

Political economy and the mirror of ‘otherness’: moral and foreign political models in the works of the Spanish economist T. Anzano (1768-1795)

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I. INTRODUCTION: ANZANO AND THE EUROPEAN ENLIGHTENMENT

As historians of Spanish economic doctrines, we normally assume as part of our intellectual task uncovering and analyzing economic ideas within the vast economic and non-economic Spanish literature. However, the approach implicitly articulated by the project “Facing Otherness” has prompted us to consider more specifically two interesting questions: on the one hand, the opposite interests of merchants and consumers and big landowners and agrarian workers; and on the other, the impact of foreign influences in Spanish economic thought¹. In other words, we will analyze such influences through an approach that goes beyond economic issues and thus, we will address social, cultural and political questions that are usually neglected in the analysis of the historians of political economy. In doing so, we will focus on Tomás Anzano’s works.

Tomás de Anzano was born in Huesca (Spain) in an unknown date, and he died in Zaragoza in 1795, after a long professional career as a civil servant, translator and

¹ This contribution is based on previous research carried out by the authors: we found a great encouragement by the support provided by the Miur-Interlink research project entitled “European Culture and the Understanding of Otherness: Historiography, Politics and the Sciences of Man in Modern Europe (XVI-XIX Centuries)”, which has highly contributed to give a new dimension to our research.

economist that he conducted in Madrid and other Spanish cities. As a public official he held positions related to food supply and this highly influenced the nature and content of his thoughts, as it was usual for so many European civil servants during this period². Particularly, his economic works were published during the 1760s and 1790s, after Spain had suffered some kind of food crisis. During the 1760s, his works criticized the liberalization of the commerce of grains which was mainly supported by Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, the then Attorney General of the Counsel of Castile. In the 1790s, when occurred the interventionist swift in the food markets as a part of the political involution provoked by the French Revolution in Spain, he published a new monograph on this controversial issue.

In 1768, Anzano published *Reflexiones económico-políticas sobre las causas de la alteración de precios que ha padecido Aragón* (Political and Economical Reflections on the Causes of the Disturbances of Prices that Has Experienced Aragon) and *Discursos sobre los medios que pueden facilitar la restauración de Aragón. Continuación de las Reflexiones económico-políticas* (Discourses on the Means that May Pave the Way to the Restoration of Aragon. Continuation to the Political and Economical Reflections)³. These works tried to frame a response to the food crisis that took place in 1766, which provoked uprisings like the so-called 'Esquilache Riot' in Madrid. Despite Anzano focused on Aragon, the vast region situated in the Spanish northeast interior, he, in fact, was thinking about the entire Kingdom of Spain. In particular, he analyzed the problems arising from the market of wheat, which at the time became a real European problem. On the other hand, it should be said that Anzano's analysis was completely connected to the main issues that had tackled the Spanish Enlightened policy of the 1760s: the 'regalist' reform of the municipal policy and the mushrooming of regional or territorial economic approaches to economic development⁴.

From the doctrinal point of view, Anzano's writings of 1768 must be connected to the emergence of political economy in Europe⁵. They, more to the point, evidence a strong agrarian influence of French Enlightenment of the second half of the eighteenth century. Such agrarianism embraced different elements like the improvements of techniques of cultivation connected to the so-called 'new agriculture' movement promoted by J. Tull and H. Duhamel de Monceau; the doctrinal agrarian schools such as Physiocracy – even if in the practice other approaches were much influential; and finally, the policies of agrarian reformism

2 Anzano was Secretary of the Management Service of the Army and Aragonese Kingdom, Head of the Royal Hospice of San Fernando in Madrid (1771), Treasurer of the Orán Army (1777), Accountant and Commissioner of the Old Castile Army (1783), and, finally, at a certain and unspecified time he became Treasurer of the Army and Kingdoms of Aragón and Navarra and the Province of Guipúzcoa.

3 Anzano (1678 a, b). From now on, *Reflexiones* and *Discursos*, respectively.

4 See Usoz (2008), 24.

5 Hutchison (1988); Groenewegen (2002).

fostered by the Enlightened Despotism particularly between 1760 and 1790. The debate on the commerce of wheat dominated the scene of the European policy in the eighteenth century⁶. The food crisis, however, brought about a remarkable change in the Enlightenment discourse in the European mainland and lively debates among a wide range of different doctrines from radical defenders of free trade to apologists of interventionism⁷.

Nevertheless, mid-point approaches that juggled freedom and regulation to guarantee wheat supply held sway over. These doctrinal debates had as a result the implementation of specific economic policies which were embedded in wider political agendas as Guasti has recently demonstrated with respect to Spain⁸. Anyway, Spain was not the exception regarding the three main currents of European agrarianism (technical, doctrinal and reformist) as the productive conditions of Spain lay claims to⁹. Indeed, growing population demanded growing food supply but the Spanish agriculture growth model based on unproductive land clearing was being exhausted¹⁰. Therefore, during the period 1765-1800 emerged an economic literature focused on agrarian questions whose main authors were Campomanes and Jovellanos. Nevertheless, many other economists such as Romá y Rossell, Arriquíbar, Ramos, Foronda, Arteta or Asso deserve certain attention and demonstrate how such phenomenon had a regional nature.

