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## CAMERALISM BEYOND THE GERMANIC WORLD: A NOTE ON TRIBE

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Cameralism tends to be regarded as a practically isolated current of thought. The external influences that it received are generally minimized, or ignored; the same is true of the influence that it exerted beyond the boundaries of the Germanic world. The work of the most productive English language scholar of cameralism exemplifies this: in the leading dictionary of economics, his entry for Justi mentions no influences, either received or exerted; in his entry for Sonnenfels, only the influence of Forbonnais is mentioned<sup>1</sup>. In his main work on cameralism<sup>2</sup> he includes chapters on the reception of physiocracy and Adam Smith in the Germanic world and makes passing references to the reception of Forbonnais, Genovesi or Steuart, but neglects an author such as Necker, who was translated into German, and was a late liberal mercantilist.

Cameralism may have had its own particular features, but they were not as defining as is usually implied, for opposing reasons, by German and British nationalism. It was marked by a range of ideological influences and counter-influences which are often underemphasized. The Scot James Steuart is a case in point: well-acquainted with cameralism and the Germanic world, Steuart had a profound influence on Hegel, the state philosopher, who preferred his economics to Adam Smith's. The Neapolitan mercantilist Antonio Genovesi considered Montesquieu and the cameralist Bielfeld to be the leading social scientists of his time. For his part, Justi was deeply influenced by Melon (who Voltaire so admired) and Sonnenfels by Forbonnais. The thought of Jacques Necker, of Geneva, also reached a wide audience throughout Europe, in particular in the German-speaking lands. These examples demonstrate that there were palpable doctrinal links between

1. *The New Palgrave. A Dictionary of Economics*. J. EATWELL, M. MILGATE, and P. NEWMAN, editors, London, New York, Tokio, 1987.

2. KEITH TRIBE, *Governing Economy. The Reformation of German Economic Discourse 1750-1840*. Cambridge, 1988.

what was known as the advanced, liberal mercantilism of Melon, Genovesi, Necker, Forbonnais and Steuart and the “mature” or “scientific” cameralism, as Giuseppe Ricuperati describes it, of Bielfeld, Justi and Sonnenfels.

In general, there are liberal elements of the market and competition that the exaggerated Smithian version of the “mercantile system” overlooks, and that Schumpeter’s (also exaggerated) comparison between Justi and Smith failed to counterbalance. The maxim “more state and more market” perhaps expresses a common denominator between late mercantilism in general and cameralism. The modernized state was to be driven by industrial development, via the expansion of demand for luxury goods, public spending, internal liberalization, a gradual reorganization of state property, planning, and external protection. In H. C. Recktenwald’s apt expression, cameralism is the German version of this mature, liberal, state mercantilism related to the specific (though not exclusive) problems of the German principalities. Its main goal was the centralized reform of the state property (*camera principis*) as a way to achieve the happiness of the subjects (*Untertanen*) by means of economic and social policy. Depopulation, caused by war, epidemics and economic decline, was combated by external protectionism, internal freedom, public sponsorship for manufacturing, public banks, communications, agricultural colonization using military techniques, and support for economic modernization.

### Cameralism in languages other than German

The influence of cameralism outside the Germanic world is dismissed in the Anglo-centrist argument that none of the cameralist authors was translated into English<sup>3</sup>. This claim may be true of texts that dealt with strictly economic themes, but not of cameralism in a broader sense. A cursory analysis of the bibliography will uncover two translations of Bielfeld into English, both of which were reprinted: *The elements of universal erudition, containing an analytical abridgement of the sciences, polite arts, and “belles lettres”* (London 1770 and Dublin 1771) and *Letters... containing original anecdotes of the Prussian court for the last twenty years* (London, 1768-70, 4 vols. and Dublin 1772). Keith Tribe has more recently considered two other lan-

3. KEITH TRIBE, *Governing Economy*, p. 17.

guages – Spanish and French – but restricted himself to a single work<sup>4</sup>: “During the eighteenth century only one economics text was translated from German to Spanish: *Elementos de la policía general de un estado*, which was published in Madrid in 1791, and which was a version of the *Grundsätze* by Justi. Rare, too were the translations of German texts to French. For example, what Carpenter mentions in his studies on the spread of economic doctrines through translations is again: *Éléments généraux de police* ‘par M. Jean-Henri Gottlob de Justi’. This may indeed be the real reason for the success of Justi’s *Grundsätze* ... it was the only cameralist text translated not only once, but to two European languages”<sup>5</sup>. Nothing in this paragraph is true: 1) the translation is not from German into Spanish, but via the French version, so the second sentence should come before the first; 2) as we will see, there were numerous translations (not just one) into Spanish of authors of cameralist texts; 3) Spanish and French were not the only languages into which the cameralist texts were translated; there are translations of Justi into at least four European languages; 4) Justi was not the only cameralist author translated; translations of the works of Bielfeld and Sonnenfels were also published. The cameralist triad, then, was widely translated.

