Italian, mainly from Genovesi.²⁷

Arteta, a “powerful Aragonese thinker”²⁸, published in 1781 a *Dissertation* eulogizing practical arts, ***about the appreciation and esteem which practical arts are worth of, and of those who practice them with intelligence and zeal.***

The RAS also tried to re-create the Neapolitan experience of teaching economics, and established a chair of economics (1784). The chair would follow the doctrines of Genovesi and Melon. As professor was appointed the 25-year member Normante, who began to teach on 24 October 1784, and also started to write *Proposiciones de economía civil y comercio* (1785), a synthesis of economics based on Genovesi.²⁹

16. Villava and Genovesi’s book.

The RAS promoted as well the translation of Genovesi’s treatise, in order to supply educational material for Normante’s chair.³⁰ Villava, the Professor of Code at the university of Huesca (and Normante’s professor) was entrusted to translate Genovesi’s *Lectures*, completed by 1785-86, and printed by the Ibarra press.

Villava’s translation dates the reception of Genovesi’s thought in Spain, reception far from being passive. The Aragonese translator introduced changes in the treatise – amputations and additions–. Among the *additions* were the translator’s *Introduction* and his *Notes*, at the end of each volume.

His “Preliminary discourse of the translator”, wherein “an account of the work is offered, and is qualified with all impartiality”, filled sixteen pages. Villava’s own paraphrasing of Genovesi led him to emphasize *the system of the book*, an authorised view, arising from Villava, an expert in order and system, in his quality of Professor of Code.³¹

In the *note (11)* to volume 2, corresponding to the First Part, chapter XVIII, “Digressione sulla libertà dell’annona” (Digression on the freedom of supply), Villava wrote an amazing statement: “As the maxims stated by the Author are the same as the French *economists* ... (and) as *Genovesi belongs to the sect of the former*, I thought that it would not be off of the point to quote here some of the more fundamental maxims”. Villava chose 18 maxims, whose content coincided with Dupont’s “Maximes générales du gouvernement économique d’un Royaume Agricole” (30 maxims), the one which Fernández López (1982) terms “Fourth version”. Still his quotation showed some maxims abridged.

17. Genovesi's treatise at Salamanca

Another Aragonese, Ramón de Salas y Cortés, was responsible for the introduction of Genovesi's *Lecciones* in the economic studies at Salamanca. In 1786 Salas y Cortés submitted to the Council of the University (formed by 23 members) a project to create an *Academy*³² and his own candidacy for director. The proposal was backed by 21 members, with one abstention and one vote in dissidence, that of the Dean. The *Academy* founded by Salas y Cortés began to function on 18 October 1787 under the name of "Academy of Spanish Law and Forensic Practice", directed by Salas during the period 1787-92. Salas adhered to liberalism, and had lived in America in his childhood.

While Salas y Cortés was teaching the Economics of Genovesi and annotating the *Lezioni*, opposition aroused from another academician, Prof. José Pando, who submitted a lengthy memorandum where, however arguing in favour of the subject, he claimed that it should be taught at another Faculty.³³ Pando further criticised the books (commended) by Salas y Cortés. About Genovesi's *Lecciones*, he said, "they are not advantageous to Spain, for they are abstract and alien to our reality".

18. Genovesi's treatise in America: two messengers

Genovesi's translator (Villava) and Genovesi's learner (Belgrano) were instrumental in transplanting Genovesi's treatise and thought to South America, through their own personal resettling at the New Continent.

19. Belgrano

Manuel Belgrano³⁴, of Italian ancestry, when the French Revolution broke out was a 19-year student of Law at Salamanca. That event changed drastically his views about which study was more urgent and what fresh tools were needed to be commanded in the new situation.³⁵ As a consequence Belgrano decided to shift his time to study living languages (instead of Latin), Public law (instead of Roman law), and to learn that new science called Political Economy.³⁶

Salas y Cortés, at his *Academy* and following Genovesi's book, marked the commencement of Belgrano's background in Economics, by that time a subject not included in the curriculum of law studies. Genovesi's treatise was highly commended, and Belgrano's way to economics was chalked by that book. Belgrano, in turn, would be the main transmitter of enlightenment to the intellectual circle at the River Plate.

