

THE WRITING OF TEXTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY: A CASE STUDY ON TRANSLATION PRACTICES IN THE EARLY 1820s¹

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ABSTRACT

Scant attention has been paid to the history of translations of texts of political economy, even if translations have long provided a powerful means to promote the international circulation of economic ideas, as well as an opportunity to adapt the contents of original texts to the specific circumstances of receiving countries. Translated texts bear witness to different attitudes regarding the theory and practice of translation, but no matter how much liberty translators could take with the contents of the original text, the fact remains that in general translators gave formal recognition of its authorship. A different situation occurs when prevailing practices of writing texts of political economy allowed authors in receiving countries to make use of a text written in a foreign language, without giving proper recognition of the way and the extent to which the text was actually used. Scant attention has also been paid to the proliferation of texts mostly composed by means of the careful assemblage of unacknowledged excerpts selected from the works of eminent political economists. In this paper I intend to draw attention to one such case.

As a matter of fact, the compendium of political economy written by the priest Manuel de Almeida in the early 1820s, as a rejoinder to the political efforts undertaken by members of the Portuguese Parliament to promote the creation of classes of political economy, is mostly composed of excerpts translated from Jean-Baptiste Say's *Traité d'économie politique*. Throughout the paper, account will be given of: 1) the circumstances that led Manuel de Almeida to write a compendium of political economy and the conditions he had to observe in the process of writing it; 2) the basic features of the compendium composed under the influence of Say's *Traité*; 3) the evidence regarding the extensive, unacknowledged use of Say's *Traité*; 4) the logic underlying the translation of excerpts from Say's *Traité*.

Introduction

The international transmission and appropriation of economic ideas and works is a complex process where the exact terms and conditions of the actual transmission and appropriation may be difficult to ascertain, on account of commonly accepted practices of text writing that allow authors to make use of other people's ideas and works without giving proper recognition of the way and the extent to which ideas and works have actually been used. In this regard, the line of demarcation between use and abuse is never apparent at first reading and care must be taken to set both in due context.

This paper focus on the compendium of political economy written by the priest Manuel de Almeida in the early 1820s, as a rejoinder to the political efforts undertaken by the Portuguese Parliament to promote the creation of classes of political economy. It will be shown that Manuel de Almeida did not consider himself a plagiarist,

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were presented, under the title *To quote or not quote: Portuguese evidence on quotation patterns in the early 1800s*, to the VII Encuentro Ibérico de Historia del Pensamiento Económico (1-3 December 2011, Universidad de Zaragoza, Spain) and the XXXII Encontro da Associação Portuguesa de História Económica e Social (APHES, ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Portugal, 16-17 November 2012).

despite the unacknowledged extensive use of Jean-Baptiste Say's *Traité D'Économie Politique*, thus bearing witness to what seems to have been a common practice at the time, as it has been underlined by Almenar (1980), Lluch (1980) and Llombart (1984). In what follows, the first section provides an account of the circumstances which led Manuel de Almeida to write a compendium of political economy and the conditions he had to observe in the process of writing. The second section presents the basic features of the compendium composed under the influence of Say's *Traité*. The third section discusses evidence regarding the extensive, unacknowledged use of Say's *Traité*. The brief concluding remark calls the attention to the fact Manuel de Almeida was less concerned with being accused of plagiarism than of being accused of expounding the principles of political economy without due regard for the circumstances of the country.

A parliament-sponsored compendium of political economy

Early in February of 1821, just a couple of weeks after the opening of the newly established Parliament, João Rodrigues de Brito proposed a bill, which aimed at establishing classes of political economy in the main cities of the country, where students should be lectured on the basis of Say's *Catéchisme* and *Traité*, until a better alternative became available². The proposal was duly referred to the Public Education Committee and the same happened to a letter sent to parliament by the priest Manuel de Almeida in early March³. In the letter⁴, he praised the initiative and announced his willingness to open and be in charge of a class of political economy in Portalegre – a small southern city where he had been born and held his ministry. He took notice of the recommendation of Say's works, but he thought otherwise and presented an alternative teaching plan that he offered to develop into a compendium.