Continuing with translations as markers of the influence of cameralism outside the Germanic world, we should stress the point (ignored by Tribe) that German was not the only language that cameralists used. It was not the only language that Frederick of Prussia used either. Bielfeld’s main language, at least as far as writing was concerned, was French, and in fact his most famous work had to be translated into German. Sonnenfels occasionally wrote in Latin. We should add that the use of books published as indicators of the range of influence is only a first step; a more in-depth study requires analysis of periodicals and other materials. Here we will use this fuller method in our appraisal of the cameralist influence in Spain, and for other languages we will look merely at the books published. Our results are not only at variance with Tribe’s affirmations, but indicate that the number of cameralist translations outside the German-speaking states was in fact considerable. We will look first at other European languages, before concentrating on Spanish.

4. KENNETH E. CARPENTER, *Dialogue in Political Economy. Translations from and into German in the 18th Century*, Boston, 1977. This work is interpreted restrictively by Tribe.

5. KEITH TRIBE, “Polizei, Staat und die Staatswissenschaftler bei J.H.G. von Justi” in J.H.G. von Justi “*Grundsätze der Polizey-Wissenschaft*” Düsseldorf, 1993, p. 139.

One work attributed to Justi was translated into English: *The life and character, rise and conduct, of Count Brühl, Prime Minister to the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony; in a series of letters, by an eminent hand...carefully translated from the German original* (London, 1765). It had already been translated into French in 1760 as *La vie et le caractère de M. le comte de Brühl, premier ministre de Sa Majesté le roi de Pologne et électeur de Saxe*. Apart from the *Éléments généraux de police, démontrés par des raisonnements fondés sur l'objet et la fin qu'elle se propose* (Paris, 1769), translated thirteen years after the original German, a number of texts by Justi were also produced in French: *Dissertation qui a remporté le prix proposé par l'Académie royale (of Berlin) sur le système des monnaies avec les pièces qui ont concouru* (Berlin, 1748); *Le Secret des nouvelles teintures de Saxe* (Vienna, 1751); *Les sciences concernant la politique reduites en système* (Halle, 1759); *La Chimère de l'équilibre du commerce et de la navigation* (Copenhagen and Leipzig). A total, then, of seven texts translated, one into English and six into French, of which four were published in capitals of German states. These works were translated into other languages, and in Russian, as in the case of Bielfeld, the task of translating received economic support from Catherine the Great.

As for Sonnenfels, his work was also translated, and on occasion he also wrote directly in languages other than German, as in the case of *L'abolition de la torture* (Zurich, 1775). The frontispieces of the three volumes of his great cameralist work, *Grundsätze der Polizeyhandlung und Finanz* (Vienna, 1765-1776), bore the portraits of Montesquieu, Forbonnais and Sully – a sign of his openness to the exterior. We have found three translations of these *Grundsätze* into Italian (Milan, 1784; Venice, 1804, and Milan, 1832), one into Russian (Moscow, 1787) and one into Latin (Pressburg, 1808).

Bielfeld wrote in the language which would reach the largest audience, far wider than that of his native German. As we mentioned above, we also know of two English translations of his works. His most important book, *Institutions politiques* (1760), went through five editions in the French original, but the German had three (1761, 1764, 1768-83), the Spanish two, the Italian version one (1764) and the Russian translation one as well (1768). The *Institutions* were, by some considerable distance, the most published cameralist work, and Bielfeld the most published author. Although he habitually wrote in French, not all his work was published in France; three French language editions of the *Institutions* were published abroad, one in The Hague and two in Leiden; his *L'érudition universelle*, which reached a wide audience, in Berlin in 1768; *Progrès des Allemands* (Amsterdam, 1752; Lei-

den, 1767), *Les premiers traits de l'érudition universelle* in Leiden in 1767. The *Institutions* were not his only work translated into German; a work as important as *Friedrich der Grosse* was published later (Breslau, 1838), with a note indicating that it was a translation from the French<sup>6</sup>.