The very first publication by Belgrano was a complete translation of Quesnay's *Maxims*. It is likely that his reading of Genovesi had been influential in the choosing of that work, and by a new translation Belgrano meant to offer a complete and more precise Spanish version than the abridged set of maxims offered in Villava's *Notes*.

V

ARGENTINE ENLIGHTENMENT: BELGRANO

20. Villava's journey to Buenos Aires

Villava applied in 1787 for a post of judge or prosecutor at the new Court of Buenos Aires, created in 1783. His application received no answer until the end of 1789. The leaving Viceroy of the River Plate, Nicolás del Campo Marquis of Loreto, in office until 4 December 1789, was to be judged in the so-called "Residence Trial".³⁷ Villava's 1787 request to move to America, once denied, became a solution for that need, and he was entrusted Loreto's residence trial and determined Villava's move to Buenos Aires.

Villava crossed the Atlantic in 1790 towards Buenos Aires, taking with him his own translation of Genovesi.³⁸ Villava refers to Genovesi saying that "Genovesi ... concludes the *third volume* on the influence of the great riches, and inclines himself to say that these do not cause happiness, neither to man in particular, nor to peoples".³⁹

After fifty five days of navigation he arrived at Montevideo and Buenos Aires, what he communicated on 5 April 1790. He was entrusted to perform the so called "Residence Trial" with regard to the leaving Viceroy, Nicolás del Campo, marquis of Loreto (in office until 4 December 1789).

In the late eighteenth-century the economy of the River Plate was still largely untouched by the hands of man.⁴⁰

In the dull environment of the colony, where the only chance of being acquainted with the (people) was social gatherings at the homes of rich families, Villava had innumerable opportunities of knowing people, of being asked for advice and to express opinions. By the way, he had many opportunities to make known his translation of Genovesi, and even to lend his copy or to bestow it upon, in the case of having brought with him more than one copy.⁴¹

21. Private claims

By that time at the Rio de la Plata a movement began towards economic enhancement. It was soon followed by three "petitions" to the authorities, in order to free the trade of grains and cow-products. The two most celebrated were the *Petition of the Farmers* (1793), the *Memorial of the Ranchers* (1794), and the *Manifesto of the Mining, Hunting, Fishing, Agriculture and Shepherding of the Province of Buenos Ayres* (1801). All three documents quoted extensive passages from Genovesi.⁴²

The documents were composed of excerpts from Genovesi,⁴³ drawn from Villava's translation.

The documents pointed to transform the primary produce in a source of profits. That cheap rude produce, the hides, was it worth to be exported freely and later import it again, manufactured as saddles and shoes, leaving to the foreigner the value added? Or instead to

manufacture at home the raw material and keep the value added? Mercantilism fostered the latter, although not for the colonies, but for the metropolis. Besides, to initiate a new productive branch sustained protection was required, until it was well established.

22. Petition of the Farmers

The "Petition of the Farmers of Buenos Aires", after assuring that they were before "the most fertile terrains of the World, capable of producing immense harvests of Grains, enough to sustain not only Spain in case of Dearness, but also a great part of the rest of Europe", complained for the "hindrances that embarrass the exportation of Grains". And it drew from Villava's Genovesi this passage: "Let the tradesman find his profit in the Grain trade: Do not compel anybody by force to buy nor to sell. Do not object to sell inside or outside the Province. Do not forbid entry nor exit: let the price increase or decrease in proportion the causes that provoke such a variation. Remove all gabelles and taxes. Let it be freedom of kneading. In a word let the Wheat trade as free as that of any other commodity".⁴⁴

