THE WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID RICARDO

VOLUME VII

PLAN OF THE EDITION

VOLUME

- I. Principles of Political Economy and Taxation
- II. Notes on Malthus
- III. Pamphlets and Papers, 1809-1811
- IV. Pamphlets and Papers, 1815-1823
- V. Speeches and Evidence
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THE WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF

David Ricardo

Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb



VOLUME VII

Letters 1816–1818



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Autograph of Ricardo's letter to Mill, 20 Nov. 1816 (letter 189)

at the end of the volume

ABBREVIATIONS

R.P. Ricardo Papers (consisting of letters received

by Ricardo, and other of his papers, in the

possession of Mr Frank Ricardo).

Mill-Ricardo papers The letters and papers of Ricardo that belonged

to James Mill, and which passed into the possession of the Cairnes family and Mr C. K. Mill.

'at Albury' Papers in the possession of Mr Robert Malthus,

of The Cottage, Albury, Surrey.

The following abbreviations are used by Malthus, Mill and Bentham, respectively, in their letters:

E.I. Coll., for East India College, Haileybury.

E.I. House, for East India House, London.

Q.S.P., for Queen Square Place, Westminster.

150. RICARDO TO MALTHUS ¹ [Reply to 146 & 148.—Answered by 152]

Gatcomb Park 2 Jan. 1816

My dear Sir

Your two letters have both reached me, and I am very sorry to find that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you at Gatcomb this vacation.

I left London as you supposed the day after the Bank Court. I should have considered it fortunate if whilst I was there I had met you. My house in Brook Street is not yet in a state to receive us,² nor will it be this season, unless we consent to go in it with the walls unpapered and unpainted,—conditions to which we shall agree. It will be we are told in a habitable state by the latter end of the month, at which time we shall probably quit Gatcomb.

As you have not given me the pleasure of your company here, and as I wish to speak to Murray concerning my book, and to consult some Parliamentary papers which I have not got here, I intend taking a trip to town the beginning of next week. Do you think I shall have any chance of meeting you there? Remember that a letter will always find me at or follow me from the Stock Exchange.

It is exceedingly provoking that you should have been so much interrupted by College affairs as not to have made more progress with your new chapters. I shall regret your thinking it necessary to abridge or leave out any thing which

¹ Addressed: 'To / The Rev^d MS at Albury.—*Letters to Mal-* T R Malthus / East India College / thus, XLI.

Hertford'.

See below, p. 17.

2 Jan. 1816

you may have to say, connected with the subject,—and particularly if you should so determine because more time will otherwise be required before you can publish. The question of bounties and restrictions is exceedingly important, and unless you have already given your present opinions on that subject elsewhere, or mean to do so, it ought to form part of the present work,—and a little delay in the publication is not very important.

The edition which I have of your work is the first, and it is many years since I read it. When you wrote to me that you were looking over the chapters on the Agricultural and Manufacturing systems, with a view to make some alterations in them, I looked into those chapters and saw a great deal in them which differed from the opinions I have formed on that part of the subject. At your house I observed that in a subsequent edition you had altered some of the passages to which I particularly objected, and in the chapters as you are now writing them it appeared to me that there was only a slight trace of the difference we have often discussed. The general impression which I retain of the book is excellent. The doctrines appeared so clear and so satisfactorily laid down that they excited an interest in me inferior only to that produced by Adam Smith's celebrated work. I remember mentioning to you, and I believe you told me that you had altered it in the following editions, that I thought you argued

¹ As Empson points out (in quoting this passage, *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1837, p. 495), 'what is here called the first edition is evidently the edition of 1803', that is to say, the second, in which the discussion of the 'agricultural and commercial systems' appears for the first time (Bk. 111, Chaps. VIII–IX). That Ricardo

did not possess the first edition of the *Essay on Population* is also shown by his having had to borrow it from Malthus for the use of Francis Place when the latter required it for preparing his reply to Godwin (see Malthus to Place, 19 Feb. 1821, in *Letters to Malthus*, p. 207).

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in some places as if the poor rates had no effect in increasing the quantity of food to be distributed1—that I thought you were bound to admit that the poor laws would increase the demand and consequently the supply. This admission does not weaken the grand point to be proved.

As for the difference between us on Profits of which you speak in your letter, 2—you have not I think stated it correctly. You say that my opinion is "that General Profits never fall from a general fall of prices compared with labour, but from a general rise of labour compared with prices." I will not acknowledge this to be my proposition. I think that corn and labour are the variable commodities, and that other things neither rise nor fall but from difficulty or facility of production, or from some cause particularly affecting the value of money,—and that no alteration of price proceeding from these causes affect general profits; allowing always some effect for cheapness of the raw material.

Mrs. Ricardo joins with me in kind regards to Mrs. Malthus.

> Y^{rs} very truly David Ricardo

editions. Cp. below, p. 202; and for references see E. Cannan, History of the Theories of Produc-

argument occurred in several passages of the early editions of the Essay on Population; some of these passages, but tion and Distribution, pp. 238-40. not all, were altered in the later ² Above, VI, 341-2.