It is not true, then, that only a very few cameralist texts from Germany were translated. In fact, there were so many translations that one may speculate about their possible influences, and whether or not it is legitimate to speak of the existence of cameralists outside the Germanic world. We will demonstrate that in Spain this was indeed the case – or, at least, that late, liberal mercantilists absorbed the cameralist doctrine into their own thought, to varying degrees<sup>7</sup>. In addition, for methodological reasons we should stress the fact that the cameralists simultaneously influenced mercantilists such as Forbonnais, Genovesi, Galiani or Necker. Translators of all these writers and of the cameralists were frequently the same; editors and readers saw them as inside the same constellation, even though they were different heavenly bodies. So no absolute division between cameralism and other mercantilist currents<sup>8</sup> was apparent to contemporaries. As a result, their views on the subject will be of great interest, and may help to dispel the idea of separate, compartmentalized entities. As Karl Pribram notes, the contact between the currents of thought was by no means immediate: “Sonnenfels acknowledged his debt to French authors such as François Véron de Forbonnais, who had taken up the ideas of several of the leading English mercantilists” – many of whom were writing at the end of the seventeenth century<sup>9</sup>. The influence of cameralism in the other direction (though it did not reach England or Holland) is the subject that interests us here.

6. Other studies by K. E. Carpenter confirm the influence of cameralism abroad. He mentions the two main works of Bielfeld and Sonnenfels among the books that sold most copies: KENNETH E. CARPENTER, *The Economic Bestsellers before 1850, A Catalogue of an Exhibition prepared for the History of Economics Society meeting*, May 21-24, 1975, Baker Library.

7. The fact that a considerable number of the translations into languages other than German were published in German-speaking areas may suggest the existence of subsidies which would have contributed towards (though not explained completely) the impact of the translations on economic doctrine.

8. KEITH TRIBE, *Strategies of Economic Order. German Economic Discourse 1750-1950*, Cambridge, 1995, ch. 2 and especially p. 10. In this area, Tribe follows Eli Heckscher strictly; he makes no reference to any mercantilists and only mentions the influence of the physiocrats and of Smith in the Germanic world.

9. KARL PRIBRAM, *Les fondements de la pensée économique*. Paris, 1986, p. 98.

Half a century ago, Léo Gershoy examined this influence in a study of “cameralism in the east and south of Europe”<sup>10</sup>. In Spain, the *regalistas* were the equivalent of the cameralists of the Germanic world; in Italy, those who opposed the Vatican. In eastern and southern Europe the reasons for the cameralist influence were the same as in the German-speaking lands<sup>11</sup>. This lends support to those who believe that a wide area of Europe – Prussia, certain German states, the Hapsburg monarchy, Russia, Scandinavia, certain Italian states (independent or not) and the Iberian peninsula – underwent a drive to modernize or modify the feudal system, once it had reached a certain level of development, in an attempt to catch up with more advanced nations. A variation on this view explains the existence of cameralism in terms of strictly ideological reasons, or within a religious context: it took root in German-speaking areas in which the Lutheranism of the larger part of the population coincided with the Calvinism of the socially dominant classes<sup>12</sup>. In Catholic countries, this theory finds a parallel in areas in which the orthodoxy of the majority coexisted with the Jansenism of certain predominant groups, such as bishops, tradesmen and politicians. The theory accounts for the interrelations between cameralism and the different versions of mercantilism, and, above all, for the capacity of cameralism to expand its influence beyond the limits of the German-speaking world – an influence which our initial appraisal, on the basis of the translations, has shown to exist. This interpretation is somewhat closer to Rechtenwald’s definition – “Cameralism is the specific version of mercantilism, thought and practised in the German principalities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries”<sup>13</sup> than to one that sees it as more restricted, with little influence from outside in strictly doctrinal terms, and a total or almost total absence of expansion outside the Germanic world.

## Cameralism in texts in Spanish

Thus far, we have used “books published” as our index. We will now analyze the case of Spain in more depth, in order to demonstrate

10. LÉO GERSHOY, *L'Europe des princes éclairés*, 1763-1789, Paris, 1966, pp. 61-64 (trans. *From Despotism to Revolution, 1763-1789*, New York, 1944).

11. D. KOSÁRY, “Unité et diversité des lumières” in *L'absolutisme éclairé*, B. Kopecki, A. Soboul, E.H. Balázs and D. Kosáry, ed., Budapest-Paris, 1985, p. 13.