23. Memorial of the Ranchers

The "Memorial of the Ranchers of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo" (1794), in turn, copied Genovesi: "it is the five fundamental arts of any State and those which produce the raw material that form the nerve of the Nation" and "The art of shepherding is without comparison the richest in this country", relative to hunting and fishing. But it was of no use to have "the richest country of the world", to serve a small domestic market and without "freely export to any place and in any time and in any quantity".⁴⁵ In brief, "when a nation has no trade, it is apparent that despite the excellency of the productions of the soil, they must be of no use, for not having outlet nor sale, the ranchers cannot work them, nor to flatter themselves with the hope of profits, which are what encourage to increase and improve the livestock, for trade is the spirit that excite ingenuity, gives motion and resurrect industry; is the main spring of all forces of the political body; and it is what produces and attract all the riches of the State".⁴⁶

24. The Manifesto

In October 1801 the weekly *Telógrafo Mercantil* published a ***Manifesto of the Mining, Hunting, Fishing, Agriculture and Shepherding of the Province of Buenos Ayres***. Written in first person, it repeated numerous passages from the *Memorial* (1794). That leads to think in a same author. Among the common passages, the eulogy of the soil is not absent: [Nature likes] "to pour exclusively in the Province of Buenos-Ayres all the treasure of its pleasantness, either for being located under a temperate weather, or for its immense extension of fertile lands, irrigated by infinite Rivers and streams".

25. Belgrano, Buenos Aires Consulate.

Manuel Belgrano at Buenos Aires⁴⁷ was one of the fathers of Argentina's political independence. An extensive reading of Genovesi's *Lezioni* was a companion of their independence projects. Belgrano's contributions to economic thought are condensed in a pair of physiocratic books (1794, 1796) translated from French, some thirteen "Memorias" (reports) read before the Consulate of Buenos Aires (1795-1809), and papers in the weekly *Courier of Commerce*, published between 1810 and 1811.

A profound influence of Genovesi is traceable in Belgrano's writings. He was a man of Enlightenment, as may be inferred from his *Third Memoria* (1798).⁴⁸

His first *Memoria* (1795) was wrapped in the garb of Quesnay's *Maxims*, published by Belgrano the year before. But the conceptual contents are large inspired in Genovesi and the enlightened Spaniards. He used Genovesi's scheme of the stages of development: "we found ourselves at the beginning of Society".⁴⁹ Then his proposals to improve agriculture, manufactures and commerce are the creation of technical schools for those specialties, where the activities could be taught stemming from rational principles, and not from usage. It is remarkable his praise for schools of technical drawing in order to facilitate the understanding of technical concepts and to support the "arts" or manufacturing activity. This is a development of the proposal by Genovesi: "The fittest school to improve and perfect the arts is drawing".⁵⁰

In the second *Memoria* (1797) Belgrano concentrated in the benefits to be derived from the cultivation of flax and hemp -raw materials for manufacturing nautical apparel-. The proposal was complementary with that of erecting a *Nautical School*. Both proposals may be found in Genovesi's *Lezioni*.⁵¹

In the third *Memoria*, read on 14 June 1798, Belgrano introduced the award of prizes to any persons who proposed means to advance some productive activity of the Rio de la Plata. It is the only writing where Belgrano explicitly quoted Genovesi: «The great Genovesi says that Cicero's maxim *honos alit artes*, is drawn from nature, and from human history»⁵²

In November 1799 it was inaugurated the *Nautical School*, at initiative of Belgrano. Then the appointed director, the Spanish engineer Pedro A. Cerviño, read a discourse which he entitled "Neptune's Trident, sceptre of the world", where he optimistically described the economic expansion through the export of products in own ships.

In the *Memoria* read in 1802, Belgrano elaborated the idea of developing the industry of tannery, and proposed to import tanners from Ireland.⁵³

An independent government was proclaimed at Buenos Aires in May 1810. It did not take much time to appear an economic literature based on a different political project. In particular, the weekly *Courier of Commerce*, founded by Belgrano, in its issue of September

1810 published the nine rules of advantageous trade, as expounded by Genovesi in "General rules of foreign trade".⁵⁴

In this fourth case the enlightened movement (in economics) preceded political change, as it had happened in France. But the creation of a chair on Economics was like other experiences an epiphenomena of the May Revolution.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

The present paper shows that the creation of chairs in Political Economy was closely associated to political change and well-oriented development policies. A new state has been the companion and requisite of new economic chairs. The latter in turn were aimed at forming fresh officials in the viewpoints of economics.