Such authors were influenced by the hegemonic European doctrines, mainly French, but also Italians, British and Germans. Translations of remarkable European agrarian works by Herbert, Plumard de Dangeul, Mirabeau, Patullo, Galiani, Necker, Filangieri and many others demonstrate the growing interest of Spanish economists for agrarian questions, and at the same time, their connections to such international network¹¹. Translations began in the 1760s and reached a head in the 1780s. The Counsel of Castile, indeed, commissioned T. de Anzano to translate into Spanish J. C. Herbert's *Essai sur la police général des grains* published in 1795. In doing so, Anzano added on an original work of its own

6 Anzano's case fits well into the group of European civil servants concerned with the problem of food supply frequently intoned by Kaplan (1976). Decades later, in 1795, after Anzano had completed a critic and annotated version of Herbert's *Essai*, he still focused on that topic and still maintained the original impulse.

7 Venturi, II (1969). Debates were held by "physiocrates" and "enciclopédistes" according to Venturi's terminology (Venturi 1971).

8 Guasti (2006).

9 Lluçh and Argemí (1985) demonstrated the tempered introduction of the "new agronomy" and Physiocracy into Spain. Anyway, according to recent contributions about the influence of Physiocracy in Spain, there are still a wide number of economic and political questions to be revised for in the second half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century (Astigarraga 2005; Astigarraga and Usoz 2007).

10 De Castro (1987).

11 See the catalogue of translations of economic works into Spanish in the eighteenth century in Reeder (1973) and Llombart (2004).

entitled *Análisis del comercio del trigo* (Analysis of the wheat market) that criticized Herbert's liberalism based on pragmatic and interventionist approaches of authors such as Necker, and particularly Galiani or De la Mare¹².

II. 'NON-ECONOMIC' AND MORAL MOTIVATIONS IN 1768 ANZANO'S WORK

As well as other economists at the time had done, Anzano highly appraised the importance of "non-economic factors" when implementing reforms, and thus, he adopted an approach that merged economic and socio-political questions. Furthermore, Anzano's analysis of the grain market introduced the moral pattern that characterized the scholastic approach. Namely, the principle of justice prevailed over the principle of productivity when Anzano analyzed the relationships between the different economic classes. As a matter of fact, the autonomy of political economy within social sciences emerged during the eighteenth century, but those that played an instrumental role in as F. Quesnay, D. Hume or Adam Smith himself were not, at certain extent, aware of their contribution. On the contrary, later interpretations of the laws or economic relationships stated by the former economists, have contributed to specifically differentiate the economic content.

II. 1. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN ANZANO'S WORK

Therefore, it seems to be the case that Anzano would consider crucial connecting economic policies to their social environment, as well as analyzing the social consequences of such policies. On the one hand, the liberalization of bread market and the free exportation of wheat must not only be implemented depending upon the improvement caused in agriculture, but it should be taken into account their possible consequential damages on consumers and farmers. This approach came into being within his writings in 1769 and raised to a greater height in *Análisis del comercio del trigo* (1795), in which he expressly adopted Necker and Galiani's ideas about food supply, and used the information about the damages caused by liberalization policies – which were implemented on unreal basis – in France, which had been collected by the politician and writer De la Mare¹³. On the other, the importance given by Anzano to the social consequences of economic policy allowed him to capture, unlike other Spanish economists, the social and political diversity of European societies at the time.

The idea that what was good for a certain country might be harmful for Spain was a common place; however, to analyze such argument at a detailed level and to introduce into the analysis elements alien to productive and commercial

¹² See Usoz (2000); Astigarraga and Usoz (2008).

¹³ *Traité de la Police* (1705) by De la Mare was well-known in Spain through T. T. Valeriola's works. See Lluch (1980), who is also the author of the most significant work about the presence of cameralist ideas in Spain (Lluch, 1999).

conditions like cultural, social and political factors was not very common at the time. Anzano deemed the analysis of non-economic factors actually significant from the very beginning in *Reflexiones* and *Discursos* (1768). The criticism of freedom of commerce in *Pragmática* (1765) focuses upon the behavior of economic agents, that coexisted in a specific social environment. Such context was the relatively isolated region of Aragon, which had an inefficient structure of property based on tenancy of the land by a reduced number of economic agents, absence of any commercial tradition and privileged aristocracy that controlled municipal institutions like the public warehouses of wheat.

Therefore, Aragón was really different, for example, from Madrid, which hosted Spanish monarchy, or Catalonia which was endowed with seaports and manufactures and had a much mature institutional and political framework. In fact, Catalan merchants exercised a hegemonic control of large-scale business transaction of wheat. In 1768, Anzano repeatedly remarked how *Pragmática* (1765) was not conceived to be applied to the Aragonese context despite he did not question the abstract and theoretical background of such a law. The liberalization of the agrarian markets has social consequences, but it is mainly an economic policy which normally is backed on the basis of economic arguments. *Respuesta Fiscal* by Campomanes (1764)¹⁴ used Scholastic ideas to defend the goodness of market prices stated under freedom conditions (1764)¹⁵. In 1768, Anzano assumed Campomanes approach, but introduced certain modifications and proposed an alternative political and social-based reform.