12. ALFRED MÜLLER-ARMACK, *Genealogía de los estilos económicos*. Mexico, 1967, pp. 192-194 (Spanish translation of *Religion und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart, 1959).

13. H.C. RECKTENWALD, “Cameralism” in *The New Palgrave*. An example of its radical Anglocentrism is the lack of any reference to non-English authors in SILVANA TOMASELLI’s “Mercantilism” in *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment* (Blackwell, 1992).

that a number of cameralist texts were indeed written in Spanish, and that if we consider the translation of fragments, adaptations or articles this influence increases substantially. Only a systematic study of Europe as a whole would provide totally convincing proof.

According to the model proposed by Hirschman<sup>14</sup>, for an economic doctrine to achieve diffusion it must be based on military power and the economic progress of the country where it developed; this country must be keen to export it in order to gain international pre-eminence; and when it triumphs, its influence will not last more than three decades. It is important, then, to study the influence of Frederick the Great and the Empress Maria Theresa<sup>15</sup>, figures of particular relevance to cameralism due to their personal relationships with the doctrine's three great authors, Bielfeld, Justi and Sonnenfels – relationships which the cameralists stressed, and which indeed set them apart from other economists. In Spain, the theatre, especially in regions where cameralism gained a firm foothold, presented Frederick and Maria Theresa as heroes. Biographies of both monarchs, and Frederick's political and military writings were also read in Spain. The repute of Frederick was considerable between 1757 and 1768; in 1785, after an interval, both monarchs were again widely known, until 1795<sup>16</sup>.

Bielfeld was first translated into Spanish in 1762, by the great economic journalist Francisco Mariano Nipho, who continued to translate for a quarter of a century, until 1786, in the vast range of publications that he edited. Not all of these publications have survived; what we have found, then, is only a part of the original. The *Estafeta de Londres* compiled fragments from the *Institutions Politiques* two years after they appeared, despite the fact that the *Institutions* included verses by Voltaire – so hated by the Inquisition – on the title page. In 1762 and 1763 the number of fragments translated and their significance bore out the claim that Bielfeld “underpins a large part of (Nipho's) journalism” and was by some distance the most widely known author,

14. ALBERT O. HIRSCHMAN, “How the Keynesian Revolution was exported from the United States, and other comments” in PETER A. HALL, *The political power of economic ideas: Keynesianism across Nations*, Princeton, 1989, pp. 347-359.

15. I began to study the influence of cameralism in Spain in *El pensament econòmic a Catalunya (1760-1840)* (Barcelona, 1973; chs. I and VI), and have since dealt with the subject in a number of other works published together recently in “La España vencida del siglo XVIII. Cameralismo, Corona de Aragón y “Partido Aragones” o “Militar” (*Sistema*, 124 (1995), pp. 13-41).

16. ERNEST LLUCH, “La España vencida”, pp. 15-22. I published more examples of economists' knowledge of these two monarchs and about their policy in *La Catalunya vencida del segle XVIII. Foscors i clarors de la Il·lustració*, Barcelona, 1996.

ahead of Duhamel, Justi and Mirabeau<sup>17</sup>. Note the reference to Justi.

Some years later, in 1769, a new publication by Nipho set out the basic characteristics of cameralism in its "General Plan". He included Justi's "Reflexiones generales sobre la decadencia de la agricultura, artes y comercio de España" (General reflections on the decadence of agriculture, arts and trade in Spain) in the *Correo General de España*, calling for firm industrialism. Nipho was associated with the branch of mercantilism most influenced by "political arithmetic"; he had links with the "Aragonese party", closely connected with the prevailing Austriacism.

The *Institutions Politiques* met with great editorial success all over Europe, but any translation into Spanish was likely to fall foul of the Inquisition. Nonetheless, the text was translated, with some modifications and omissions, as *Instituciones políticas* (vol. I, 1767, vol. II, 1768, vol. III, 1771; vol. 4, 1772; vol. V, 1781, and vol. VI, 1801), by Domingo de la Torre Mollinedo, who also translated Necker and wrote two works of his own that were inspired by Bielfeld. Another translator and adaptor of the Bielfeld of the *Institutions* was a much more liberal economist, Valentín de Foronda, who had to publish the sections devoted to Spain and Portugal in France; the text stated that the Madrid government should uphold its authority against the aristocracy, the Church and the Inquisition: *Instituciones Políticas. Obra en que se trata de los Reynos de Portugal y España* (Bordeaux, 1781)<sup>18</sup>.