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NOTES

¹ These cases were dealt with, respectively, in the writings of Franco Venturi on Italian enlightenment, in a recent collective work on Spanish economic thought. Cf. the 8-volume work *Economía y economistas españoles* directed by Enrique Fuentes Quintana. See Fuentes Quintana (2000-04); and the series of contributions on the enlightenment at the River Plate by Chiaramonte (1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1979, 1982, 1989) and Mariluz Urquijo (1999).

² This situation may be due to not having ever got certain things –for being at the beginning of civilization and everything having to be done–. For instance, primitive economies –in our present concern, the River Plate in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries–. Or to having enjoyed in the past an era of splendour, having it lost, and afterwards being unable to keep the old infrastructure sustainable or certain activities at the previous pace. This is the case of ‘declining states’. For instance, the decay in the Middle Ages of the Roman roads across Europe after the fall of the Roman empire; or the Spanish ‘decline’ under the Habsburgs along the XVIIth century.

³ Cf. Myrdal (1957).

⁴ Such as England or France. “I molti saggi di storia economica del XVIII secolo forniscono ancora un quadro molto disuguale a seconda delle varie zone e dei diverse paesi dell’Europa di quell’età ... Sembra evidente che proprio questo tardo mercantilismo, se così vogliamo chiamarlo, era quel che più si adattava ai problemi di paesi che non erano né la Francia né la Inghilterra, alle esigenze cioè delle nazioni arretrate che prendevano coscienza della propria situazione attraverso il confronto dei paesi più ricchi e più attivi...” (Venturi 1970: 145, 154).

⁵ A. Smith (1978: 520). Also in Meek (1956: 46).

⁶ They were moved by “the initial hope and desire to exist once more as a nation after centuries of being a province”. Cf. Venturi (1972:199).

⁷ The phrase is Myrdal’s (1957).

⁸ Orsi (1923: 25).

⁹ Genovesi in a first moment thought that the pre-selected professor was Giuseppe Orlandi. Cf. Venturi (1969: 64).

¹⁰ Venturi (1969: 64).

¹¹ This is seemingly what is implied in Ernest Lluch’s dictum: “Genovesi was king Charles’ economist”. Cf. Usoz Otal (2000: 590)

¹² This two-sided standpoint was usual even in XVIIth century. Cf. Grice-Hutchinson (1978: 145).

¹³ Genovesi’s following quotations are included in *Lezioni*, ed. 1825, vol. I, ch. 17, § XIV, p. 265.

¹⁴ In Genovesi’s words: “Il guadagno e l’utile, che fa guardar vicino e che può veramente dare, loro fa nascere grandissima voglia di lavorare e trafficare e arricchire.”

¹⁵ In Genovesi’s words: “E benchè la gente in volendo arricchire non pensi che al suo privato interesse”.

¹⁶ Nondimeno arricchendo fa il vantaggio pubblico con arricchire la nazione tuttaquanta.

¹⁷ He specifically states “Adam Smith’s theorem” as follows: “Assume an economic system with two primary factors, land and labour, wherein activities are organized according to the principles of labour division and free competition. Assume fixed production coefficients and a productive activity only bounded by capital endowment. Under such conditions, given the amount of capital and technical knowledge, if each production unit maximizes its profit, the value of the system’s aggregate production is a maximum”.

¹⁸ Cf. Hamilton (1948).

¹⁹ The king himself would act as transmitter of the Neapolitan Great Awakening, which included a reform policy and Genovesi’s welfare economics. He also fostered the repletion of both experiences in Spain.

²⁰ By Vicent Llombart

²¹ Anés (1969: 27).

²² Llombart Rosa and Astigarraga Goenaga (2000, vol.3: 700).

²³ Lluch Martín (2000, vol.3: 727).

²⁴ Usoz Otal (2000, vol.3: 597n).

²⁵ Llombart Rosa (2000, vol.3: 33).

²⁶ Usoz Otal (2000, vol.3: 593).

²⁷ Usoz Otal (2000, vol.3: 602).

²⁸ Lluch. (2000, vol.3: 579).