For example, even if Anzano did not profoundly discuss the Spanish Ecclesiastical Disentailment or the ‘mayorazgo’ institution, he strongly criticized the tenancy of agrarian property, as, according to him, it entailed a damaging obstruction between farmers and consumers. He also proposed a wide number of proposals like a detailed scheme for discharging local governments from their census debts which were mainly owed to the Church; a plan of commercial exploitation of public warehouse through franchising private economic agents; and the creation of a commercial and productive company that pooled public and private efforts to promote the advance of the Aragonese economy.

II. 2. THE SCHOLASTIC NATURE OF ANZANO’S ANALYSIS

The transition from Scholasticism to Mercantilism was not actually a break-up and a scholastic vein is clearly visible in mercantilist thought from the dawn of such doctrine until its breakdown on the threshold of the liberal era. As De Roover pointed out burgeoning liberal concepts embedded within mercantilism

¹⁴ The legislation on wheat commerce of 1765 was theoretically inspired by this work as it has been analyzed by Llobart (1992), 64.

¹⁵ On the Scholastic theory of prices in the eighteenth century, see De Roover (1955 and 1971), Dempsey (1971). On the debate on bread taxation in the seventeenth century, see Gómez Camacho (1992 and 1998).

come from the scholastic influence which became particularly crucial in Italy and Spain. Thereby, the distinction between Scholasticism and Mercantilism became gradually clear as pointed up the transformations of the European societies¹⁶.

It is crucial from our point of view taking into account that whereas Scholasticism focused on distribution and equity, Mercantilism centred mainly upon production¹⁷. Such distinction partially explains why many authors of the eighteenth century proceed in Scholastic terms when they analyze specified markets such as the wheat market. Steeped in a doctrine that gave priority to the growth of national wealth through the intervention of a strong state authority, mercantilists did not cultivate by its own a theory of prices in domestic markets and so they took on the so-called scholastic 'just price theory'¹⁸.

Historians have widely debated about the normative nature of the 'just price theory' and whether scholastics had enough capacity to analyze the operation of the market. In this vein, a first interpretation holds that the concept of 'just price' is similar to the idea of 'market price' as result of the free operation of market forces that rule trade. Consequently, analytical arguments were added on to normative ones in scholastic writings as Schumpeter upheld on¹⁹. In contrast, a second interpretation defends the sole normative nature of the scholastic 'theory of just price' from its very origin. The Aristotelian doctrine on the determination of prices would be categorized, according to such interpretation, as ethical and not analytical, linked to the preservation of crafts and the distributive justice – which was based on social hierarchy – and not connected to the contribution of factors of production. Such interpretation is supported by an 'organicist' and functional approach to society in which there is no room to individual wants as analytical concept²⁰.

Anyhow, both interpretations are not eventually as antithetical if one adopts a dynamic and evolutive approach as, for instance, the vision embraced by Meek. Namely, the approach that upheld that the 'theory of just price' evolved from its normative origins towards a theoretical and analytical vision of the operation of the market – which edged towards a theory of 'competitive price'²¹. Such is the case of the so-called "School of Salamanca". Therefore,

16 On the differences among the societies in Greek polis, Middle Ages city-states and the modern Nation-state and their influence on Scholastics, see Spengler and Allen (1971), 52.

17 See Spengler and Allen (1971), 53.

18 Many others economists of the Spanish eighteenth century such as Mateo Antonio Barberi (Usoz 1998), 514 or Juan Antonio de los Heros (Barrenechea 1989 and 1995) are clearly influenced by scholastics.

19 See Schumpeter (1982), 136.

20 Hollander (1965), 622, Dempsey (1971), 64 and 70, Lapidus (1992), 25-42, Tortajada (1992), 76 uphold this interpretation.

21 See Meek, (1972), 301. According to Grice-Hutchinson (1982), 116, things changed during the first half of the fifteenth century when sprouted a theory of value clearly based on utility whose promoters were Antonino di Firenze and Bernardino di Siena.

one might admit more properly the direct relationship between ‘just’ and ‘market’ prices, which became a commonplace during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such approach is clear in *Respuesta Fiscal* by Campomanes and *Reflexiones* (1768) by Anzano, who upheld that social environment might keep ‘natural market’ price far from the ‘just’ price²². On the other hand, as the economists of the eighteenth century did, belated scholastics worried about the problem of food supply and their social consequences. Accordingly, there were strong statements, both pro and con, towards the introduction of an intervened ‘tax price’²³. For instance, the Spanish scholastic Melchor de Soria in a dispute with Luis de Molina, put forth the urge of introducing the wheat ‘tax price’ after having carefully analyzed the elements, circumstances and agents that operated in the market.

Anzano, however, did not advocate such wheat ‘tax price’ but he seems to have assumed part of Soria’s analysis, like the hegemony of sellers on consumers due to shortage or the consequences of production on distribution. In *Respuesta Fiscal* (1764), Campomanes had tackled, intending to introduce deregulatory policies, the analysis of ‘tax price’ and the internal and external free movement of goods²⁴. Regarding ‘tax price’ he upheld that the price of wheat, as well as other goods, must be determined by the market, and he based his rejection on the ‘theory of just price’²⁵. Although he admitted that contractual freedom leads to a ‘mean price’ in the long-run, Campomanes, according with Lope de Deza, upheld that price of goods – and so that wheat price – depends upon “its virtue, want, utility, scarcity or abundance, market behavior and cost”, and thereby, he advised against administrative pricing policies²⁶.