The Public Education Committee received another offer for teaching Say's works in a class to be opened in Lisbon, before issuing a statement on the matter that was brought before the Parliament in late March. Its members had no doubts whatsoever about the usefulness of classes of political economy, but they refrained from endorsing their immediate establishment, on account of their apprehensions regarding for example the competence and character of prospective candidates. Possibly echoing the reservations in Manuel de Almeida's letter regarding the inadequateness of the exclusive use of Say's *Traité* and *Catéchisme*⁵, they feared that aspiring teachers might confine their knowledge of political economy to Say's work, and also feared that "having fallen prey to vain theories and principles much too general, they might be willing to apply them indiscriminately to our country, without paying due attention to the situation we find ourselves in"⁶. Since they did not know what could be expected from all those who might offer themselves to teach political economy, they thought it better to invite the interested people to prepare a compendium, which could either be an original work, a translation or a summary of works written in foreign languages, provided it contained the illustrations and applications best suited to the circumstances of the Portuguese nation. Each author was required to offer and submit a compendium to the Committee. In case of approval, authors who also qualified as teachers could then open a class of their own and those who excelled in their teaching would be given preference to teach the classes to be created later on in the Universidade de Coimbra and in some of the most important cities of the country. So far

2 DCG 1821-02-10, pp. 74-75.

3 DCG 1821-03-24, p. 350.

4 See Almeida 1993: 14-21; throughout the text, references to this work will be indicated by the mention of the year and respective page(s).

5 Although Manuel de Almeida underlined the undisputed merit of Say's *Traité*, he objected nonetheless to its exclusive use. In his opinion, the *Traité* was excellent for people already well acquainted with political economy, particularly for people like himself who were interested in teaching its principles, but was inadequate to serve as a compendium for beginners, owing to "its diffuse and confused character", among other limitations (cf. 1983: 17, 12-13)

6 DCG 1821-03-24, p. 350.

as we know, only the priest Manuel de Almeida accepted the invitation and set his hands on writing a compendium. The first part was sent to Parliament in late December 1821 and was published in the following year; the second part was sent in late January 1823, but the counter-revolution that broke out the following May contributed to delay its publication until well after Manuel de Almeida's death in 1833⁷.

Manuel de Almeida was born in 1769, received the holy orders in 1793, graduated in canon law in 1794 and became a parish priest in 1801⁸. It is not known when and in what circumstances his attention had been drawn to the study of political economy, but at least we know for certain that in 1821 he held its principles in high regard, namely because they showed that "an immensity of ills, supposedly without cure, not only can be cured but can be easily cured and will not be suffered unless there is a will to suffer them" (1993: 14)⁹. He was not the only member of the clergy to show allegiance to the political regime brought about by the 1820 liberal revolution¹⁰, but he surely stands alone in his will to join efforts with "the representatives of the nation, who so relentlessly work to raise it from the abyss and decadence in which it had fallen" (id.: 21), by becoming a teacher and a writer of political economy¹¹. When the counter-revolution put an abrupt end to the short-lived experience of the constitutional monarchy, Manuel de Almeida contrived to elicit the good will of the absolute monarch, in view of the publication of the second part of the compendium, but to no avail. He wrote a postscript in July 1823, where he justified the praise previously bestowed upon the system of representative government, as having been written by someone who "possessed a candid, sincere soul and therefore believed that the advantageous promises then made also were sincere" (id.: 180)¹². He further recalled the criticisms directed against the 1822 Constitution and added new remarks on the failure of the new regime to provide "subsistence, abundance, justice and safety" for all regardless of political views (id.: 179). In view of securing the publication of the remaining part of the compendium, the felicitations addressed to the members of the parliament at the very end of the preface in the first part accordingly gave way to the submission to the monarch's will at the very end of the postscript in the second one. Notwithstanding the act of the political contrition, Manuel de Almeida showed no willingness to change the views expressed in the compendium. The very few addenda inserted in the text bear witness to his intent on accommodating to the ongoing counter-revolution, rather than to his intent on contradicting views previously committed to paper¹³. Let us see now what sort of compendium did he write and what kind of influence did Say's works exert on his writing.

7 Cf. 1993: 22, 81; DCG 1821-12-29, p. 3542; DCD 1823-01-25, p. 579 and 1823-02-13, p. 811.

8 For the available few biographical details, see Brandão 1993: XII-XIII.

9 My translation - the same applies to the remaining quotations throughout the text

10 The clergy accounted for 16% of the members elected in continental Portugal to the 1821 constituent assembly (Santos 1962: 95) and the minutes of the corresponding sessions bear witness to the active participation of some of them, either serving in committees, holding high positions or intervening in the discussion of several matters (see, for example, DCG 1821-02-1821 p. 64, 1821-03-1821 p. 228 and 1823-03-26 pp. 367-8).