Other works by the versatile Bielfeld on themes outside the economic field were also translated, such as *Curso completo de erudición universal* (Madrid, 1802-1803, 4 vols.). J. B. Muñoz, in *Juicio del tratado de Educación*, (Barcelona, 1779) and S. de Júcaro, in *Disertación del Arte de llevar cuenta y razón*, (Madrid, 1793) contested his views. We have already mentioned a brief translation of von Justi, and his *Elementos de la Policía General de un Estado* (Madrid, 1791), the only translation of his work mentioned by Carpenter and Tribe. There was in fact a much earlier translation, with notes referring to Spain, which was well-known: *Elementos Generales de Policía* (Barcelona, 1784). An analysis of Nipho's entire journalistic *oeuvre* would reveal other partial translations of Justi,

17. LUIS MIGUEL ENCISO RECIO, *Nipho y el periodismo español del siglo XVIII*, Valladolid, 1956.

18. J. M. BARRENECHEA, *Valentín de Foronda, reformador y economista ilustrado*, Vitoria, 1984.

and an elegy to Bielfeld's *Institutions* in 1763, in J. Langlet's *El hablador juicioso*, at the beginning of the journalist's career.

The only translation of Joseph von Sonnenfels into Spanish (to my knowledge) is not from the central body of his cameralist work, but from his speech on the occasion of the death of the Empress *Los últimos instantes de la vida de María Teresa de Austria ... Discurso pronunciado por Mr. Sonnenfels, Profesor de Política y Hacienda en la Universidad de Viena*. (Madrid, 1781) in which he praised her economic achievements. Sonnenfels was known (and quoted) in Spain thanks to his works in German and French.

An indication of the interest in cameralism is to be found in the Royal Order of 30 July 1801, in which the Spanish government requested German texts on the rural economy. The Spanish ambassador in Berlin answered on 29 October, proposing 38 works "used in the universities for theoretical education" noting that since 1770 there had been a modernization, and an "infinity of Chairs created in many universities". Among these 38 works, the ones that stand out are two by J. H. G. von Justi ("one of the most laborious and fecund writers of his time"), three by von Benekendorff ("who has gained much credit"), one very long work by von Schubert ("a decisive influence") and A. Thaer ("this truly classic work marks a new era"). Indeed, one work by Albert Thaer was translated the following year by the Spanish Embassy attaché Remigio Argumosa: *Introducción al estudio de la Economía rural de los ingleses, para servir de base a la perfección de la de Alemania* (Introduction to the study of the rural economy of the English, as a basis for the perfecting of that of Germany)<sup>19</sup>.

The analysis of the translations in general, and into Spanish in particular, point to a number of conclusions which we must test in the light of the influence of cameralism in economic texts outside the Germanic world. Our conclusions are:

1. The number of translations of cameralist texts into languages other than German was much greater than supposed. The same is true of adaptations.

2. The case of Spain demonstrates that this diffusion was even more notable given the lack of a network of university Chairs, which, as Keith Tribe has shown powerfully, was the basis for the spread of cameralism in the Germanic world. In Spain, cameralism became known via the free play of the publishing world, although in 1783 the requirement that lawyers outside the university should

19. ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL (Madrid), *Estado*, 3248 (5).

be acquainted with the bases of cameralism obviously exerted an influence.

3. The translations extended over a long period – from 1762 until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The 1780s and 1790s were the most productive decades.

4. The influence was felt neither in the most advanced areas such as Britain and Holland nor in the most backward; it accompanied a clear desire to stimulate economic development in areas in which the majority of the population was Catholic, or orthodox, and the ruling classes Jansenist or Calvinist.

5. The influence of cameralism and the influence of strong, liberal and late mercantilism were simultaneous. The channels through which they flowed were the same.

### Cameralism in non-Germanic economists

Central to the study of the influence of cameralism outside the Germanic world, or indeed of the history of political thought in Europe, is an appraisal of Bielfeld's *Institutions Politiques*. The influence of this work was heightened by the author's connection with Frederick of Prussia, who, like him, wrote in French, and by the fact that it integrated foreign influences (Montesquieu, Duguet, Melon, Voltaire, Forbonnais, Uztáriz) in cameralism<sup>20</sup>. Its twelve editions in twenty years, in a range of languages, bear witness to its diffusion; it was a best-seller, and a highly influential best-seller as well<sup>21</sup>.