Such approach comes from the scholastic controversy on ‘just price’ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which intellectual figures such as Luis de Molina and Lope de Deza were unfavorable to ‘tax prices’²⁷. Having assumed such scholastic belief, Campomanes brought forth a proposal for liberalizing agrarian trade in which was crucial to promote abundance of production by means of a market price that would fuel investment in a way that “does justice to sellers” without detriment to consumers. To this end, freedom of commerce

22 There are different works on the economic influence of the School of Salamanca collected by Tedde y Perdices (1999). Among them we will remark Grice-Hutchinson (1999), Rothbard (1976) and Chafuén (1991).

23 On the plurality of Spanish Scholasticism see Gómez Camacho (1992), 57.

24 See Llombart (1992). We will just remark the parts of *Respuesta Fiscal* which had a direct influence on Anzano.

25 Campomanes (1764), 52.

26 De Deza (1618).

27 On *Respuesta Fiscal*’s intellectual sources see Llombart (1992), 168-169.

is needed²⁸. Furthermore, such trade must be practiced by merchants, who are the real agents of agrarian prosperity and not by the inefficient governmental monopolies and public granaries. Government, therefore, should only guarantee the absence of monopolistic powers in markets. Campomanes's proposal ended up demanding a tempered freedom of foreign trade, which should be regulated through a "permission rate".

Reflexiones (1768) was a rejoinder to *Respuesta Fiscal* (1764). Both works tackled similar topics and assumed a suchlike doctrinal background, but conclusions are different. Unlike Campomanes, Anzano upheld that, given certain social and economic framework, the mere abolition of 'tax prices' and the freedom of trade did not necessarily imply the improvement of agrarian production. Such refinement to freedom of agrarian trade comes from the influence of Scholastics on Anzano's thought which is introduced through 'probabilism' and 'causistics' which Melchor de Soria's methodology reeked²⁹. Anzano clustered prices in three groups: "natural price" determined by the market, "legal price" set up by the government and "legitimate price" which tries to observe commutative justice³⁰. "Natural" and "legal" prices are reality-based but "legitimate or just price" is normative and from the latter depends the "latitude [the level] of just price" that allows for observing moral in trade. Anzano's "natural price" embraced items pertaining to both spheres, the demand and the supply, what reeks of De Roover's metaphor of the "pendulum" that, according to him, characterized the scholastic theory of prices³¹. The price should allow for the cost of production in order to basically preserve labor. Admittedly, price is also influenced by "operations that improve such a good", transportation, profit margin of producers and merchants, supply, preferences of economic agents, utility or the number of buyers and sellers³². According to Anzano, "such all factors are 'legitimate' causes to modify natural price", and therefore, "tax price" does not work³³. Summing up, "natural price" based on the justice of trade has not a fixed value but a variable one since it is admitted a margin or "latitude" that included an "infinitesimal" price, a "medium" price and a "bigger" price³⁴.

28 *Respuesta Fiscal*, 81.

29 On this methodology that distinguishes between the main normative and analytical components of natural law, see Gómez Camacho (1999).

30 *Reflexiones*, 24.

31 De Roover (1958), 418-34, refers to an "oscillating pendulum" as a metaphor of the relative market price which is determined by wants, abundance or scarcity, and which can not remain permanently under cost of production.

32 *Reflexiones*, 33.

33 *Reflexiones*, 146.

34 Gómez Camacho (1992), 52, makes explicit that scholastic "natural price" does not fit with Classical Political Economy's "natural price". Classical economists uphold that "equilibrium natural price" is unique. By contrast Scholastics pointed out the existence of different prices of equilibrium.

Anzano used such scholastic conceptual framework to remark how “natural” price will not be “just” if the market is controlled by certain groups of economic agents and in particular by those that imposed their demands such as “tight hands”, “large scale harvesters”, “renters” and speculator merchants or by those that these groups subjugated like consumers or “small harvesters”. Such asymmetry is caused by a social and economic structure in which individuals behave rationally trying to maximize income³⁵. Production is normally carried out by agrarian workers who are not land-owners; on the other hand, “renters” who receive production in return of paying the rent to land-owners and meet their expenses like food³⁶. Such a fact implies that production became concentrated in few hands: “a renter of two or three ‘Tithes’, of three or four ‘First fruits’ [...] comprise the assets of one hundred individuals”³⁷. Something similar suffered “small harvesters” who are land-owners as they are compelled to sell the harvest to merchants by a price which barely is enough to get production rolling. Price finally accorded is always low as sellers, when they sell their products, have not information about the production eventually harvested or the final grain market price³⁸.

Summing up, market of wheat is actually structured as a “homogeneous good oligopoly” whose demand is inelastic as wheat is central in human consumption and there are not direct substitute goods. The strategy of those that hoard wheat is stimulating the increase of wheat prices in order to maximize their profit margin. To this end and having assumed that wheat is an asset vulnerable to speculation, sellers try to promote scarcity building up stocks in hopes that the need of nourishment will increase prices over their “natural” level. Moreover, the high yield does not belong to producers but to those who have had financial capacity enough to wait and to cope with the delay of wheat sale.

