THE MAKING OF
THE WEALTH OF NATIONS

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I - A TECTONIC APPROACH

Tectonics deals with the earth’s structural deformation, caused and moulded by the earth’s crustal movements. Deformations and fractures of the earth's crust, their folds and faults, are the subject matter of tectonics. Its aim is to define the fundamental features and to discern the various types of those phenomena, to examine their general dynamics and to trace the forces that provoked them. But tectonics means also the art of construction, especially large buildings. And it is still conceivable to work out a tectonics of great buildings of the mind, such as the masterworks of eminent scientists. This paper will examine the tectonics -in any of the above senses- of a great building of Economics, perhaps the greatest, the Wealth of Nations. Which movements permitted the bare foundations to become a splendid building? What material filled the lakes produced by dislocation of the initial core? How did an archipelago of mature thoughts evolve from a primitive mass of early ideas? All these issues belong to the tectonics of the Wealth of Nations.

Adam Smith produced the Wealth of Nations after a 32-month trip through France and Switzerland in 1764-6, during which he availed himself of the opportunity to see the display the physiocratic movement, to meet their leaders and to bring up to-date his well-fed library with bibliographical novelties. Previous to the book we are dealing with, Smith had

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2 This proposal was advanced with regard to a 'tectonics of Law' by the eminent Argentine economist, Prof. Julio H. G. Olivera, when he was Rector of the University of Buenos Aires, in a
published only another else, *The theory of moral sentiments* (1759). Those authors who knew Smith only by his published books -each dealing with different subjects- drew the direct but naïve and unfounded conclusion that Smith's knowledge on economics was a sequel of his interchange of ideas with the Physiocrats. We don't know whether or not Smith produced writings on economics, that did not reach the print, antecedent to the *Wealth of Nations*. Smith's manuscripts, as is well known, were burned at his death on behalf of his last will. That lamentable decision deprived posterity from first-hand material that would have allow to trace the *Wealth of Nations* to its origins and development. Therefore, the progress in the knowledge of Smith's thought has relied on occasional discoveries or indirect evidence, like the find of lecture-notes taken by pupils (treasured by disciples, despised or ignored by masters), letters sent by Smith that obviously were stored by another hands, and could survive water, fire, rats, collectors and other destructive forces.

A sort of missing link was disclosed in 1937 by William Robert Scott, the so-called *Early Draft of Part of the Wealth of Nations*. The manuscript is dated c. 1763, before Smith's travel through France. The *Draft* perhaps does not convey all the economic knowledge that might be under Smith's command, but what was written in it surely was not acquired after the travel through France. However, there remains the question of how a book of 880 pages and 400,000 words or so evolved from a small writing of 48 pages and 11,951 words.

The *Draft* is not a copy out of Smith's hand, but it was taken by an amanuensis. Copies by amanuenses were the current way that an author of the XVIII had at his disposal to let others know about his production-in-process. The copy was found in Dalkeith House, among the papers of Charles Townshend, who died in 1767 when Chancellor of the Exchequer. Then hardly could Smith avail himself of that manuscript as a first step to compose the *Wealth of Nations (WoN)*. Townshend's copy suggests the existence of some original *Draft* -from where the known copy was taken. It is plausible to think that that Smith kept the original under his command, from which he started to compose the WON, and that shared the same fate as his other unpublished papers: it was burned after his death.

Scott, referred to the M.S. as a "*Draft of Part*" of the *WoN*, a sketch of the first chapters of *WoN*; as an early version of the initial pages, to which new material was

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added. However, most paragraphs were not transferred to the *WoN* preserving the same order and continuity, but to different places an in different order. We suggest to analyse it as a sketch of the *whole* work, and consider the *Draft* as an aggregate of issues, that although was written without interruption, embraces distinct conceptual bodies, that eventually were sharply divided into chapters.