11 We should not forget that teaching offered the opportunity of a cumulative or even an alternative professional career for many a member of the Portuguese clergy (cf. Faria, 1987: 34-5). Likewise, translations and other literary works appear to have secured, for example, the living of abbé Morellet and abbé Blavet – two of the French translators of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (Carpenter, 1995: 12-13; 15-17).

12 Manuel de Almeida's high hopes and subsequent disenchantment, fit into the pattern observed for the episcopal hierarchy's reaction to the liberal revolution between 1820 and 1823 (Faria, 1992).

13 For the relevant details on this question, see Brandão 1993: XIII-XV.

The writing of a compendium by means of another compendium

As it was referred to above, Manuel de Almeida intended to write a compendium that might be used in alternative to Say's *Catéchisme* and *Traité*. None of the works written that far by Portuguese authors were considered either by the proponent of the bill on the creation of classes of political economy or by the members of the Public Education Committee that were called to appraise it. However, Manuel de Almeida thought it convenient to justify his intent to write a compendium of political economy. He lightly dismissed the available Portuguese works as memoirs and minor treatises, which did not comprehend all the branches of the science of political economy, and he further recalled that no one had yet undertaken the translation of such a work by a major author¹⁴.

Following the recommendations of the Public Education Committee, Manuel de Almeida reminded readers that the compendium "is in part of my own composition (...) is in part a translation of foreign writers and even a copy of some national ones", and took good care to underline that "in almost all the matters (...) I have done nothing but summarize the two main writers so far – Smith and Say" and his intent to present "the applications [of the principles of political economy] most suited to the state of our kingdom"¹⁵. He praised Smith, on account of the presentation in the *Wealth of Nations* of an articulated set of doctrines valid for all times and countries, "except when he sometimes limits himself to talk only about Great Britain" (id.: 12). By contrast, he included Say's *Traité* among "the works of political economy written after Smith, which I call partial and are not for all countries", because "in various branches, such as commerce, most of what concerns agriculture, public works, monetary system and several other matters (...) Say's doctrines are exclusively applicable to France and even in the case of France, not to all epochs" (id.: 12-13). Notwithstanding the contrast, in the writing of the compendium, preference was given to Say's influence to the detriment of Smith's.

In fact, the mentions found to authors and works throughout the text and the circumstances in which the mentions are made, bear witness not only to the overriding importance of Smith and Say but also to the preference given to Say. Table 1 and Table 2 show that most of the mentions are to foreign authors and works and among these that Smith and Say are by far the authors most frequently mentioned. In its turn, Table 3 sheds light on the circumstances whereby Smith and Say are explicitly mentioned. As regards Say, Manuel de Almeida did not make use of the *Catéchisme*, as he could have done in accordance with the Public Education Committee's recommendations. No explanation is given for leaving behind the *Catéchisme*, while care is taken to acknowledge the use of the *Traité*'s third edition (1817)¹⁶. Explicit references to Say as an author are found in relatively few pages – 34 out of the 181-page-length compendium –, but many more bear witness to the influence exerted by his *Traité* in the actual writing. In fact, it has been possible to find 54 more pages where Manuel de Almeida incorporated passages translated from the *Traité*, none of which is inserted in quotation marks and referred to as belonging to Say. Quotations marks are also absent in all other instances where unacknowledged translated passages have been traced back to the *Traité*. Say's authorship is made explicit only in the case of the 5 quotations in French used as epigraphs.

In the case of Smith, almost all of the 32 references surveyed also point towards a specific location in Say's *Traité*: in 26 instances the references to Smith are all made on the basis of the translation of the specific passage that it has been possible to trace in the text of the *Traité*; in the remaining 6 instances we find simple, unconnected mentions to Smith's name, ideas or work. Even though Manuel de Almeida conveyed the idea that he might have actually read Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in the original (cf. 1993: 20), the truth is that he chose to

14 Cf. 1983: 13. On Manuel de Almeida's deficient overview of Portuguese economic authors and works, as well as of translations into Portuguese of major foreign works, see Brandão 1983: XVIII-XIX and Cardoso and Almodovar 1998: 36-70.