Austria's political presence in Italy contributed to the influence of cameralism: "the works of the cameralists are indeed well known, the writings of Jacob Friedrich von Bielfeld, G. L. Schmidt d'Avenstein, J. von Sonnenfels and Friedrich von Gentz circulate widely"<sup>22</sup>. Galiani and Genovesi were both profoundly influenced by cameralism. While the influence on Galiani was obvious, Genovesi considered Bielfeld and Montesquieu as the leading figures of his time, and recommends

20. GIUSEPPE RICUPERATI, *Il pensiero politico degli illuministi*, vol. IV, t.II, Turin, 1975, pp. 364-371.

21. Compare this with the fleeting references made by KEITH TRIBE in *Governing Economy*, pp. 79, 82-84 and 87-89.

22. DANIELA PARISI ACQUAVIVA, *Il pensiero economico classico in Italia. Criteri definitivi ed evoluzione storica*, Milan, 1984, pp. 126-127. Two of these four authors are not quoted by Tribe, as is often the case (compare those in the text corresponding to note 19).

Bielfeld's *Institutions* in his famous *Lezioni di commercio* (1765-67)<sup>23</sup>. Away from Naples, in what was called the "*Hapsburg-Lorraine model*" of Lombardy, Tuscany and Modena, the systematization of the role of the state as "the supreme controller and tutor of the public good, of the prince as father of his peoples, responsible for their material and spiritual health"<sup>24</sup> had a great impact, via the writings of Justi and Sonnenfels. Even in the more liberal work of Pietro Verri, Bielfeld's influence<sup>25</sup> is palpable; Beccaria was awarded a chair in cameral science in Milan in 1768<sup>26</sup>, and exerted an influence on Sonnenfels.

In other European countries the influence of cameralism was also deeply felt. In Poland cameralism spread beyond the confines of the school and university network, and was considered to be the official doctrine, exerting its influence via high-ranking civil servants who preferred Bielfeld's *Institutions* to physiocracy<sup>27</sup>. The influence in Hungary was so great that the impact of "Sonnenfels's rigid system" continued until Karvassy in 1843<sup>28</sup>. The case of Sweden, like that of Holland, was more complex, since A. Berch and his *Inledning till allmänna hushållningen* (1747) was influenced by cameralism and late seventeenth century English mercantilism, and held academic sway in Sweden for eighty years; at the same time, the text was also translated into

23. See A. GENOVESI, *Autobiografia, lettere e altri scritti*, Milan, 1962, pp. 176-177, and ELUGGERO PII, *Antonio Genovesi. Dalla politica economica alla "politica civile"*. Castello, 1984, p. 251.

24. C. CAPRA, "Lo sviluppo delle riforme asburgiche nello Satato di Milano" in *La dinamica statale austriaca nel XVIII e XIX secolo*, P. Schiera, ed., Bologna, 1981, p. 179.

25. PETER GROENEWEGEN, "Pietro Verri's Mature Political Economy of *Meditazioni*: A Case Study in the Highly Developed International Transmission Mechanism of Ideas in Pre-Revolutionary Europe" in *Political Economy and National Realities*, ed. M. Albertone and A. Masoero, Turin, 1994, p. 112 and FRANCO VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore. Da Muratori a Beccaria: 1730-1764*. Turin, 1969, p. 701. Venturi also stresses the repercussions of the translations of three works by Sonnenfels, *Prima lezione data dopo la fatal morte dell'augusta sovrana Maria Teresa* (1781), *La scienza del buon governo* (1784 and 1802) and of his journal *Der Mann ohne Vorurteil* in *Settecento Riformatore. La caduta dell'Antico Regime* (1776-1789). Turin, 1984, t. I, p. 458 and t. II, pp. 615 and 749. Other references to the great influence of Sonnenfels in Italy can be found in *Settecento riformatore. L'Italia dei lumi* (1764-1790). Turin, 1987, pp. 750 and 807.

26. JEAN-LOUIS MESTRE, "Administration, police et enseignement des disciplines administratives en Allemagne, France et Italie aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles" in *Annuaire Européen d'Administration Publique*, XI (1988), p. 646.

27. AMBROISE JOBERT, *Magnats polonais et physiocrates français (1767-1774)*, Paris, 1941, pp. 13-15.

28. GYORGY KÖVER, "Monetarization in Hungarian economic thought in the first half of the 19th century" in *Political Economy and National Realities*, p. 296.