151. MILL TO RICARDO ¹ [Reply to 149]

Ford Abbey Jany 3^d 1816

My Dear Sir

3 Jan. 1816

I received your letter last night, and think it best to answer it without delay. It stands at present fixed that we shall leave this place about the 15th—But Mr. Bentham always lingers so long when he has a movement to make, that I do not expect we shall be in London much before the 1st of Febr^y You must not delay, therefore, till my arrival. But the time at which I think that my looking at the M.S. will stand the best chance of being useful, is when it is in the proofs; because I can then definitively take cognisance of the punctuation, which is of considerable importance—and was badly done by the printer in your last production.² I am satisfied that any thing else to which I should chuse to put my hand, for fear of doing more harm than good, is so trifling that it can be easily done in the proofs, with hardly any additional expence of correction, to which I shall not grudge to submit you. I am sure the matter will be all good—and that at most there will be but a few expressions in which I may fancy that I can alter a word or two for the better. In this case, the best thing for you will be to send the M.S. to the press immediately; and to tell Murray to send the proofs to me, as many at a time as the convenience of the printer will allow. Take care to send them by a coach which passes through Chard (not Ilminster or Axminster) otherwise I may be some days late in receiving them. One of the Chard coaches (perhaps both) takes parcels at the Gloucester Coffee House Piccadilly. But it is possible that before needing to send me

¹ Addressed: 'David Ricardo Esq / Gatcomb Park / Mincing Hampton / Gloucestershire'.—MS in *R.P.* ² Essay on Profits.

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the proofs I may be in London. I am rejoiced that the whole may be published as it stands—and the only advice which I think I can offer, after what I have given, and which you have taken in so good part, is to dwell with some force upon the moral part of the argument against the Bank; which will not only afford a variety in the midst of the other more abstract and less familiar topics, but will really press with a more galling weight upon the parties concerned. Hold up to view unsparingly the infamy of a great and opulent body like the bank, exhibiting a wish to augment its hoards by undue gains wrested from the hands of an overburthened people. Tell them, and tell them boldly, how much it would have become them,—amidst the lamentable and disgusting propensity, which distinguishes our countrymen, to prey upon the public-to exhibit to them an example which would have helped to put them to shame, (if that be a feeling of which they are capable), an example of the voluntary renunciation of all undue gettings at the expence of the public; and thus to have set their seal upon the infamy of those who follow the opposite course of making the public their prey. Do not dread the chance of any body advancing that you, as a loan contractor, and a successful one, are in the predicament which you condemn. The case is not so. You have gained nothing from the public, but under the fair laws of an open market, exposed to all the force of unrestrained competition. Your earnings are therefore your own, in the fairest and most honourable sense of the word, in the very same sense in which the gains of any man who makes rich by selling sugar or cloth to his countrymen, whether in their public or private capacity, are truly and honourably his own. Nor are your earnings greater than the superior industry and capacity which you have displayed—in a line in which capacity is

¹ Ricardo adopted this sentence almost verbatim, above, IV, 93.

calculated to produce more than ordinary effects—most fully entitle you to.

Nothing would be of more use, than the argument which I recommend to you to use against the bank, to lead the addle-headed public to reflect upon the essential distinction between your case and that of the men whose conduct you arraign.

You have cheered me exceedingly by your accounts of Mrs. Porter—because independently of the sufferings of so excellent a creature—I knew how impossible it was for any of you to be happy so long as she continued in so painful a state. As for that noble Esther—I know not how to express my admiration of her. She deserves something far more valuable than a crown of gold. She has it, in fact, in the recovery of that dear sister to whom she has sacrificed so much. I wish I knew a husband worthy of her-and since I cannot have her myself, that I had a son ready to become a candidate for those affections which are composed of so precious a metal. That is the true affection—the affection which shines forth in the day of adversity! How contentedly would that noble girl submit to every sacrifice and every exertion which the vicissitudes of human life can call for, in behalf of the man who by his worth and his affection should truly unite her being to his own—poverty, and rags, nay the severest labour to gain his bread, with him, would be to her a heaven, compared with canopies of state, deprived of him.

I think you will have reason by and bye, to think that I have, at any rate, no aversion to letter writing—which yet my friends, as they do complain, so they have but too much reason to complain of. However, lately, the pen runs when I sit down to write to [you] and I have always made a long

¹ MS torn here and below.

letter before I can stop. As I h[ave] consumed all my other paper, too, I am forced to take a long sh[eet], for your punishment at least, if not for my own.