15 Cf. 1983: 22, DCG 1821-03-24, p. 350.

16 Since Manuel de Almeida recognized the use of this edition (Almeida, 1993: 15) it has been possible to check all the references made in the compendium and trace the location in this edition of the *Traité* of as many unacknowledged translated excerpts as possible, particularly those that he used without mentioning Say or the *Traité*.

make use of Say's presentation of Smith's ideas and quotations in the *Traité*, when he wrote the compendium¹⁷. In the introduction, the reasons adduced in support of the distinctive character of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* among the most important works on political economy, together with the comments on its main shortcomings, almost entirely reproduce Say's views in the *Traité*, but no indication is given of the translation¹⁸. Another exemplary case is provided by the listing of the reasons behind the prosperity of the English manufactures, because Manuel de Almeida refers to a particular book and chapter of *Wealth of Nations*, but gives no indication that he is quoting Smith from the French translation used by Say in the *Traité*¹⁹. No less exemplary is the case of the scholium where he uses Say's account of Smith's views on the division of labour and the manufacture of pins, without referring to the *Traité*²⁰. No less revealing is the passage where Manuel de Almeida credits Say with a comment on government expenditures that Say himself incorporates in the *Traité* as a quotation from Smith²¹. As the evidence surveyed indicates Manuel de Almeida's acquaintance with Smith's political economy actually derived from his reading of Say's interpretation of the *Wealth of Nations* as exposed in the *Traité*, rather than from his own reading of the original version.

In the same manner, one may well wonder to what extent the mentions made to foreign authors other than Say and Smith also derive from his own reading of the *Traité*, rather than from his own acquaintance with their writings. In regard to the remaining 63 foreign authors mentioned in the compendium, the evidence suggests that in most cases the acquaintance with their ideas and works is confined to the reading of the *Traité*, because it has been possible to trace the references made to 40 of them to a particular location in the *Traité*. The superficial acquaintance with the ideas and works of these 40 authors is further suggested by the fact that no less than 29 of them are mentioned only once. Montesquieu stands alone among this last set of foreign authors, because Manuel de Almeida made far more use of *L'Esprit des Lois* than is apparent in the single mention and excerpt located in the *Traité*²². In fact, in all the other 10 references to Montesquieu, Manuel de Almeida specified the books and chapters in the *L'Esprit des Lois*, which underlie his presentation of the principles of political economy, especially in what concerns the influence of luxury on the prosperity of nations²³. Of the 23 foreign authors mentioned by Manuel de Almeida for whom no specific location has been found in the text of the *Traité*, the names of 9 of them have nonetheless been found in the list of references²⁴, but the names of the other 14 have been found nowhere, either in the text itself or in the list of references.

17 No hint is given of his acquaintance with the translation published in Brazil by Bento da Silva Lisboa in 1811-12 (Cardoso, 1990: 438).

18 Cf. 1993: 9-12 and Say 2006: 32-42.

19 Cf. 1993: 103 and Say 2006: 337-338.

20 Cf. 1993: 120-121 and Say 2006: 939.

21 Cf. 1993: 151 and Say, 2006: 145-147.

22 Cf. 1993: 60 and Say 2006: 933.

23 Cf. 1993: 131, 132, 135, 136, 139, 148, 171, 172, 173, 175.

24 Jeremy Bentham, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Gaetano Filangieri, Horace, François La Harpe, Platon, Louis-Auguste Say, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi and Xénophon.

24 Jean-Baptiste Ladvocat, Jean-Antoine Chaptal, Columella, George Custance, Ernest Dujardin-Sailly, Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, Franz Xaver Gmeiner, Alexandre-Maurice Bland de Lanautte Hauterive, Jean-Daniel Herrenschwand, John Howard, Auguste-Savinien Leblond, Christian Friedrich Wilhelm Roth, Francisco Maria da Silva and Tacitus.

Manuel de Almeida recalled Say's encouragements to the diffusion of the principles of political economy to justify his own writing endeavour²⁵, but the text of the compendium shows that he did more than accept Say's encouragements. Following the basic structure of Say's *Traité*, Manuel de Almeida also began his compendium with a preliminary dissertation on the usefulness of the teaching of political economy and a survey of its history. Likewise, he planned to finish it with "the recapitulation of everything that had been taught to students in the form of a dictionary, explaining or defining all the technical terms of political economy" (1993: 20). However, in the process of writing he chose instead "to begin (and not to end) with some prolegomena or rudiments of political economy", which "could serve as a sort of a catechism to be read from an early age in elementary schools, if printed separately" (id.: 20-21). Only then, did he proceed with the presentation of the principles of political economy²⁶. He also did not follow in Say's steps when he set aside Say's method of arranging the various subjects dealt with in the *Traité* into the three great divisions devoted to the production, distribution and consumption of wealth. He adopted instead "the geometric method so successfully put into practice by Xavier Gmeiner among others" (1993: 18)²⁷. In consequence, he composed the compendium as a sequence of main themes and assertions that unfolded throughout the text as a long chain of interrelated parts, from which as many corollaries and scholia were deduced as it was necessary to present "the definitions, divisions and general ideas pertaining to all, or at least to the main objects of political economy" (id.: 20).