Based on the former analysis of the real market of wheat, Anzano proposed the policy measures above mentioned that aimed at safeguarding both consumers of bread – the quintessential nutritional good – and agrarian workers. Both represented the economic sectors which had paid the price of liberalization, and merchants and great renters those that took advantage of such policy.

35 Anzano’s socioeconomic analysis fits with the modern interpretation of agrarian markets by De Castro (1987), 48-49.

36 Pérez Sarrión (1984), 187-232, who has analyzed the economic activities of some Catalan families and companies in Aragón, has shown how renting the land to Lords was one of their most important productive and commercial business as they yielded a profit from the difference between the amount of the paid rent and the price earned by production which themselves carried to the market.

37 *Discursos*, 157.

38 *Discursos*, 16. Manufacture paid also the price of the pernicious behaviour of these merchants. Anzano distinguishes between “good” and “bad” merchants who carried out the following operations: buying in a bulk and then retailing when the producer is not able of doing it; buy the production surplus in a certain location and sell it. Finally, underwriting harvest through buying production before the outcome is publicly known (*Discursos*, 130-131).

III. THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION AS A MODEL IN *ANÁLISIS DEL COMERCIO DEL TRIGO* (1795)

Análisis del comercio del trigo (Analysis of the Commerce of Wheat), published by Anzano in 1795, preserved the dichotomy land owner-merchant *versus* consumer-farmer which was so crucial in 1768 Anzano's analysis. Beyond this, *Análisis* embodies other main component of otherness which will be carefully studied below. In particular, Anzano introduced mixed representations of the society, politics and economy which came from other countries, sometimes, taken from remote latitudes. The economic writings of the Spanish Enlightenment mirror images of other European economic environments, and in particular, images of France, North and South Italy, England, Netherlands, Germany, Austria or even Russia or the Scandinavian countries. Such a picture came into Spain through basically French, Italian, German and British economic works in rank order. The perceptions the Spanish authors derived from those countries were instrumental in the comparison and the making of reformation models. In this context, the different European countries played different roles. In general, France, North Italy and German territories were deemed as exemplary models that had social and political parallels with Spain, but which at the same time were some steps forward. On the other hand, England and Netherlands, whose political constitutions proved to be strange to Spanish national tradition, were more advanced countries in many aspects but politically and socially very distant from Spain. Finally, Southern Italy, and Naples in particular, which in fact was very similar to Spain as it was relatively underdeveloped, was well known in Spain. It should be taken into account that Carlos III ruled there before coming to Spain.

The wide number of French works translated into Spanish proves the significance given to the French model by the Spanish Enlightenment. This is the case of the translation of *Essai* by Herbert which was commissioned by the Council of Castile to Anzano. Despite the close down of national boundaries and the interruption of intellectual connections that took place in the mid-nineties caused by the outbreak of the French Revolution, *Essai* was taken as a model to face the problem of commerce of food, which was a first-order political question at the time. Even if the *Essai's* approach was moderate, after all, it defended freedom of commerce. Such a freedom was called into question by Spanish ruling authority, amongst them Campomanes, who had put forward the liberalization in 1765. When it comes to discussing such a question, Spaniards believed France was the country to be considered for a comparison: Herbert's *Essai* exposed the French standpoint on the question and Anzano aired it in *Análisis*³⁹. France was intensively an agrarian country that had a Bourbon Administration which

39 On the European intellectual atmosphere at the time of publication of Herbert's *Essai*, see Hutchison (1988), 185-191 and 219-227, and Groenewegen (2002), 48-96. On the French case see Meyssonier (1989), Perrot (1992), Murphy (1988) and Larrère (1992). J. C. Herbert (Paris, 1700-1758), whose life is almost unknown, was an intermediate civil servant in the city of Bordeaux.

probably was craved by the most part of the Spanish Enlightened. Such an Administration was able of intervening in any part of its controlled territory. But, France also had food crises, and how to manage them arouse certain doubts among economists who provide with different remedies to solve them. Liberalization or administrative control was actually the question.

Herbert chose a moderate version of liberalization far from the Physiocrats radical proposals. Necker or Galiani, on the other hand, opted for the administrative control of the state, even if they did not renounce to defend the commercial development of French agrarian sector. Anzano chose the last proposal, and he was particularly influenced by Necker's pragmatic and humanitarian doctrine. Anzano highly admired how French Administration had faced famines. On this respect, he mainly got information from De la Mare, the French politician and writer of the first half of the eighteenth century, who had been influenced by German *cameralism*. Both, Herbert's and Anzano's works remarked and carefully examined the intervention proposed by De la Mare to provide Paris with wheat during the crisis of 1709⁴⁰. According to Herbert, such provision was possible thanks to the cooperation of merchants, but according to Anzano was due to coercion more than freedom. Namely, Anzano believed that in order of smothering the food crisis the intervention of political authority against the private goals in the commercial sector was needed. This revised version fits better into De la Mare's approach, from whom Anzano took various quotations in which he accused "rapacious hoarders" of transforming abundance into poverty⁴¹. In conformity with such statement, Anzano criticized the use of inaccurate information by Herbert to back the liberal policy undertaken by Sully's agrarianism instead of Colbert's protectionism⁴². In this respect, regarding such dispute which was well-known in the European economic Enlightenment circles, Anzano professed that he was being inspired by Necker, because his doctrine was a mixture of Sully's liberal agrarianism and Colbert's industrial protectionism.