3 Ian. 1816

I am happy that you do not dislike my project of setting tasks to you. I know, from former experience, of how much use it is to one who is not hackneyed in the ways of putting his thoughts to paper, to have a limited part of a great and indefinite whole presented to him. If you approve of it, I shall take care to find you in topics, and you shall go on, from one to another, till you have gone over all the ground and then it will be easy for you, by means of marginal contents, to take one comprehensive view of the whole, to marshal the host, and prepare it in the best possible manner for meeting the enemy—i.e.—the public eye. You were right to postpone every thing to the perfecting the M.S. of the intended publication. No doubt, you will be called upon, as you say, for the elucidation of price—because it is to tell how the events in question operate upon the relative proportions of exchangeable commodities, that is the problem to be solved. Therefore you are to set down every thing which that solution requires. Whatever the place in your ultimate work, in which it will be most convenient to distribute what you have to say on the rationale of price, to that place may hereafter be consigned, whatever may then be useful, of what you here bring forth.

My best regards to ladies and gentlemen of all sorts and sizes at Gatcomb. I hope Mrs. M. Ricardo has been benefited by its good air and all its other recommendations. I long to see what beautiful roses and lillies not to speak of other attractions, Miss R. is about to carry from the hills. As for Mrs. Ricardo—she will be happy, not when every body else is happy, but when it is impossible they should ever be otherwise—and as the greater part of her friends are as nearly

in that state as this jumble of a world permits any body's friends to be, I think I may congratulate her at this beginning of a new year.

Believe me truly Yours

J. Mill

If you leave London before I return to it, unless all the necessary communication has passed between us, it will be proper that you should give me notice, to prevent loss of time, in the possible delay of the receipt of letters. I shall let you immediately know of my arrival.¹

152. MALTHUS TO RICARDO² [Reply to 150.—Answered by 153]

E I Coll Jany 8th 1816

My dear Sir,

8 Jan. 1816

I am glad to hear you are coming to Town and hope you do not return before the beginning of next week, as I have some thoughts of being at the Club³ next saturday, and of endeavouring to see you friday or that day. Let me have a line to say where you are likely to be, and when you leave London.

I think I shall follow your advice and take my time about the Edition I find Murray is not so impatient as I expected.

Can you give me a good reason why the money price of labour should rise because it is necessary to cultivate poorer land, and the *real* price of labour must fall.

¹ Bain quotes (*James Mill*, p. 153) the end-fragment of Ricardo's reply. It is dated January 1816, addressed to Mill at Ford Abbey, and reads: 'fill 8 pages in the Appendix, will that be too much?' This must refer to *Eco-*

nomical and Secure Currency and not, as conjectured by Bain, to the *Principles*.

² Addressed: 'D. Ricardo Esqr / Stock Exchange/London'.

MS in R.P.

³ The King of Clubs.

In the progress of cultivation, independently of any causes but such progress, it appears to me that the money price of corn will rise, but not much, the money price of labour remain stationary nearly, and the money price of manufactured good fall from the fall of profits.

If farmers and landholders are obliged to pay more and more in parish rates for their labour, or employ more men than their farm naturally requires, will they be able to accumulate capital and purchase the other instruments necessary for cultivation.

In haste.

Ever truly Yours
T R Malthus.

153. RICARDO TO MALTHUS ¹ [Reply to 152]

London 10th Jany 1816—

My dear Sir

I arrived in town yesterday and found your letter at the Stock Exchange. It is very uncertain whether I shall leave London to-morrow evening or monday evening. I am desirous of getting home on many accounts, but I may not be able to accomplish the business for which I came so soon as I expected and if I do not get it done by to-morrow it will in all probability detain me till monday. Thus then it is still uncertain whether we are to meet, and I do not exactly know how to make you acquainted with my movements. I will however let Mr. Murray know if I leave town to-morrow,— and if you are in the neighbourhood of Russell Square by

10 Jan. 1816

¹ Addressed: 'To / The Rev^d MS at Albury.—*Letters to Mal*-T R Malthus / East India College / thus, XLII.
Hertford'.

sending to Nº 8 Montague Street (Mr. Basevis¹) you will be sure to know. In the city at the Stock Exchange any of my brothers will inform you about me.

If I should not be gone will you do me the favor of dining with me on friday at Mr. Basevis,—his dinner hour is 6 oClock, and he begs me to say that he shall be much flattered by your favoring him with your company.

I was in hopes of finding you in London and of having the benefit of your opinion of my book² in its present state before I sent it to be printed. That advantage I must now forego, because I am desirous of getting it out before the meeting of Parliament, and have before experienced the inconvenience of too much hurry.

I cannot think it inconsistent to suppose that the money price of labour may rise when it is necessary to cultivate poorer land, whilst the real price may at the same time fall. Two opposite causes are influencing the price of labour one the enhanced price of some of the things on which wages are expended,—the other the fewer enjoyments which the labourer will have the power to command,—you think these may balance each other, or rather that the latter will prevail, I on the contrary think the former the most powerful in its effects. I must write a book to convince you.

I am glad you are not going to cut your next edition short.

Very truly Y^{rs}.

DAVID RICARDO

he withdrew from the Jewish congregation of Bevis Marks, from which Ricardo had seceded many years before.

¹ George Basevi, sen. (1771–1851), a stockbroker, two sons of whom have been mentioned above (VI, 245, 250). In 1817, following his brother-in-law Isaac D'Israeli,

² Economical and Secure Currency.