German and used in a number of Germanic universities<sup>29</sup>. The Austrian Netherlands exported Jansenist ideas to Austria<sup>30</sup>, creating a situation identical to that existing in Spain, and comparable to the Lutheran-Calvinist combination in Prussia. In the opposite direction, the well-known French economist Jacques Accarias de Serionne, employed by the Austrian Netherlands, spread the tenets of Austrian cameralism in the Low Countries<sup>31</sup>. In other countries such as Denmark, or Russia, the general Germanic influence was so deep that they were compared with the German principalities themselves<sup>32</sup>.

It was Catherine the Great who sponsored the translations of Bielfeld and Justi, but their influence on the *Nakaz codification* was far greater than it appears. Although the *nakazy* show the influence of Montesquieu and Beccaria and the *Encyclopédie*, as regards economics Bielfeld and Justi exerted a far greater influence than Quesnay. Catherine the Great read the classic treatise by the Frenchman De La Mare on the police, and continued to receive cameralist influences in the articles on the “Ustav blagochiniia”. Other more liberal influences appear more on the surface than in the actual content<sup>33</sup>. The physiocrat Boudeau expressed his distaste for the importance of cameralism in Russia.

The influence of cameralism in France was highly conditioned by the fact that Frederick II and Bielfeld both wrote in French; Bielfeld, without a biography as obviously defining as Frederick’s, was thought of as a French author. Bielfeld’s influence, and to a lesser extent Justi’s, was a key factor in the calls for the compilation of statistics. The influence of British “political arithmetic” was felt in France via Germanic cameralism – that is to say, not directly. A demographer of the standing of Süssmilch – who Tribe does not mention either – exerted his in-

29. JOHAN LÖNNROTH, “Before economics” in *The History of Swedish Economic Thought*, Bo Sandelin, ed., London and New York, 1991, p. 20.

30. H. M. SCOTT, “Reform in the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1740-90” in *Enlightened Absolutism. Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe*, H.M. Scott, ed., Ann Arbor, 1990, pp. 149-150.

31. HERVÉ HASQUIN, “Jacques Accarias de Serionne, économiste et publiciste français au service des Pays-Bas autrichiens” in *Études sur le XVIIIe siècle*, (1974), pp. 159-169.

32. H.M. SCOTT, “Introduction: the Problem of Enlightened Absolutism” in *Enlightened Absolutism*, p. 19.

33. SEE MARC RAEFF, “The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a *Comparative*” in *American History Review*, 80 (1975), pp. 1221-1243, ISABEL DE MADARIAGA, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*, Yale, 1981, pp. 152-153 and 292, and JOHN T. ALEXANDER, *Catherine the Great, Life and Legend*, Oxford, 1959, p. 114.

fluence via Bielfeld<sup>34</sup>. In conclusion, in spite of the tradition of “French police science” it was more French mercantilism (via the figures of Melon and Forbonnais) that influenced cameralism; the cameralist influence in France was reflected in the compilation of economic and demographic statistics and related observations.

### Cameralism in Spanish economists

The influence of cameralism and Frederick the Great led to projects of economic organization along military lines. José López de Colmenero, a soldier and academic at the Royal Geographical Society of Valladolid, devised two projects<sup>35</sup> for the colonization of underpopulated coastal and inland areas. Economic development and a single tax (in place of a series of taxes) were proposed, inside a framework in which the organization was military. Another project, the *Idea de Político Gobierno*, was conceived in Estremadura, one of the most backward regions of Spain, by a farmer-landowner named Pedro Ramírez Barragán, in late 1768 and early 1769<sup>36</sup>. It aimed to stimulate the economy by replacing civil organization with a military structure based on unquestioning obedience. Projects of this kind proliferated; another was José Castellnou's *Nuevo Plan de Tropa de Cavallería combinada con la Agricultura, razonada en sistema físico-económico de Hacienda Agraria* (New Plan for the Cavalry Corps combined with Agriculture, based on the physical-economic system of Agricultural management)<sup>37</sup>.

Other projects made it off the drawing-board. The settling of Louisiana, in North America, was planned and carried out by soldiers from the Canaries with their families and a permanent military hierarchy<sup>38</sup>. In similar endeavours, expeditions set out from Galicia in the

34. SEE JEAN-CLAUDE PERROT, *Une histoire intellectuelle de l'économie politique (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Paris, 1992.