III. 1. THE ENGLISH POLITICAL MODEL WITHIN *ANÁLISIS DEL COMERCIO DEL TRIGO* (1795)

Together with the French model which basically promoted interventionism, Anzano also paid certain attention to the English model. As a matter of fact, French literature implicitly bore the English model. Anzano pointed out how De la Mare had questioned himself about the possibility of introducing in France the freedom of commerce of wheat existing in England. He answered stressing that if France would have adopted such policy "[...] would have lost everything, and thus, it is needed to proceed gradually: 'something' must precede the

⁴⁰ Anzano (1795), 100-106.

⁴¹ Anzano (1795), 69, 124, 205, 263.

⁴² Anzano (1795), 140-143, 179.

exportations and freedom of commerce”⁴³. Undoubtedly, the existence of wheat surplus excess is a prerequisite as De la Mare, and more in general, as the great part of the literature at the time have proposed⁴⁴. Regarding the comparison between France and England, Anzano quoted French economist Plumard de Dangeul who held that English policy of subsidizing exportation of wheat intended for cheapening wheat and for constraining other nations to abandon production of wheat⁴⁵. When comparing French and English caseworks, which was very common in the European literature, Anzano focused on social and political forces which seem to be that “something” – quoted by De la Mare – that must precede the introduction of the commerce of wheat. Such an approach compelled him to face the economic, social and political model that mirrors the particularities of the English casework⁴⁶. As a matter of fact, Anzano is getting closer to the English model and this was not very common within the Spanish Enlightenment movement.

Spanish Enlightened usually focused on economic factors like price of wheat, abundance of production, agricultural irrigation extension, labor, natural conditions and many others. Bearing in mind such questions, Anzano however plugged on emphasizing the social and political bias that characterized the British model, as he himself had pointed out in his writings in 1768. The main hypothesis held by Anzano was that the freedom of the commerce of wheat demands a complex political system which was able of managing the dispute that had arisen about food supply. Therefore, it does not suffice to hold out prospect that in the long-run wheat will be abundant and its price will become affordable or “at ease” for many people, but it is needed to guarantee the wheat supply in the present, and to properly handle its consequences on the public opinion. England got it, but Spain, due to socio-political reasons, was not still in the position of nailing it.

Anzano takes this statement as a premise for his analysis, as he suggested that English political system had certain mechanisms that prevent, almost automatically, of leaving population unprotected. In Spain, however, this

43 Anzano (1795), 209.

44 Anzano (1795), 427.

45 Anzano (1795), 436. Anzano quoted from *Remarques sur les avantages et les désavantages de la France et de la Grande Bretagne par rapport au Commerce et aux autres sources de la Puissance des Etats* (1754). Plumard de Dangeul published it using the pseudonym John Nickolls. *Remarques* is the French adaptation from Josiah Tucker’s *Brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and England with regard to Trade* (1749). Together with Herbert’s *Essai* was jointly published in Dresde in 1754. On the particulars of such editions and the Spanish translation of 1755 by F. Quintana, see Llombart (2004).

46 Anzano (1795), 311-312, referred to the Chinese model, from which he praised its high population, the groomed agriculture, the industry of workers, and in contradistinction to Herbert, he stressed that cheapening food does not lead to idleness, but it is the foundation of the national economic leverage. China case study was very common in the economic literature of the eighteenth century, and, according to Lutfalla, remarkable authors like Cantillon o Montesquieu had used it (Lutfalla 1981), 90-95.

protection depends upon political authorities themselves. On the other hand, the former hypothesis is connected to an intensively moral and humanitarian approach that defended that policies can not lead to success based on the squalor of vast strata of population. Anzano defended this approach in the 1860s, but thanks to Necker's influence, his arguments became much more congruent. According to Anzano, England agriculture is much more advanced than "any other in the world" due to technical advances, the improvement of transportation, low interest rates, "unequaled industrious natives" and to "agrarian laws which if would have to be observed in Spain, would be regarded as an act of execrable violence". He referred to English reformation of tenancies favoring setters and to land enclosures laws. The whole affair together with a pragmatic commercial policy – that, for example, merged free commerce of wheat with harsh protection of wool – makes clear that, according to the Valencian Enlightenment thinker E. Ramos, who was quoted by Anzano, "[...] whether we compare English system to the current state of our policies, England is heads and Spanish is tails"⁴⁷.

Anzano, however, thinks that such achievements are also caused by extra-economic factors proceeding from the rich British social and institutional fabric. He admired the spirit of commerce, "the good will towards economy", "the cool, severe and circumspect national temper", which, according to Galiani, possessed countries like England or Netherland⁴⁸. In other excerpt, he also praised from English people their "goodwill when paying, their justice when demanding, their discretion in rumors, the formality of public records and census, and another convoluted questions", but also, that they were "the sureties of their credit". Under those personal traits and social virtues it is possible to introduce freedom of commerce, what it is even easier if the country is the earliest nation in adopting such a policy at the right time. In this vein, historical factors are essentials. What England did successfully "almost two centuries ago" can not be "completely imitated" as circumstances change. Anzano summarizes his formulation using a Latin aphorism: "distingue tempora et concordabis iura"⁴⁹.

