

LITERATURE FOR ECONOMIC TEACHING AND LITERATURE SUPPLIED IN PROFESSORSHIP COMPETITIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY IN SPAIN. THE ROLE OF TRANSLATIONS

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Abstract

This paper gives a brief account of the handbooks recommended for economic teaching in Spain and also of the literature supplied in professorship competition in the 19th century. Handbooks at the time when economic teaching became institutionalized in Spain, in the mid 19th century followed closely French economic school of this century, led by J.B. Say's works. At the end of the 19th century, when competitions to occupy vacant chairs started being organized in the Spanish university system, candidates showed their abandonment of French school and their leaning to economic ideas coming from Germany. Translations played a major role in economic teaching in Spain in the mid decades of the century, whereas German translations at the end of the century were much more scarce.

1. Introduction: The institutionalisation of political economy in Spanish universities

Studies on economics were definitively established in Spain in 1836, in the faculties of Law and Philosophy and in some schools of management. Contemporarily, the Athenaeum of Madrid, closed during the reaction in 1824, resumed its economic courses that year, creating a chair in Political Economy which was occupied by Eusebio María del Valle, the professor of the same subject at the University of Madrid; and a chair in Public Finances and Public Credit, occupied by José Antonio Ponzoa, the translator of Say's 5th edition of the *Traité d'économie politique* in 1835. The Moyano Law in 1857 definitively consolidated the university institutionalisation of political economy, and all economic studies were transferred to Law faculties. A course in Economics and Statistics was included in the studies for the bachelor degree in Law, Canon Law and Administration, and the course in Political, Industrial and Commercial Economy, in a superior degree in these same studies. In the schools of commerce, there was the subject Political Economy and Customs Legislation. Public Finances was just a part of a course on advanced Administrative Law. Successive reforms continued this process: Corvera's reform in 1858 demanded that, in order to obtain a bachelor degree in Administrative Law, it was necessary to have studied Political Economy and Statistics and a new course in Spanish Public Finances Institutions. The Orovio reform (1866) established that Political Economy should be studied in the first and second year of the bachelor degree in juridical studies, whereas in order to graduate in Administrative Law, it was compulsory to study also Public Finances (Aracil 2001; Martín Rodríguez, 2000). It is important to remark that the names of courses changed quite frequently. From this moment onwards, these two subjects remained strongly connected to juridical studies, from which economics started exerting influence in society. In the University of Madrid, the largest and the only one that could award PhD degrees, Political Economy was taught by Valle between 1838 and 1857. In this university were also

teaching Colmeiro (Public and Administrative Law, 1847-1881) and Figuerola (Compared Mercantile Law, 1853-1875 and Political, Industrial and Mercantile Economy, 1857). Other major economists were linked to the University of Madrid at this time: José Gallostra, who would be minister of Public Finances in 1883, was until 1857 the substitute for all economic disciplines in the Philosophy Faculty. Benigno Carballo, from the Economist School, was the substitute for Political Economy and Statistics in the Law Faculty. He was professor at the School of Commerce of Madrid. (Perdices 2007: 102-103).

2. The texts used in University teaching of political economy

In these years of early institutionalisation of economic teaching in Spain, doctrines transmitted were essentially classical liberal. The 1836 reform allowed professors to choose any texts for their teaching. In Madrid, Valle used his own *Curso de economía política*, whose theoretical part was influenced by Say and Storch, but also there were some traces of critics to the classical political economy, such as Sismondi. However, in order to control teaching, soon the Council of Public Instruction intervened, creating the Book Examination Technical Commission in 1841, in charge of issuing lists of handbooks to be used in university teaching. The first list, issued that year, recommended for the subject of Political Economy the works by Valle, Santoro, Flórez Estrada, Torrente and Rossi (whose *Cours d'économie politique* was translated into Spanish by Madrazo in 1836). Droz was added later, his *Économie politique* being translated by Colmeiro with notes in 1842. It seems that some professors used Say's works, but this list seems to point to the beginning of the decline of the influence of Say in Spain, with the increasing importance of Ricardianism (Rossi and Flórez Estrada's works were closer to Ricardo) and the new eclectic political economy, which paid attention to the difference between economic theory and economic policy (although Say was included in the list of 1845). However, very soon the influence of Bastiat and the French group of the *Journal des économistes* would become absolutely dominant. This supremacy was enhanced by the long debate on the liberalisation of international trade and Cobden's journey to Spain to foster free trade (1846). Say acquired an enormous influence in Spain from 1820, when the diffusion of Smith lost energy. His economic ideas were found useful to be applied to the Spanish circumstances. This was the case of Jaumeandreu, Gutiérrez, Valle Santoro, Espinosa, etc. between 1808 and 1840. Say's followers (Storch, Droz, Blanqui, Garnier, Rossi, etc.) replaced their master's influence on Spanish economists from the decade of 1840 (Almenar 2000: 33; Martín Rodríguez 2000: 612)