²⁹ J.B.Say's translator and commentator, José Antonio Ponzón, recorded that experience in 1838: "The first chair of political economy in Spain ... was established at Saragossa by Don Carlos III in 1784, at the request of the Aragonese Society. This teaching was entrusted to Mr Normante, who performed it with great success, until 1801 when he was appointed official of the Treasury."

³⁰ Llombart Rosa and Astigarraga Goenaga (2000, vol.3: 700).

³¹ "It is admirable –said Villava- the sagacity with which [Genovesi] discovers and disentangles all and each of the natural causes and principles, that lead men by themselves to that society and unity of body, and also what naturally concurs to modify variously such societies. Once set out this first theory, or general view of the political body, turns to introduce, in other equally well closed, the moving and universal principle of personal actions, either regarded with no union than loose families, or associated in a political body. Once disentangled the nature and force of that moving principle, the various modification and activity within, in the various persons and bodies, either in virtue of the strength of physical forces, or by dint of the moral ones, he begins to draw from it, as from a spring, the origin of arts, and even of sciences; then he turns to consider the necessary diversity of classes among united people, in the formation of the civilian and political body, and in what way can these contribute to the strength, affluence and public happiness of the State that they form. Before turning to the number and proportion, that some classes must have with regard others, in order to achieve that ends, he deals with the common means to increase and multiply the members of the political body in general, to wit, the population, education, nutrition, and the causes that facilitate or hinder the application of those means. That accomplished he begins to consider under a universal theory the Arts and its better regime or, to name it with the proper word, its economy. According to the diverse of ends that in general are pursued by the Arts, he divides them into three classes, including within the first the fundamental ones, that is, those fruitful and productive, which are hunting, fishing, shepherding, agriculture, and mining: within the second those which serve to perfect the former, like the Smiths, Carpenters, Weavers, and in one word, all that contribute to make life easier: within the third the Arts of mere luxury, supported by the whims and caprices of men".

³² For "academy" in that time was meant a kind of study circle, formed by a group of students who periodically met under guidance of some teacher, in order to learn or perfect some branch of science.

³³ The Faculty of Laws should "consecrate, Pando said, exclusively to the teaching of both Laws". Political Economy was dangerous: "its great beauty, Pando added, distracts the students from more arid Law studies; it is a difficult science and it would take much effort to excel in it. More important, he concluded, are our *Partidas*, where the wisdom of the Catholic Kings' laws are embraced". Díaz Molano (1984: 80).

³⁴ *Née* Manuel Joaquín del Corazón de Jesús.

³⁵ He recalled that experience in his *Autobiography* (c. 1815). In his own words: "At the time of 1789 I stayed in Spain, and the French Revolution caused too a change of ideas, particularly on the men of letters with whom I was related, the ideas of liberty, equality, safety, and property took over me, and I only saw tyrants in those who opposed that man, wherever he was, did not enjoy the rights that God and nature had given to him, and which the societies themselves had agreed in establishing directly or indirectly".

³⁶ In his own words: "I confess that my diligence was focused not so much in the career that I went to undertake, but to the study of living languages, political economy and public law". Belgrano even intended to perform a journey to Italy, as he declared in a letter.

³⁷ The Residence Judge should hear complaints for injuries to all kinds of citizens, among which there highlighted the deportation of Baltasar Maziel, a beloved priest considered as master of the youth, whose banishment was considered injurious by many people. The hearings, proceedings, and sentence took near a year.

³⁸ The latter is proved by the fact that on 9 March 1793 Villava submitted to the Royal Audience of Charcas his writing on "The *mita* of Potosí", wherein he quotes, from his own translation, Genovesi's thought about an excess money supply (*Lecciones*, vol.III, part II, ch.9, § IX, p. 107 of Villava's translation).

³⁹ Our italics. The passage belongs to chapter XIII of part II, §§ 38-73, pp.255-81 of volume *third* in Villava's translation. The same text is found in the *second* volume of the *Lezioni*, §§ XXXVIII-LXXIII, pp.255-81.