From a tectonic viewpoint, the *Draft* may be looked at as an assemblage of materials, originally connected or gathered together -a Pangea-, that eventually split into several plates of different size, that were removed to different distances, leaving amid the plates *empty spaces* that were filled with new material. In the earth's geology, the plates are continents and the empty spaces, seas. In Smith's work, the plates were early outlines of diverse ideas -sometimes only title-statements- wanting of further development, and the gaps were the receptacles of additional expanses of text, perhaps based on the acquisition of new information.

From another but also useful viewpoint, that of the *text processors*, the *Draft* may be viewed as a document from which every paragraph were selected. The greater part were improved by new wording and enriched by addition of fresh material. Some were deleted and some others were displaced from the original position and used to create new documents.

The detachment of plates was not a mechanical shift in space, but the highlighting of issues; the attachment of some importance to them, deserving an extension in their own.

The above outline oversimplifies the process of creation, but is useful to underline thick strokes. After a finer screening, however, there remain a residue: vanishing paragraphs or *corrections*, improvements in the ways of expression at large, etc.

**Mapping of the plates**

Which are the boundaries of the plates? Establishing which and how many plates make up the *Draft* is a comparatively simple matter: plates are units of text transferred from the *Draft* to the *WoN*; a plate is the hull that contains a text from the *Draft* located at a distinct place of the *WoN*. Appearances at different places in the *WoN* imply a boundary among plates in the *Draft*. Those paragraphs in the *Draft* without correspondence in the *WoN*, are termed *corrections*. Perhaps in a later stage of this research it may be possible to differentiate among those plates that were shifted to the *WoN* with minor changes and those plates that were shifted substantially enriched or developed, and even with another text.
II - Results

Up to the present-day, I've been able to distinguish 31 distinct plates and 14 corrections. This figures are to be taken as provisional ones, for a more thorough or finer research may turn some corrections into plates, or subdivide the latter into two or more. In the following two lists are reproduced: 1) a perfect partition of the Draft into plates and corrections; 2) the making of the WoN as it is built up from the Draft.

The puzzle: Plates and Corrections:

(the pages quoted after the plates correspond to Scotts’ edition).

Plate I (p.323). Beginning with: "The unassisted labour of a solitary individual..." End: "lives and liberties of a thousand naked savages". (WoN Bk I ch. 1)
Plate II (pp.323-25). Beginning with: The woolen coat which covers the day labourer. End: the accomodation of this last exceeds that of the chief of a savage nation. (WoN Bk I ch.1
Correction 1 (pp.325-26). Beginning with: It cannot be very difficult to explain ... End: those who pay the taxes which support them.
Plate III (p.326). Beginning with: Among savages, on the contrary ... End: no Landlords, no usurers, no taxgatherers. (WoN BkI ch 8)
Plate IV: (pp.327-8). Beginning with: What considerably increases this difficulty... End: what the most respected and active savage can attain to. (WoN Bk I ch.10).
Plate V (p.328). Beginning with: The division of labour, by which each individual confines ... End: twenty pins in a day. (WoN Bk I ch.1)
Correction 2 (p.328). Beginning with: His maintainance for a day ... End: compared with what actually takes place.
Plate VI (p.328-9). Beginning with: For the pin-maker, in preparing this small superfluity... End: the wire was afforded him ready made as upon the second. (WoN bk I ch. 1)
Correction 3 (p. 329). Beginning with: The yearly maintainance, therefore, of each person ... End: sold at several dozens for a half penny.
Plate VII (pp.329-30). Beginning with: The division of labour has the same effect in all the other arts ... End: it superiority in the latter, tho' the former may be of much greater value. (WoN Bk.I ch. 1)
Plate VIII (p.330). Beginning with: The Corn of France... End: during ordinary seasons. (WoN Bk I ch 1)
Plate IX (p.330). Beginning with: But the toys of England... End: and cheaper too in the same degree of goodness. (WoN Bk I ch.1)
Plate X (p.331). *Beginning with:* It is the immense multiplication of productions... *End:* extends itself to the lower ranks of the people (*WoN* Bk I ch 1)

**Correction 4** (p.331). *Beginning with:* So great a quantity of every thing. *End:* the artizan and the peasant.

Plate XI (p.331). *Beginning with:* Each man performs so great a quantity of that work... *End:* all the necessaries and conveniences which he stands in need of. (*WoN* Bk I ch 1)

**Correction 5** (pp.331-3). *Beginning with:* Let us suppose, for example, to return to the frivolous instance... *End:* or superior advantage over a poor one.