Together with the attributes above mentioned, Anzano strongly points out an express political factor in the socioeconomic advance of England: "the hyper-complicated political machine nowadays existing in Europe and possibly in the world at any epoch", and thus, being the "government the most plural and artificially compounded ever"⁵⁰. This idea recurs when he mentioned that English people "forced nature, overrefined politics, reduced the individual rights in order to make prevail general rights". Undoubtedly, these comments on the political constitution of the nation as the crucial variable involved in productive and

47 Anzano (1795), 216.

48 Galiani (1770), 35 and on.

49 Anzano (1795), 227.

50 Anzano (1795), 209-210, which is textually transcribed from Galiani (1770), 48-49.

commercial growth are not superfluous. Unfortunately, according to Anzano, “[...] such conditions, some natural, others political and skillfulness” do not take place in Spain⁵¹. He even deemed that the “differences were not of a real nature but moral” and brought these ideas into steadfast arguments to argue against the implementation of liberal economic policy in Spain as the country had not political conditions to successfully put in place them⁵².

IV. OTHER POINTS OF REFERENCE: CHINA, THE ANCIENT WORLD AND CIVIC HUMANISM

Anzano repeatedly emphasized, based on Necker, that protection of disadvantaged people had priority in the agenda of the State. He held that there was a “natural law” that prevented prices going beyond a “prudent and lawful” level. This *Ius-naturalist* principle entails that the guarantee of food supply and low prices became a priority of the agenda of the State, and thus, it has consequences even on the scope of property rights, which according to Anzano and Necker, in contrast with Physiocrats, was not an inviolable natural law⁵³. This approach was an open invitation to other models of society different from French, English and Dutch ones⁵⁴.

China provoked a profound fascination in the European Enlightenment thought, and in particular, after Montesquieu’s significant contributions. Such fascination was due to a considerable extent to the ignorance and to the profound differences between the European and the Chinese strands of thought. Anzano praised on any one occasion China. For example, when he held that low prices were not traces of underdevelopment, and he justified it according to the principle that “[...] the country that can guarantee maintenance at a lesser cost is superior to the other nations”⁵⁵.

Anzano paid more attention to Ancient World. His comments on Ancient World must be connected to the old tradition of Civic Humanism, which experience a real resurgence in the European eighteenth century⁵⁶. Even if Anzano did not explicitly use the original sources of such resurgence such as Montesquieu, or later on, Republicans like Mably or Rousseau⁵⁷, he rebutted Herbert’s criticism to the policy of public provisions characteristic of Ancient Civilizations through ideas emanating

51 Anzano (1795), 218.

52 Anzano (1795), 226.

53 On the Gençevan ideas on property, see Necker (1775), I, XXV-XXVII, Spengler (1954), 307-308, and Grange (1974), 98-99.

54 The Dutch case is less common in a similar way than England as a maritime country, politically sophisticated and commercially much developed (Anzano, 1795), 211.

55 Anzano (1795), 321.

56 According to the denomination labelled by Pocock (2002). Skinner (2001) calls it “neo-Roman theory of freedom”.

57 A recent analysis of this topic in Linton (2001), 80 and on.

from Civic Humanism⁵⁸. Anzano defended that such policy was not complete, and was not entirely adaptable to Spain, but its implementation should not be entirely excluded⁵⁹. In fact, some principles that inspired them had a remarkable currency⁶⁰: the mistrust towards the wish of individual profit, preference of agriculture and low prices of food; austerity as principle of a right public moral; appropriateness of legal systems based on a residue of universal laws which must be rigorously fulfilled. In particular, Anzano's preferences addressed the food supply policy of the Roman Republic, which was unsuccessful due to mismanagement, just when the spirit of "greed, pomp and luxury" transformed the grain into an object of bribery and imbued the entirety of the socioeconomic system.

These concepts belonged to the defense of public provision of Civic Humanism, which were strongly criticized by Herbert. The political influence of Ancient World on Anzano was also demonstrated through a long excerpt at the end of *Análisis*, which reproduces a discourse by Lisias of Athens in which the Greek asked for a sanction to grain speculators⁶¹. This excerpt displayed ideas that Anzano had assumed regarding the commerce of grains like the need of protecting it and the "moderate profits", the possibility of receiving the help of foreign and state "stores", and the requirement of avoiding "corruption" and the hazard that involves "the starving population"⁶². This remarkable reference made by Anzano to the Athenian democracy included an appeal to the Enlightened Republicanism and its agrarian and egalitarian mentality, which perfectly fits with the humanitarian principles that characterizes Necker's work.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The European and Spanish Enlightenment were not an exception regarding the discovering of 'otherness' which characterized such period. The case analyzed in this article shows certain highlights of this phenomenon, strongly worsened if anything, by the fears of food crisis and their political effects. One of these highlights was the clear economic and moral boundaries between the vested interests of the different social groups. In particular, Anzano used the dichotomy land owner-merchant *versus* consumer-farmer since he was concerned with the consequences of decision-makers

58 Herbert (1795), 18-22.

59 Anzano (1795), 25. In this vein, it was a commonplace of Anzano's works overlaying N. De la Mare's work and their numberless by-laws. This fact portrayed the existence of a new opposition to Herbert – his work was branded by Kaplan (1976), 101, as a "manifest anti-De la Mare" –, in this case coming from the ideas emanating from *cameralism*.