However, he followed Say when he regarded his prolegomena as an epitome of the principles political economy, even though he decided against an alphabetically ordered definition of the most important terms of political economy and presented them instead as a sequence of chapters, which contained an outline of the main concepts, themes and doctrines expounded at length in the three books of the *Traité*. In the main part of the compendium he developed a set of seven so-called principles, in accordance with his understanding of political economy as "the government of a household applied to a State" (1993: 17). In the first principle, it was asserted that "[t]he supreme government of each nation, whatever its name, duties or divisions may be, must be considered like the father or the head of a vast family; in consequence it must always seek the prosperity of the existing family and of the generations to come" (id.: 59). From here, Manuel de Almeida derived an excursus on the proper role of government, the nature of public expenses and taxes, as well as the ways and means best suited to promote the prosperity of agriculture, commerce and industry, and carried on exactly in the same manner with the other six principles. In themselves, these structuring assertions were nothing but general rules of behaviour that should be observed by governments interested in promoting the prosperity of their nation and people, but they nonetheless provided the backbone for the presentation of the principles of political economy that underlay the creation and increase of wealth.

Despite the influence exerted by Say's *Traité*, Manuel de Almeida's compendium denotes a perception of political economy that stems from other sources. In fact, he did not follow Say when this latter criticised Rousseau for having confounded the principles of "a good government" with the principles underlying the "increase of wealth" (Say 2006: 3). Instead, he criticised Rousseau for having refuted the analogy between "the government of a State" and "the government of a household" (1993: 9, Rousseau 1826: 407). It is true that Rousseau admitted that both the head of the State and the head of the household shared the obligation of making their respective members happy, but he did not accept that the same rules of behaviour applied to both and he accordingly distinguished l'économie générale ou politique from l'économie domestique ou particulière (cf. Rousseau 1826: 407, 412). For Manuel de Almeida there was no reason to distinguish one from the other,

25 In the epigraphs at the beginning of the two parts of the compendium, he recalled that "rien ne doit décourager dans les efforts qu'on tente pour connaître et propager les bons principes. Le plus petit pas qu'on fait vers eux est déjà un bien et porte d'heureux fruits"; he also recalled that "[u]ne (...) production [d'un livre élémentaire] n'en exclut pas une meilleure" (1983: 3, 81 and Say 2006: 63, 956).

26 Of the 181 pages of the compendium, the introduction occupies 22 pages, the prolegomena 26 and the principles the remaining 133.

27 Franz Xaver Gmeiner is the author of the late-eighteenth-century *Institutiones juris ecclesiasti*, a work that exerted a great influence in the teaching of law at the Universidade de Coimbra, namely because of use of the geometric method of exposition (Brandão 1993: XVI-XVIII).

because he still reasoned on the basis of the original model of the family, combined with a change in the perception of the goals of the government, which can be traced to mid-sixteenth century, from general common good to diversified specific aims, such as to produce as much wealth as possible, supply the people with as many provisions as possible and multiply the population (cf. Foucault, 2004:102).

But what kind of ideas did in fact Manuel de Almeida adopt from Say's *Traité*? First and foremost the idea that wealth derived from human industry combined with natural agents and capital and that wealth could only be increased by means of the increase in the productive power of their combination; the idea that wealth consisted of material and immaterial products; the idea that production was nothing but the creation of utility and that utility determined the value of all things; the idea that income derived from the sale of the productive services of the agents of production and that their prices were determined in the same way as the products they helped to produce; the idea that production was organized by entrepreneurs who bought productive services in view of the satisfaction of the consumers' wants; the idea that ultimately products are exchanged for products; the idea that the reproductive consumption of accumulated values was the essential factor leading to the increase of wealth; the idea that individuals knew best how to employ the productive services of the agents of production under their control; the idea that governments were essentially confined to encourage and protect private industry.