Plate XII (pp.333-5). *Beginning with:* This immense increase of quantity of work performed, in consequence of the division of labour... *End:* ...His mind does not go with it, and he for some time rather trifles than applies to good purpose. (*WoN* Bk I ch 1)

**Correction 6** (p.335). *Beginning with:* A man of great Spirit and activity ... *End:* in the same manner as an idle fellow.

Plate XIII (pp.335-6). *Beginning with:* This habit of sauntering and of Indolent, careless application... *End:* ...the application of proper machinery (*WoN* Bk I ch 1)

**Correction 7** (p.336). *Beginning with:* By means of the plough... *End:* ... some remote provinces in this country.

Plate XIV (p.336). *Beginning with:* It was the division of labour ... *End:* ... Among a great variety of things. (*WoN* Bk I ch 1)

**Correction 8** (pp.336-7). *Beginning with:* He was, probably, a farmer... *End:* ... was probably no workman of any kind.

Plate XV (p.337). *Beginning with:* a philosopher or meer man... *End:* ... opposite and distant objects (*WoN* Bk I ch 1)

**Correction 9** (pp.338-9). *Beginning with:* To apply in the most advantageous manner those powers... *End:* ... may have afterwards improved them.

Plate XVI (p.338). *Beginning with:* Philosophy or speculation, in the progress of society ... *End:* ... the quantity of science is considerably increased by it (*WoN* Bk I ch 1)

Plate XVII (pp.338-9). *Beginning with:* This division of labour from which so many advantages result... *End:* ... the assistance of no other living Creature (*WoN* Bk I ch 2)

**Correction 10** (p.339-40). *Beginning with:* When any uncommon misfortune befals it... *End:* ... the assistance of its fellows.

Plate XVIII (pp.340-2). *Beginning with:* a man has almost constant occasion for the help of his bretheren... *End:* ... give occasion to any great difference of character (*WoN* Bk I ch 2)
Correction 11 (p.342) . Beginning with: It is upon this account that a much greater uniformity of character.... End: ... such as masons, Carpenters, Smiths, merchants, soothsayers, priests, Physicians.

Plate XIX (pp.342-3) . Beginning with: It is this disposition to truck, barter and exchange... End: ... whose productions the Philosopher can have occasion for (WoN Bk I ch 2)

Correction 12 (pp.343-5) . Beginning with: Whatever we buy from any shop or ware-house... End: ... by barter & exchange for some part of the produce of their own labour.

Plate XX (345) . Beginning with: CONTENTS OF THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS... End: ... Treats of (WoN Bkl ch 4)

Plate XXI (pp.345) . Beginning with: 1mo , the price which is requisite to induce the labourer to apply himself to any particular species of industry.... End: Of the Liberal professions. profits of Silver mines (WoN ch 10)

Plate XXII (pp.345-6) . Beginning with: 2 do . The price which is fixed by the market. End: ... when the price is too low (WoN Bk I ch 7)

Correction 13 (p.346) . Beginning with: 4to , That as national or public opulence consists in the cheapness of commodities... End: ... the whole inland commerce of the country.