The Pidal reform in 1845 established that the textbooks used in economics teaching should be chosen from a list of six appointed by the Council of Public Instruction. Two lists were issued: The first was for the Faculty of Philosophy, but it just contained three books: Valle's *Curso* (1842), Colmeiro's *Tratado elemental de economía política* (1845), and Blanqui's *Historia de la economía política en Europa desde los tiempos antiguos hasta nuestros días* (1839). The second list was addressed to the Faculty of Law; it included Valle and Colmeiro's books, but had taken out Blanqui's work, bringing in instead Say's *Tratado* (in the 1839 version by Ponzoa) and Flórez's *Curso* (3rd edition, 1835). In 1846 a new list was issued, including two new texts for both faculties: Rossi's *Curso* and Garnier's *Elementos de economía política* (1846). In 1850 the list was reduced to the texts by Valle, Colmeiro and Garnier. According to Martín Rodríguez these three books plus the ones by Flórez and Valle Santoro were the most diffused books in Spain in the second third of the 19th century. Valle, Colmeiro and Garnier's texts had the classical three part structure taken from Say's *Traité*: production, distribution and consumption. The Spanish texts usually added a last part devoted to economic policy and its application to the Spanish case (Martín Rodríguez 2000: 605-616). Velarde believes that Valle was responsible for the making of the books lists addressed to the Law faculties.

After Valle left the University of Madrid, according to Perdices economic disciplines remained controlled by Colmeiro and Figuerola; therefore members of the Economist School managed the teaching of economics in the first Spanish university. Colmeiro's influence in the faculty should have been important, due to the prestige of his chair in Public and Administrative Law and the spread of his textbooks on this subject and also on political economy and public finances. From 1859 Moret (another *economist*) occupied the chair of Political Economy, acting as a supply teacher until 1862, when Madrazo won the chair, which he had until 1876. Madrazo used the handbook of Colmeiro, which shows that Valle's book was being abandoned. In his last years of teaching, Madrazo used his own handbook, *Lecciones de economía política*. In what concerns the subject of Public Finances, Eustaquio Toledano, a former professor of the School of Commerce of Madrid, was the professor of this subject in the University of Madrid between 1858-1860, when he left to Barcelona to teach this same subject. Toledano, who was a disciple of Colmeiro and one of the introducers of Krausism in Spain, used his *Curso de Instituciones de Hacienda de España* (1859-60), which was dedicated to Valle, Colmeiro and Figuerola, among others. In 1860 Moret started teaching this subject in Madrid, first as a supply professor. In 1863 he won the chair and had it until 1875, when he resigned and was replaced by Mellado (Perdices 2007:106)

Despite this pre-eminence of *economists* in the university teaching of political economy and related subjects, other professors belonging to other economic trends started attaining chairs in the university. This is the case of krausists. In the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Madrid, which until the 1857 reform also supplied with economic studies, Sanz del Río had his chair in History of Philosophy. This professor led from his chair the first stage of the expansion of Krausism in Spain, which took place from 1854 to 1869 (a second stage, also sponsored from the university, would be leaded later by Giner de los Ríos and Azcárate). These three professors influenced quite clearly future Krausist professors of political economy and public finances, such as Piernas Hurtado and Jiménez y Pérez de Vargas, but also young representatives of the Economist School, as Madrazo, Salvá and Moret. It seems that Krausists and *economists* coexisted in harmony, as it is proven by the relationship between Figuerola and Giner, and Moret and Azcárate. After 1868, the university system, until that moment narrowly controlled by political power, collapsed. Professors' demands for academic freedom increased, fostered particularly by Krausists. In 1868, with Madrazo as General Director of Public Instruction, freedom of chair and decentralization of teaching was established. However, in 1875, at the beginning of Bourbon Restoration, this freedom of chair was abolished. This made some professors resign, among who were Figuerola, Moret, Giner de los Ríos and Azcárate. They did not have their chairs restored until 1881. In 1876 some of these professors founded a free school, the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE), which claimed the right of freedom of teaching and of science and research, and their independence of political authorities. The ILE provided with elemental and advanced studies, but also organised conferences, courses, essay contests and language courses (English, French, German, Italian and Portuguese). Among its membership, some outstanding figures from both the Economist School and Krausism were noticeable: Figuerola was its first president and chancellor, and the professor of Political Economy and Administrative Law in its Law Faculty. Azcárate was a counsellor and professor of Introduction to Law and Comparative Law. Among professorship there were Moret, Giner de los Ríos, Salmerón, Montero Ríos (vice-chancellor), Costa, Cuesta, etc. Among the shareholders of the ILE, it is possible to find some other *economists* or sympathizers (Figuerola, Echegaray, Moret, Rodríguez, Cancio Villamil, Gimeno Agius), Krausist economists (Giner, Azcárate, Buylla, Piernas Hurtado), other MPs (Pi y Margall, Figueras, Salmerón, Martos, Ruiz Zorrilla, Montero Ríos, Cuesta – who was also the vice-president, former counsellor of the Ministry of Public Finances), bankers (Salamanca, Gándara) and public officials (Bernardo Giner, Valera). Many of them had expertise in economic issues and had taken part in economic debates in the parliament or in other institutions.