⁴⁰ With very few people (some 40.000 inhabitants) and very far from the Potosi silver mines, the only activity with some extent was the manufacturing of hides, tallow and meat, all rude produce from the hunting and killing of wild cattle. The sole technology available for meat conservation was the salting of those products in order to export them. Tannery was unknown. Agriculture was practised for the sake of subsistence, and fishing and mining were unknown too.

⁴¹ In fact a copy of Genovesi's *Lezioni* was recorded at the library of Pedro Alcántara de Arredondo. Cf. Furlong (1944: 68).

⁴² Such as the following, appearing in all three documents: "In a new trade that begins to be consolidated, or in a trade of certain kind of manufacture as is dealt with ... exclusive companies are useful and even necessary in the beginning. The forces of particulars are unable to support the huge expenditures that demand the establishment of a commerce of such an extension as we have expressed, nor cannot be opened ways to try great enterprises, nor cannot bear excessive expenditures, and perhaps possible losses, nor can overcome hindrances and obstacles arisen from concurrence and imitation of other nations. Only the power of the Sovereign or the funds of many families together are capable of these endeavours".

⁴⁴ Genovesi [Villava trans.], Part I, ch. XVIII, § 31.

⁴⁵ Genovesi [Villava trans.], Part I, ch. XVII, §12.

⁴⁶ Genovesi [Villava trans.], Part I, ch. XVI, § 2.

⁴⁷ Like the patriot Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla in Mexico. Cf. Silva Herzog (1967: 40).

⁴⁸ In his words: «What means shall prevent [those harms]? The extension of knowledge, general enlightenment, that lights be spread to everyone, that everyone be enlightened, that acquire ideas, that neither the farmer, nor the merchant or the artist ignore what is required, that ones and others don't try to stick so closely to the thoughts of their ancestors, that should be adopted only when they are convenient, and should be dismissed and abandoned when they cease to be so: what was useful some time ago, now is prejudicial, customs change, uses also do, and everything change from time to time, owing to no other mystery than the mutability of human things».

⁴⁹ Belgrano (1795: 28).

⁵⁰ Genovesi [Villava trans.], Part.I, ch.9, § 13). Arteta (1781: 112) had qualified drawing as "the Father of practical Trades".

⁵¹ Genovesi [Villava trans.]Part I, ch. 15, § 16. Also in several writings of Spanish economists, e.g. Arteta (1781: 38).

⁵² Cf. Genovesi, Part I, ch. 15, § 2, p. 233 of Villava's translation. Arteta had stated that there is no safer means to promote and enhance any Art or useful work, than prizes and rewards" (Arteta 1781: 158).

⁵³ This idea occurred in many Spanish writings, in particular in Arteta (1781).

⁵⁴ Genovesi [Villava trans.], Part I, ch. 20).

The consequences of uneven development can be observed clearly by examining different regions and countries of the world. Part of. Geography. Development and resource issues. In 2016 the richest 20 per cent consumed 80 per cent of the world's resources, and the poorest 20 per cent earned only 1.3 per cent of global income. The world's population is growing rapidly, and as of August 2017 stood at 7.3 billion people. The highest rates of population growth are occurring in low income countries (LICs), such as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Niger. Some countries are experiencing population decline, for example Japan, Russia and Ukraine. Low-income countries (LICs) have very different economies to high-income countries (HICs). Uneven and combined development (or unequal and combined development or uneven development) is a concept in Marxian political economy intended to describe dynamics of human history involving the interaction of capitalist laws of motion and starting world market conditions whose national units are highly heterogeneous. The idea was applied systematically by Leon Trotsky around the turn of the 20th century to the case of Russia, when he was analyzing the developmental possibilities for industrialization To make this clearer, uneven development is viewed as "the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries" (Frank 1969 " GDR [1] 2007: 77). The most crucial argument here is that "core or metropolitan countries [now known as the global north]" developed by under-developing the periphery " [known as the global south]", (Kiely 2010: 11). This project can be understood as a central strategy in the emergence of American imperialism as it began to replace the earlier European empire; it was further associated with America's determination to prevent Japan and the Soviet Union from increased economic ascendancy and global influence.