Plate XXIII (pp. 346-7) . Beginning with: Chap.4th. Of money, its nature, origin and history... End: ... the different changes they have undergone; their causes and effects (WoN Bk I ch 4)

Plate XXIV (p.347) Beginning with: And except some observations upon, what may be called, the money price of commodities... End: the immense opulence of those countries, notwithstanding their great abundance of Gold and silver. (WoN Bk I ch 5)

Plate XXV (p.347) Beginning with: Under the second head, after explaining the use and necessity of a general instrument of commerce... End: ... I endeavour to show, (WoN Bk I ch 4)

Plate XXVI (pp. 347-8) . Beginning with: 1mo , That as the sole use of money is to circulate commodities... End: ... a sort of communication through the air by which we do our business equally well (WoN Bk II ch 2)

Plate XXVII (p. 348) . Beginning with: History of banking ancient and modern (WoN BkII ch 2)

Plate XXVIII (pp.348-51) . Beginning with: 3to , That national opulence, or the effect of national opulence... End: ... Useless sea wars very near as destructive to public opulence as useless Land wars. (WoN Bk 4 ch 1)
Plate XXIX (p. 351). Beginning with: 4\textsuperscript{to}, The notion that national opulence consisted in or depended upon money... End: ... this System. South sea Scheme. (WoN Bk II ch 2)

Correction 14 (351-2). Beginning with: Chap.5\textsuperscript{th}, Concerning the Causes of slow progress of opulence... End: ... errors of Government affect either 1\textsuperscript{st}, agriculture; or, 2\textsuperscript{nd}, arts & commerce.

Plate XXX (pp.352-6). Beginning with: 1\textsuperscript{st}. The great importance of agriculture and how much the value of its annual produce exceeds that of any other art... End: ... Of the antient police of almost every part of Europe. (WoN Bk III ch.2)

Plate XXXI (p.356). Beginning with: That sometime after the full establishment of the power of the Romans... End: ... Quid quartum? Arare" Cicero de off. lib. 2d. at the end (WoN Bk I ch 11)

The above partition, however liable to improvement as it stands, adds up to the whole text of the Draft.

*The puzzling out: the WoN built up from the plates*

(page numbers in boldface after the quotation of chapter refer to Cannan one-volume by Modern Library and italic type refer to Campbell-Skinner 2-volume editions of the WoN respectively)

*Introduction and Plan of the Work*

*Book I*

chapter 1: (3, 13) Beginning with: The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labour... End: ...with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty (from Plate V). Beginning with: But in the way in which this business is now carried on... End: ...make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day (from Plate VI). Beginning with: In every other art and manufacture... End: ...but they are commonly more distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former (from Plate VII).

*Beginning with: The corn of France ... End: perhaps inferior to England (from Plate VIII). Beginning with: But the hardware and the coarse woollens of England... End: and much cheaper too in the same degree of goodness (from Plate IX). Beginning with: This great increase of the quantity of work which, in consequence of the division of labour, the same number of people are capable of performing, ... End: his mind, as they say, does not go to it, and for some time he rather trifles than applies to good purpose. (from Plate XII).

*Beginning with: The habit of sauntering and of indolence... End:...the application of proper machinery (from Plate XIII) +* {Beginning with: I shall only observe, therefore, that the invention of all those machines by which labour is so much facilitated and abridged... End: dissipated among a great variety of things (from Plate XIV)}. {Beginning with: philosophers
or men of speculation ... End: ...combining together the powers of the most distant and dissimilar objects. (from Plate XV)

Beginning with: In the progress of society, philosophy or speculation becomes, like every other employment, the principal or sole trade... End: ...the quantity of science is considerably increased by it (from Plate XVI). 

Beginning with: It is the great multiplication of all the different arts... End: extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people. (From Plate X). Beginning with: Every workman has a great quantity of his own work to dispose of beyond what he himself has occasion for... End: ...or, what comes to the same thing, for the price of a great quantity of theirs. (from Plate XI). Beginning with: The woollen coat, for example, which covers the day-labourer, as coarse and rough as it may appear ... End: ...the accommodation of the latter exceeds that of many an African king (from Plate II). Beginning with: ... without the assistance and cooperation of many thousands... End: the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages (From Plate I)

chapter 2: (13, 25) Beginning with: This division of labour from which so many advantages are derived... End: has occasion for the assistance of no other living creature (from Plate XVII)

chapter 3:

chapter 4: (22, 37 ) Beginning with: OF THE ORIGIN AND USE OF MONEY. End: ...than could have occasioned by a very great public calamity (from Plate XXIII). 