The adoption of this set of ideas denotes Manuel de Almeida's active support of an economic system based on the pre-eminence of individual enlightened interests and actions, but some of the policies he recommended also indicate that the scope for government intervention was much larger than Say himself envisaged. For example, he thought that the government should fix the rate of interest, when consumers' demand discouraged producers to borrow money, or impose limits on the consumption of luxuries in accordance with considerations of status and wealth (cf. 1993: 98, 136). He had no doubts whatsoever that security and freedom was the best protection that governments could bestow upon agriculture and manufactures, but he thought that commerce required instead security and proportion. He reasoned that "a single branch of external trade if left abandoned to itself would upset the natural order in agriculture and manufactures and the harmony in the internal trade – the first and most essential commerce in any nation" (1993: 67). In consequence, he praised the restrictions recently imposed on grain imports and urged the government to discourage the carrying trade (cf. id.: 70, 129).

To quote or not quote, that was not a question

As regards the contents of the whole compendium, Manuel de Almeida claimed no originality. He acknowledged the translation of foreign authors and the copy of Portuguese ones and warned against the accusation of plagiarism, because in a way he regarded it almost as a necessity. Where else, he contended, except in the best works available could anyone find the ideas of a new science, as was the case of political economy? In this respect, he recalled the terms of the invitation made by the Parliament, according to which a compendium could be composed on the basis of the translation or the summary of foreign compendia, just to conclude that "it looked as if the members of parliament recommended plagiarism" (1993: 22). The fact that Manuel de Almeida did not consider himself a plagiarist, despite the extensive informal, unacknowledged use of Say's *Traité*, bears witness to what seems to have been a common practice at the time. As regards the case of Spain, Llombart (1984), Almenar (1980) and Lluch (1980) underline the complexity of the question of plagiarism and elaborate on the implications for the analysis of the international transmission of economic ideas and works. A closer look at the text of the compendium allows us to understand Manuel de Almeida's concern over eventual recriminations in this regard.

As a matter of fact, Manuel de Almeida did not limit himself to draw inspiration from the authors quoted in the compendium, as it might be conveyed at first reading, by the very few instances where inverted commas indicate passages quoted from other authors²⁸. We already know that he acknowledged to have summarized Smith's and Say's works and we also know that most of the references to both authors are made in the context of a passage translated from the *Traité*. However, with the exception of the five quotations used as epigraphs, these passages appear in the text as if they were of his own writing and the same happens with many others also translated from the *Traité*, but whose origin is not directly suggested by the mention made to either author. Judging from the evidence available, the least that can be said is that Manuel de Almeida made extensive unacknowledged use of Say's *Traité* to compose the compendium.

²⁸ Say comes first with 5 quotations, followed by Montesquieu and Acúrsio das Neves with 3, and by Dupaty, Gentz, Herrenschwand, Silva Lisboa and Verri each with only 1.

The unacknowledged translation of excerpts is common to all parts of the compendium, but it is particularly noteworthy in the section devoted to the prolegomena, where Manuel de Almeida presents a kind of an abridged copy of the *Traité*. The ten chapters on the production of wealth are almost entirely composed on the basis of a set of definitions, assertions and doctrines selected from the books of the *Traité*, whereas the following chapter on the distribution of wealth and the last three chapters on the consumption of wealth are almost entirely composed on the basis of the *Épitomé*.

The same pattern underlies the writing of the main part on the principles of political economy, which is devoted to the exposition of the economic foundations of the role of the government. However, far more care is taken in this part to give notice of the circumstances of the country and provide proper guidance to the actions of the government. In several matters, the consideration of the particular circumstances of the country prevented the full acceptance of Say's doctrines and teachings and called for complementary doctrinal support, namely that of Herrenschwand's *De l'économie politique et morale de l'espèce humaine* and Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois*. Notwithstanding the use given to these two latter works and the information provided on the situation and problems specific to the country, the truth is that the section on principles is composed exactly in the same way as the introduction and the prolegomena, with extensive use being made of unacknowledged excerpts drawn from the Say's *Traité* in its paragraphs, corollaries and scholia.