3. Texts used in professorship competitions

An interesting source on economic teaching in universities which might serve to show how economic paradigms that were taught in universities were changing is the texts recommended by professors in the competitions to attain a chair in economic related subjects in universities. The information available on these competitions sometimes only includes the lists of books used by the candidates for their exercises. In this way, it is interesting to follow the process by which liberal economic texts (except for the most renowned, namely those by Smith, Ricardo, Mill, etc.) were abruptly put aside at the beginning of 20th century by a new generation of economists who got their chairs in these years. In this section, an exploration of this material is given, which could be developed in the future. It provides interesting information about how theoretical references changed in the last part of the century. I have just compared two competitions, the first one being held a few years after the first case study of this dissertation, in 1875, and the second one in 1905, slightly after the end of this period of research, when professors of the *98 generation* started arriving to universities. These are used in order to have two examples of this process of change of doctrinal sources among Spanish economists.

The first competition took part in 1875 in order to assign the chair of Institutions of Public Finances in the University in Madrid. The books used by these candidates belonged mainly to the liberal economic tradition, especially those of French authors. Regarding Spanish literature, liberal authors also were outstanding, but some Krausist writings also started appearing. There was not a major difference in the literature used by the different candidates, although in some of them it is more complete and numerous. Among the foreign authors, the French group clearly stood out, with works such as the *Dictionnaire d'économie politique* (Coquelin and Guillaumin), *Traité des finances* (Garnier), *L'impôt sur le capital* (Menier), *L'impôt* (Rogel), *De la monnaie, du crédit et de l'impôt* (Puynode) or *Teoría de la contribución* (Proudhon, the only exception in this group of classical liberal authors). Other French authors mentioned were Léon Say, Block, Thiers, Fould, etc. Among the other foreign authors there were some Portuguese and Italians, together with one or two English or German authors: Pereira, Mendoça Cortez, Serpa Pimentel, Marescotti, Nervo, Maine, Bismarck, etc. Regarding Spanish bibliography, some public finances works stood out: Pastor's *Ciencia de la contribución*, Toledano's *Curso de Hacienda Pública* and Piernas Hurtado's *Instituciones de Hacienda Pública*. Other authors mentioned were Colmeiro and the ministers of Public Finances Madoz, Salaverría, Cos Gayón and Barzanallana. Besides, some of the candidates used reports on public works, railways, etc. Differently from what we have in the mid decades of the century, many of these works had not been translated into Spanish.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the economic bibliography used by Spanish economic specialists had introduced many new foreign sources. This was particularly clear with the *98 generation*. Together with candidates who continued making use of classical economics texts, especially the French, German authors stood out in the bibliographies presented, and English ones were also important. As an example, in the competition for the chair of Political Economy at the University of Valladolid in 1905, there was an exercise where two topics had to be developed, namely, measures to normalize the situation of the Bank of Spain and the concept of political economy. Some of the candidates proposed a bibliography which was very different to the classical liberal bibliography so common some years before. Vicente Gay still used works by Leroy-Beaulieu and Bastiat, but also introduced German authors: Schmoller, Wagner, Lexis, Weber, Neumann. Instead, Rafael Gallego Díaz almost used only German and Austrian authors: Neumann, Wieser, Max, Dieth, Dietzel, Zuckerkand, Lexis, Schmoller, Zoek and Neumark, and also quoted Giffen. A quite different case is

that of Ángel Sánchez Nao, who used mainly English literature: *Theory of credit*, *Theory and practice of banking* and *Elements of banking*, by Henry Durning; *Bankers money*, by J.H. Nicholson; *Money, credit and banking*, by Jevons; *Dictionary of Political Economy*, by Palgrave. He also quoted Wagner's *Créditos y bancos*, translated by Buylla, "and other general works on Political Economy, mainly the Spanish [...] and the English by Nicholson, Marshall and Stuart Mill, and the French by Gide and Cairnes". Bernis, one of the three most important economists of the 98 generation, who also took part in this competition, relied mainly on German works: Schmoller's *Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Wagner's *Grundlegung der politischen Okonomie* and *Finanzwissenschaft*, Liebtzel's *Weltwirtschaft und Volkswirtschaft* and *Vergelstungswolle*, Conrad's *Grundriss*, and Von der Goltz. As the only non-German author, he listed Smith's French translation of *Wealth of Nations*.