Beginning with: It is in this manner that money has become... End: ...are bought and sold, or exchanged for one another (from Plate XXV). 

Beginning with: What are the rules which men naturally observe in exchanging ... End: I shall now proceed to examine (from Plate XX).

chapter 5: (46, 63) Beginning with: The money of any particular country is, at any particular time and place, more or less an accurate measure of value... End: the same quantity of pure silver. (from Plate XXIV).
chapter 7: (56, 73) Beginning with: The actual price at which any commodity is commonly sold... End: ... they are constantly tending towards it. (from Plate XXII)

chapter 8: (64, 82) Beginning with: In that original state of things... End: He has neither landlord nor Mater to share with him. (from Plate III)

chapter 9

chapter 10: (99, 116) Beginning with: The whole of the advantages and disadvantages of the different employments of labour and stock... End: leaves things at perfect liberty (from Plate XXI). Beginning with: Inequalities arising from the Nature of the Employment themselves... End: ...but the whole expence of the family. (from Plate IV)

Chapter 11: (150, 166) Beginning with: a considerable part of ancient Italy seems to have been so during the prosperity of the Romans... End: ... discouraged its cultivation in that country  (from Plate XXXI)

Book II

chapter 1:

chapter 2 (281-301, 297-317) Beginning with: An operation of this kind has, within these five-and-twenty or thirty years, been performed in Scotland... End: imprudent and unprofitable undertakings (from Plate XXVII). (301-2, 317-18) Beginning with: That the industry of Scotland languished for want of money to employ it, was the opinion of the famous Mr. Law... End: both in Scotland and in other places (from Plate XXIX). (304-5, 320-21) Beginning with: It is not by augmenting the capital of the country... End: they are liable to several others, from which no prudence or skill of those conductors can guard them (from Plate XXVI)

Book III

chapter 1

chapter 2: (361, 381) Beginning with: Of the discouragement of agriculture in the ancient state of Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire... End: The ancient policy of Europe was, over and above all this, unfavourable to the improvement and cultivation of land, whether carried on by the proprietor or by the farmer; first, by the general prohibition of the exportation of corn... (from Plate XXX)

Book IV

chapter 1: (398-419, 429-51) Beginning with: That wealth consists in money, or in gold and silver, is a popular notion.... End: ...tend either to increase or diminish the real wealth and revenue of the country(from Plate XXVIII).

chapter 2 and following chapters: empty spaces
As an example of the building of the *WoN*, we may notice two cases:

1) the building of chapter 1 -that in which Smith stressed his special regard of the division of labour- was a rather complex process, what reveals that Smith devoted to it a great effort, perhaps to convey an image as perfect as possible of one of his key ideas. Fourteen plates (marked as P), six corrections (marked as C) and six new passages that filled the empty spaces between plates (marked as S) make up the famous chapters on pin-making and social interdependence, as follows:

\[ P_5 + P_6, S_1, P_7, P_8, S_3, P_9, S_4, P_{12} + P_{13} + P_{14}, S_5, P_{15} + P_{16} + P_{10} + P_{11}, S_6, P_2 + P_1. \]

The symbol + indicates that the text is made up by connecting two successive plates, after deleting some interposed paragraph (correction), with one exception: the space between Plates 14 and 15, where a deletion (correction 8) occurs simultaneously with the insertion of fresh material, indicated as S_5.

2) The construction of Chapter 2, Book I, is more direct and simpler: it is almost wholly explained by the connection (indicated by the symbol +) of very few but longer Plates XVII, XVIII and XIX, after the sinking (deletion) of two paragraphs that separated them in the *Draft*, indicated as Corrections 10 an 11, respectively.

**The empty places**

Perhaps the most useful service that the present approach may render to the elucidation of Smith's intellectual development will not be found in the plate-analysis, but in the demarcation of large empty spaces. How are they to be interpreted?. Either as ignorance zones in Smith's economic background, or as choices, that ranked some issues as less interesting in comparison with others. In fact, the corrections are deletions of Smith's manuscript that imply a negative judgement about their usefulness.