Almenar unveils a similar practice in regard to a much larger set of authors, in the critical edition of Alvaro Flórez Estrada's *Curso de Economía Política* (1828-1852). Among foreign authors, the most influential are McCullough, James Mill, Say, Storch, Ricardo, Sismondi and Destutt de Tracy, but Almenar also followed systematically the trail of many other authors' unacknowledged excerpts (Almenar, 1980: Ixii-Ixx). However, instead of considering the *Curso* as an exemplary case of plagiarism, Almenar characterises it as "a complex collage" of elements borrowed from different groups of economists and assembled together by means of "the criticisms, digressions and corrections of the theories expounded" (id.: Ixiii), which underlies Flórez Estrada's projects of economic and social reform. In a similar manner, Manuel de Almeida's *Compêndio* is best regarded as an extensive collage of excerpts essentially drawn from Say's *Traité*, which provides the basic doctrinal support to his giving advice to the recently installed representative government in its efforts to fight against the backwardness of the country.

Concluding remark

The apprehension Manuel de Almeida may have felt since he made up his mind to offer the Portuguese Parliament a compendium of political economy, as regards the accusation of plagiarism, did not prevent the extensive, unacknowledged use of Say's *Traité* in the actual writing. He appears to be in strict conformity with the practice prevailing at the time of composing compendiums by means of available compendiums that were considered adequate to convey the usefulness of political economy, as the provider of the general rules of behaviour that should be observed by governments interested in promoting the prosperity of their nation and people. He also appears to be in strict conformity with the practice prevailing at the time of composing compendiums that were written first and foremost in view of accommodating the principles of political economy to the circumstances of the country. In the early nineteenth century, the accusation of expounding the principles of political economy without due regard for the circumstances that prevented their application was far more important than the accusation of plagiarism. The main body of the text should be written using the Arial font and single spacing with 10-point interlining spacing. Be sure your text is fully justified—that is, flush left and flush right. Please do not place any additional blank lines between paragraphs.

Table 1: References to foreign authors and works

Authors (N=65)	*N(R,P)	Works (N=35)
Ladvocat, Jean Baptiste	1 - 1	Dictionnaire historique et bibliographique portatif
Algarotti, Francesco Rocco	1 - 1	
Bandini, Salustio-António	1 - 1	
Beccaria, Cesare Bonesana	2 - 1	
Belloni, Gerolamo	1 - 1	
Bentham, Jeremy	3 - 3	Traité de Legislation Civile et Pénale
Browne-Dignan, David	1 - 1	
Campomanes, Don Pedro Rodriguez	1 - 1	
Carli, Gian-Rinaldo	1 - 1	
Chaptal, Jean-Antoine	1 - 1	
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste	1 - 1	
Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus	2 - 2	De re rustica, De arboribus
Condillac, Étienne Bonnot	2 - 2	
Custance, George	1 - 1	Tableau de la constitution du royaume d'Angleterre
Davanzati, Bernardo Bosticci	1 - 1	
Dujardin-Sailly, Ernest	1 - 1	Code des douanes de France
Dupaty, Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier	1 - 1	Lettres sur l'Italie, en 1785
Dupont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel	1 - 1	
Filangieri, Gaetano	1 - 1	
Forbonnais, François Véron de	1 - 1	
Galiani, Ferdinando	1 - 1	Della Moneta, Dialogues sur le Commerce des Blés
Genovesi, Antonio	1 - 1	
Gentz, Frederik de	2 - 2	Essai sur l'état actuel de l'administration des finances et de la richesse nationale de l'
Gmeiner, Franz Xaver	2 - 2	
Hauterive, Alexandre-Maurice Blanc de Lanautte	3 - 3	Éléments d'Économie Politique suivis de quelques Vues sur l'Application des Princip
Homère	1 - 1	Odyssée
Herrenschwand, Jean-Daniel	10 - 10	De l'Économie Politique Moderne: Discours Fondamental sur la Population
Horace [Quintus Horatius Flaccus]	4 - 4	Epistularum liber primus, Ars Poetica
Howard, John	1 - 1	
Humbolt, Alexander von	1 - 1	
Intieri, Bartolomeo	1 - 1	
La Fontaine	1 - 1	
La Harpe, Jean-François de	1 - 1	Lycée, ou, Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne
Lancastre, Mr. [Lancaster, Joseph]	1 - 1	
Leblond, Auguste-Savinien	1 - 1	Dictionnaire abrégé des hommes célèbres de l'antiquité et des temps modernes
** [Marcket, Jane Haldimand]	1 - 1	** Conversations on Political Economy in which the elements of that Science are fa
Martinez de Mata, Francisco	1 - 1	
Melon, Jean-François	1 - 1	
Mercier de La Rivière, Paul-Pierre	1 - 1	
Mirabeau, Victor Riquetti	1 - 1	L'Ami des Hommes
Moncada, Sancho de	1 - 1	
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat	11 - 11	L'Esprit des Lois
Navarrete, Pedro Fernandez	1 - 1	
Osório, Miguel Álvarez	1 - 1	
Platon	2 - 2	Dialogues (Cratyle, Les Lois)
Quesnay, François]	2 - 2	
Ricardo, David	2 - 2	Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency
Roth, Christian Friedrich Wilhelm	1 - 1	
Rousseau, Jean Jacques	2 - 2	Contract Social
Say, Jean-Baptiste	40 - 34	Traité d'Économie Politique ou Simple Exposition de la Manière dont se Forment, se
Say, Louis-Auguste	1 - 1	Considérations sur l'industrie et la législation sous le rapport de leur influence sur l'
Serra, António	1 - 1	Breve Trattato delle cause che possono fare abondare i regni d'oro e argento
Silva, Francisco Maria da	1 - 1	Decada Epistolar sobre el Estado de las Letras en Francia
Sismondi, Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de	1 - 1	De la Richesse Commerciale
Smith, Adam	32 - 16	Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations
Steuart, James	3 - 3	
Tacitus, Publius Cornelius	3 - 3	
Thornton, Henry	1 - 1	
Ulloa, Antonio de	1 - 1	
Uztaritz, Gerónimo de	1 - 1	
Verri, Pietro	2 - 2	Meditazioni sull'Economia Politica
Voltaire	2 - 2	Homme aux quarante écus
Ward, Bernard	1 - 1	
Witt, Johan de	1 - 1	
Xénophon	2 - 2	Oeconomicus, Constitution of Sparta
		Bible
		Essais sur l'Esprit de la Legislation V2: Favorable a l'agriculture, a la Population, a