Flores de Lemus, when he won the competition for the chair of Political Economy and Public Finances at the University of Barcelona in 1901, also presented an essentially German bibliography: Wagner (*Grundlegung*), Dietzel (*Individualismus, Theoretische logical Okonomie*), Schell (*Allgemeine Heuerlehre*), Philippovich (*Grundriss*), Schmoller (*Grundriss*), Conrad (*Jahrbucher*), Diehl, Apud. The last main name of the 98 generation, Zumalacárregui also used German literature in his competitions. He was one of the candidates to the chair in Political Economy and Public Finances at University of Santiago de Compostela in 1903. In one of the parts of the competition, one lesson chosen among a group of three had to be explained. Zumalacárregui exposed the topic called "Actions of the working class to improve its situation". The literature used was Menger's *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag*, Schmoller's *Grundriss*, Neumann's *Economía política* (translated from German by Buylla), Marx's *The capital*, and other writers such as Pareto (*Curs d'économie politique*), Gide and Bousiers, as well as the lessons by Cauwès and Jay at the economics section of the Law postgraduate studies in the Law School of Paris in the 1900-1901 terms.

This literature seems to prove that new approaches were being introduced in the Spanish economic setting. Marginalism was developed by Jevons, Menger and Wieser (who succeeded Menger in his chair in Vienna), but until the works by Zumalacárregui, for all we know at this point, it was not developed by Spanish economists. The young historicist school was known in Spain, but their postulates were never developed until the 20th century, although Buylla had translated Schönberg. Wagner's public finances work was also well-known, but by that time his theories were widespread. Works by a new generation of young German professors penetrated Spain in these years, although the theoretical level of the writings of many of them (Diehl, Dietzel, Lexis, Philippovich, etc.) were not outstanding (this was Schumpeter's opinion) Nevertheless, with this new literature persists the problem of to what extent and depth it was known by the Spanish economic authors quoting them. There is no doubt about the 98 generation understood the historicist and neoclassical approaches, but other Spanish economists should be studied thoroughly. In any case, this literature was being used by some economists at the end of 19th century and beginning of the 20th, when older economists from liberal and Krausist groups were still working in their university chairs. There is no trace of their developing new approaches in their own works.

Summing up, it is worthy to emphasize that for the last part of the 19th century, university economic professors either supported the classical liberalism in its "optimistic" version, which was inherited from the study of Bastiat, or they belonged to the Krausist group, which, without denying the liberal principle of the harmony of interests, accepted a sort of tutelary intervention in economic and social affairs by the government, or they were followers of the economic Catholic school, whose members would get some chairs at the end of the century. In any case, as the second half of the 19th century advanced, liberal professors

were slowly being replaced by Krausists and followers of the Catholic school. Therefore, in 1896 it is possible to find many Krausists working in economic chairs in universities: At the University of Madrid, Piernas Hurtado was teaching Public Finances and Jiménez y Pérez de Vargas, Political Economy; Buylla was in charge of the chairs on Political Economy and Public Finances in Oviedo, and was the dean of the Law faculty there. Also at the University of Madrid, in postgraduate courses, Rafael Ureña (a disciple of Giner de los Ríos) taught Juridical Literature and Bibliography, Azcárate explained Compared Legislation, and finally, Giner de los Ríos was teaching Law Philosophy. Catholic professors occupied the chairs on economic subjects in the universities of Santiago (Alfredo Brañas), Salamanca (Teodoro Peña) and Zaragoza (Ángel Sánchez Rubio, marquis of Valle-Ameno). New lawyers and engineers were thus provided with a quite classical training in economics, and, for what we know up to now, with hardly a trace of new economic approaches which developed in the continent, such as historicism, Socialism of the chair, or marginalism. This situation started to change at the very beginning of the 20th century, when professors of the 98 *generation* started gaining economic chairs in universities.

4. Conclusions

As concluding remarks, it is interesting to see how in the mid decades of the century, when French economists' penetrated so strongly in the Spanish economic panorama, the role of translations as the way to introduce political economy in Spain is quite strong, especially applied to university teaching of political economy. This role of translations seems to fade out in the second half of the century, although economic ideas coming from France continued being important up to the end of the century, when this influence is replaced with German. However, in this regard translations played a less relevant role, German ideas being incorporated in the works by Spanish economists, rather than being directly diffused through translations of these works in Spanish.