Anyhow, the empty-place analysis alone cannot account for a full explanation of Smith's blanks. Possible clues to shrink the zone of ignorance are: Smith's library, his travel by the Continent, his acquaintance of information and persons, the intellectual achievements over and above Smith's efforts.

For example: there is no trace of Cantillon's book in the material provided by the *Draft*. Chapters 3 and 8 of Book I and 1 of Book II did not receive any material from the *Draft*, or that received was ver scanty. In those places, in the *WoN*, Smith inserted not less than
eleven considerations stemming from *On the Nature of Trade in General*: the location of economic activity as influenced by alternative means of transportation; the scarcity of subsistences as a limit to population growth; and the crucial commerce between town and country. Therefore it is plausible to think that Smith's acquaintance with Cantillon's book was a by-product of his travel to France.

By analogous reasons, we find in the Draft the absence of appropriate terms to designate the two meanings of value and the divisions of capital. It is likely that Smith found them in physiocratic works: *valeur usuelle* and *valeur vénale*, on the one hand, and *avances annuelles*, *avances primitives* and *avances foncières*, on the other. The physiocrats gave a big step with their analysis of capital, and it is a natural assumption to assume that Smith drew heavily from it. The smithian use of the term "productive labour" has a physiocratic flavour.

A striking empty space is chapter 1 of Book II: the Draft did not contribute anything to that chapter. In fact there is no capital-analysis in the Draft. On the contrary, the *WoN* put capital in the centre of the stage. In Smith's thought, capital was the outcome of productive labour. As is accepted, Quesnay laid the foundations of the theory of capital and its categories "classe stérile" and "dépênse stérile" were carefully criticised and reworked by Smith. There is no necessity to stretch the imagination to link Smith's acquaintance with Physiocracy and Smith's discovery and highlighting of capital.

Another noticeable empty space is chapter 2 of Book IV. No material from the Draft can be attached to it. This is a significant blank, for the central message of the *WoN* is the "invisible hand parable", stated precisely in that chapter. Smith's Theorem, as Olivera calls it, states that the maximising behaviour of individuals leads to a maximum result for the society as a whole. Smith's Theorem not only has a stringent version in modern economic analysis, but has also illustrious forerunners, who stated it precisely when Smith travelled by the Continent: Genovesi in his *Lezioni di Commercio* (1765) and Quesnay.

The latter, according to Schumpeter, was "the most important of all the founding fathers of the doctrine that will henceforth be referred to as the Maximum Doctrine of Perfect Competition ... That is to say, he held that maximum satisfaction of wants for all members of society, taken together, will result if, conditions of perfect competition prevailing, everyone be allowed to act freely upon his own individual self-interest". 

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4 See Olivera (1976).
The largest blank by far is the entire book V, about Public Finance, not attributable to Smith's ignorance of the field, for he taught about Public Revenues in his Glasgow lectures. The absence of any reference in the Draft to the Expences and Revenue of the Sovereign is imputable to an underrating of the issue as compared with other topics in political economy. The Physiocrats, in turn, were fiscal reformers, and as such they posed taxes in the centre of their discourses. If any message could not be avoided to receive after the slightest contact with Physiocracy was the want of an ideal tax system. In a sense, from a full neglect in the Draft, Public Finance became the culmination of the WoN. If the above hypothesis is true, from the Draft to the WoN Smith changed his choice, i.e. his valuation of the tax issue, adopting a standing nearer to physiocratic viewpoint.