* N(R,P): Number of references to an author and of pages where references are made

** Reference to work, with no explicit mention to the author's name

Table 2: References to Portuguese authors and works

Manuel de Almeida, <i>Compêndio de Economia Política, [1821,1823] (1993)</i>		
Authors (N=16)	*N(R,P)	Works (N=8)
Albuquerque, Luís Prates de Almeida	1 - 1	
Bezerra, Manuel Gomes de Lima	3 - 3	<i>Os Estrangeiros no Lima</i>
Brito, Joaquim José Rodrigues	1 - 1	
Costa, Vicente José Ferreira Cardoso da	1 - 1	
Dulac , António Maximiano	3 - 3	<i>Vozes dos Leais Portugueses</i>
Fonseca, Franciso Pereira Rebelo da	1 - 1	<i>Memórias da Academia, 1788 e 1790</i>
Franzini, [Marino Miguel]	1 - 1	
** [Lisboa, José da Silva]	2 - 2	** <i>Tentativa Económica, Princípios de Direito Mercantil</i>
Melo, Pascoal José de	1 - 1	<i>Instituições de Direito Português</i>
Neves, José Acúrsio das	9 - 9	<i>Variedades</i>
Paiva, Manuel Joaquim Henrques de	1 - 1	<i>Memórias da Academia, 1788 e 1790</i>
Pinto, António Joaquim de Gouveia	2 - 2	
Ratton, Diogo	1 - 1	<i>Reflexões sobre o papel moeda</i>
Silva, José Veríssimo Álvares da	1 - 1	<i>Memórias da Academia, 1788 e 1790</i>
Silveira, António Henrques da	1 - 1	
Teles, Vicente Coelho Seabra Silva e	1 - 1	<i>Memórias da Academia, 1788 e 1790</i>
		<i>Censor Lusitano</i>

* N(R,P): Number of references to an author and of pages where references are made

** Reference to work, with no explicit mention to the author's name

Table 3: References to Say and Smith

Manuel de Almeida, <i>Compêndio de Economia Política [1821,1823] (1993)</i>		
Say		Smith
<i>Traité</i> , quotations, location indicated	5	
<i>Traité</i> , translated passages, no quotations marks	21	<i>Traité</i> , translated passages, no quotations marks
Indication of page/chapter/book	16	Indication of page/chapter/book
No indication of page/chapter/book	5	No indication of page/chapter/book
Simple references	14	Simple references
Indication of page/chapter/book	5	
No indication of page/chapter/book	9	
Total	40	Total
		32

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