35. JOSÉ LÓPEZ DE COLMENERO, *Memoria de algunos abusos o defectos cuyo remedio pudiera lograr la Real Sociedad Económica* (Madrid, 31 January 1768), *Proyecto para aumento de vasallos, ejército y fomento de árboles, industria y fábricas* (Madrid, 31 January 1768) and *A la Patria... sobre la formación proyectada del Real Legislativo Económico* (1774).

36. A. RODRÍGUEZ, M. RODRÍGUEZ, J.L. PEREIRA and I. TESTÓN, *Gobernar en Extremadura (un proyecto de gobierno del siglo XVIII)*, Cáceres, 1986.

37. ARCHIVO MINISTERIO DE ASUNTOS EXTERIORES (Madrid), ms. 201.

38. Among other works, see GILBERT C. DIN, “Canarios en la Luisiana en el siglo

north of Spain bound for the River Plate<sup>39</sup>. Probably the most successful of these projects was the settling of the Sierra Morena in Andalusia, in Spain, where the towns set up survive to this day. The operation was directed by a Prussian soldier, Gaspar von Thurriegel, who had to receive authorization from Frederick II himself. The settlers were Germans, Flemings and Spaniards from the more advanced areas of the country. The influence of Bielfeld is plain to see in the *Instrucción para la contaduría de las Nuevas Poblaciones de Sierra Morena* (1767). It cannot be claimed that the organization of the new towns was actually military, but it was certainly militarized. Its Spanish commander in chief, Pablo de Olavide, was close to the Conde de Aranda, and had introduced Bielfeld's main work in the curriculum at the University of Seville<sup>40</sup>.

Cameralism exerted an influence on a considerable number of economic texts. It was particularly influential at the end of the 1760s when the output of economic literature increased sharply, and the more primitive forms of mercantilism were abandoned. *Las señales de la felicidad de España*, by the Catalan Francisco Romá y Rosell, published in 1768, marked the beginning of a new period and considered Bielfeld's manual to be the clearest and most useful guide. The *Discurso sobre Economía Política* by the Valencian soldier Enrique Ramos, published in 1769, was deeply influenced by *Polizeiwissenschaft*. The rest of the work of these two authors is influenced by late liberal mercantilism. For their part, Aragonese economists such as Arteta de Monteseuro read and followed Bielfeld. In the first chair of political economy set up in Zaragoza, the capital of Aragon, the professor Lorenzo Normante y Carcavilla used Melon as his text; he also recommended Bielfeld, who had been so deeply influenced by the French economist. Catalan, Valencian and Aragonese writers coincided on a number of points: they demanded free trade with America (until then permitted only to the Crown of Castile, not to the Crown of Aragon); the reform, though not the elimination, of the guilds; industrialism; a military structure based on the navy, in order to defend the American market, instead of the infantry; and active state intervention in conjunction with the introduction of mechanisms to broaden the freedom

XIX" in *V Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana* (1982), Las Palmas, t. I, first part, 1985, pp. 463-478.

39. For a summary of these experiences, see M. X. RODRÍGUEZ GALDO, *Galicia, país de emigración. La emigración gallega a América hasta 1930*. Colombres, 1993.

40. See M. DEFORNEAUX, *Pablo de Olavide el afrancesado*, Seville, 1990 and L. PERDICES, *La agricultura en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII en la obra y empresa colonizadora de Pablo Olavide Jáuregui* (Madrid, 1986).

of the economy. The economists of the Crown of Aragon – Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics – were all influenced, to varying degrees, by cameralism, as were the Basques. In Castile, where there was less economic development, cameralism was far less influential<sup>41</sup>.

The influence of cameralism outside the Germanic world, then, was considerable, in terms of both the translations undertaken of cameralist texts and the extent to which its tenets were reproduced in the doctrines of economists. These two aspects offer similar conclusions. In our view, these conclusions are at variance with the British nationalist theories<sup>42</sup> of cameralism: 1) the number and intensity of the foreign influences on a traditionally Germanic doctrine were greater than the British claim; and 2) the influence of cameralism beyond the confines of the Germanic world, the subject of this article, was, at the very least, considerable<sup>43</sup>.

41. For more details, see my article “La España vencida del siglo XVIII”.

42. For example, the nationalist view of the history of economic thought found in the *The New Palgrave* is radical; compared with the old *Palgrave*, almost all non-English language references have disappeared.

43. This article is a complement to “La difusión del cameralismo y de la fisiocracia a través de Europa y en especial España durante el siglo XVIII” in *Economía española, cultura y sociedad. Homenaje a Juan Velarde Fuertes*. Madrid, 1992, vol. I, pp. 461-468.