**Filling the gaps: the transformation of language**

The Physiocrats were prolific language-makers, but their success fell short of their effort. Today nobody uses "interêts des avances primitives" or "avances annuelles". We use "depreciation" and "circulating capital", respectively. It makes sense that Smith, after his travel to France, perceived the power of physiocratic categories, one by one, and subjected them to careful reconstruction. To every (unsuccessful) physiocratic term, there corresponds a (successful) Smithian term: to *avances annuelles* and *avances primitives* and *foncières* there correspond *circulating* and *fixed capital*, respectively (WoN, Bk II, ch.1); to *produit net* and *réproduction totale*, there correspond *neat* and *gross revenue* (WoN, Bk II, ch.2), and so on. This alone emphasises the inspiring stimulus that meant the contact and interchange with the French économistes, and vanishes any doubt on the role of Physiocracy in Smith's thought.

**Filling the gaps: the flowing literature**

Adam Smith, as most academicians, was a book-collector. His library contained some two thousands of titles. As others in his position, he availed of the opportunity of travelling to increase that precious stock. But books were expensive, and it is justified to assume that the expense was to be balanced by a profitable reading. Therefore, we may take his possession of a book as the reading of it, with a high probability of a transference of excerpts from the book to some chapter or book of the WoN.

Smith's library has been the object of several catalogues, at different times. As any record, they stressed the stock-side of the problem. However, more useful data would be
provided by the flow-aspects, that is, data about the purchase of each book, that conveys the approximate date of Smith's meeting with others' publications. Of the following French materials, of French origin, the WoN shows evidence that Smith was acquainted with:

- Quesnay 1756. Fermiers. *Encyclopédie*, vol. VI.
- Quesnay 1758. *Tableau OEconomique*.
- Melon 1761. *Essai Politique sur le Commerce*.
- Mirabeau 1766. *Philosophie rurale*.
- La Rivière 1767. *L'Ordre naturel et essentiel des Sociétés politiques*.
- Du Pont de Nemours 1768. *Physiocratie, ou Constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain*.

Only those books published after 1763 can be put undoubtedly into relation with Smith's travel. Those previously published, would require an elaboration that cannot be undertaken, nor even initiated, at Argentine libraries.

**Plan of the book**

The detachment into plates, their shifting and grouping, were not produced at random, but according to a preconceived scheme. Smith was one of very few writers who preceded the body of the text by an outline or sketch of the chapters. A complex arrangement into books and chapters resembles our present ordering of data into files and archives. This arrangement is absent in the *Draft* and present in the WoN. It seems to be a tool too process a large mass of new information. Again, the travel through France appears as crucial in this development, not only as a means to update information, but also as a trigger for a reappraisal of his previous knowledge. Such is the case of his lectures on Public Revenue, given at the University of Glasgow, for which he did not find any place in the *Draft*, while they fill the whole Book V of the WoN.

**III - Conclusions**

The method just advanced do not reach to conclusive results, and perhaps there is no method that may give full certainty in the case of Smith, on behalf of the poverty of evidence. Perhaps we should get accustomed to express results in terms of degrees of probability. The results, however, are compatible with other results, and akin to the old
assertion that Smith's travel through France was decisive in the formation of his *magnum opus*.

**References**


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La formación de la Riqueza de las Naciones

por Manuel Fernández López

Resumen

El Borrador de Parte de la Riqueza de las Naciones publicado por Scott en 1937 es el único eslabón conocido entre la Riqueza de las Naciones y anteriores trabajos de Adam Smith. Se postula que la obra magna fue construida a partir del Borrador. Éste se divide en 31 placas y 14 arrepentimientos y se muestra su localización en la Riqueza. Los espacios entre placas, correspondientes a material añadido después de 1763, son correlacionados con el viaje de Smith en 1764-6 a Francia y su contacto con los fisiócratas.

The Making of the Wealth of Nations

by Manuel Fernández López

Abstract

The Early Draft of Part of the Wealth of Nations published by Scott in 1937 is the sole known link between the Wealth of Nations and former writings of Adam Smith. It is asserted that the magnum opus was built from the Draft. The latter is split into 31 plates and 14 corrections and its location at the Wealth is searched. The spaces among plates, filled with material added after 1763, are put into correlation with Smith's 1764-6 travel through France and his acquaintance of Physiocracy.

[JEL, B1]