60 Anzano (1795), 23-38.

61 Anzano (1795), 468-487. In all probability, the Aragonese economist translated into Spanish the French compilation of various Greek orators, among them Lisias, which had been completed by Abbé Auger.

62 Anzano (1795), 486-487.

and the behavior of powerful groups on consumers of food and agrarian workers. In 1768, Anzano criticized the liberalization of the real market of wheat based on the scholastic interpretation of this market. Particularly, he opposed the official version by Campomanes, the then General Attorney of the Counsel of Castile. Nevertheless, Anzano was given support by those groups of enlightened that were suspicious of deregulation. In fact, the Count of Aranda, the great Aragonese Noble that would be the leader of such critics, had close political connections to Anzano. Anzano's rejoinder posed the oligopolistic nature of wheat market and the speculative ability of the so-called "strong hands". According to him, such market structure compelled to the control of the real surplus before introducing the free operation of merchants and the exportation of wheat guided by the information provided by prices.

The other main issue posed by this article is concerned with the influence of foreign models in Anzano's socioeconomic and political vision, and particularly in the monograph that he had published in 1765. The Spanish Enlightenment was not an exception regarding the discovering of 'otherness' that characterizes such an epoch. In particular, the approach of international circulation of economic ideas within the subject of the History of economic thought discloses a broad variety of 'gazes' towards other social, political, scientific and economic national environments, and more frequently towards neighbor countries. Undoubtedly, attention was paid beyond that, like colonies, but this work does not tackle this last question. If anything, this process involved the discovering of ruling patterns which were shared by different European countries, but also the perception of their differences. Concomitantly, some countries became points of reference or models for others, and definitely Europe provided a mirror which each single country could look into and measure itself.

A huge number of works give testimony of this process. On the one hand, the works that implicitly or expressly embodied ideas taken from foreign works. On the other, the wide number of translations and adaptations of foreign works – or even plagiarism – completed in Spain at the time. This article has focused on T. Anzano, who we actually believe is exemplary. Anzano was a Spanish economist and translator who published a variety of works in the 1860s and 1890s on food crisis and commerce of grains. Economic differences, but also and in particular social and political differences, gained importance in his writings of 1768, in a form that they led him to seriously qualify the possibility of applying to Aragon the *Pragmática* deregulatory legislation. In 1795, he translated into Spanish the main work of the French economist Herbert, which he published adding on the work *Análisis del comercio de trigo* by himself. According to his previous contributions, Anzano advocated for intervention of food markets in order to guarantee food supply and low prices of raw materials, which was an alternative proposal to the policies included in *Informe de ley agraria* by Jovellanos also published in 1795⁶³.

63 Astigarraga and Usoz (2009). On the political and intellectual atmosphere that surrounded the making of *Informe* see Domergue (1971), Varela (1988), Anes (1995) and Llobart (2000).

In defending so, Anzano evidenced a remarkable knowledge of Spanish (Campomanes, Arriquíbar, Ramos or Jovellanos) and European literature on such topics, from Physiocracy to the more interventionist wings. In fact, he used, among others, Necker, De la Mare and Galiani's doctrine to better criticize the moderate liberal Herbert. In particular, he took from Necker his interventionist, pragmatic and humanitarian approach⁶⁴. At the same time, as he brought forward in 1768, Anzano assessed the diverse performance of the different political frameworks, and thus, in *Análisis* he focused on Chinese, Dutch, French and British societies, stressing the comparison between France and England. French model is taken from Herbert's *Essai*, but also, as mentioned, from his critics, and in particular, from Necker. But the idea of feasibility of a consistent, strong and liable French Bourbon monarchy to intervene when crisis occurred comes from the cameralist economist De la Mare.

Regarding English model, Anzano's approach is connected to the European political tradition that emerged, specifically, from Montesquieu's works, that had highly appraised British political model, and in particular, its parliamentary tradition and division of powers which were a decisive factor of equilibrium. Indeed, Necker and Galiani, the most influential economists on Anzano, belonged to British national tradition. From 1780, just when began the constitutional debate and when Montesquieu's works spread over, Spanish demonstrated warm feelings towards Britain, and it seems that they gain currency when French revolutionary scene burst forth. During the 1790s, in full effervescence of French Revolution, the refined and sophisticated English political system embodied parliamentary control on food supply and taxation, or the possibility of implementing agrarian reformation. Therefore, it might have been a point of reference for the moderate governmental Spanish Enlightenment, seized by panic in front of the French revolutionary events. Anzano's silence on French events, but also on Federal Republicanism and popular democracy established in the United States of America on the basis of British colonial territories some years before, portrayed that spirit of temperance.

64 On the Necker's doctrine, see Spengler (1954), 300-308, Grange (1974) and Kaplan (1976). On the presence of Necker in Spain see Astigarraga (1998 and 2000). On the other hand, *Dialogues* by Galiani were well-known, as they were published in Spanish in 1775 promoted by Campomanes and completed by J. A. de las Casas (*Diálogos sobre el Comercio de Trigo, atribuidos al Abate Galiani*, Madrid: J. Ibarra, 1775). Finally, on the international success of Necker's writings, see Carpenter (1975), 22-24.

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