The most valuable of all Capitall; a gender reading of economics texts
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Citation for published version (APA):
Kuiper, E. (2001). The most valuable of all Capitall; a gender reading of economics texts Amsterdam: Tinbergen Institute Research Series

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Chapter 5

A gender reading of texts by
William Petty and Adam Smith

5.1 Introduction

This chapter goes back to the early days of political economy and examines the gendered character of some seventeenth and eighteenth-century economic texts. Under scrutiny are major texts written by two political economists who are widely considered to be the founding fathers of the discipline: William Petty (1623 - 1687) and Adam Smith (1723 - 1790).

Hutchison regards Petty's *Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (1662) as the starting point of the pre-classical period in economic science because Petty turned political economy into a 'serious, more-or-less disciplined, independent subject' (Hutchison 1992, 2). I focus my analysis on Petty's *Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (1662), his famous *Political Arithmetick* (1676) and *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1672).

It has been said of Adam Smith that he has 'a strong claim of being both the Adam and the smith of systematic economics'. He was perhaps not the first to provide a coherent systematic description of the economy (see Cantillon 1755, Steuart 1767), but it is his work that has been widely acknowledged and is still referred to as fundamental to the discipline (Roll 1938). Hutchison (1992) sees the classical period as starting with the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. In this chapter, I shall examine Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (TMS) (1759) and discuss *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (WN) (1776) in a more general way.

In this chapter the use and construction of notions of masculinity and femininity in these texts are analyzed and compared. Section 5.2 starts with a summary of Petty's texts and discusses the use of sex/gender distinctions and perceptions of gender. Subsequently the focus is on the intertextuality of Petty's texts: how are implicit perceptions of gender given content by means of references to traceable texts, to genre, and to untraceable or culture texts? Then the contextuality of these texts is discussed: what use is made of social symbols, social (gender) structures, of established concepts and of social perceptions of individual gender? Finally I bring these lines together and indicate the impact of gender on Petty's economic reasoning with reference to a particular set of pages from *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*.

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(1672) (see Appendix 5.1). Section 5.3 contains a discussion of Adam Smith's texts with regard to the same topics (see Appendix 5.2 for the pages analyzed in section 5.3.5). In section 5.4, I compare use of gender by Petty and Smith and indicate some historical shifts in the relation between gender and political economy.

5.2 Texts by Sir William Petty

5.2.1 The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty

The two volumes of *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty* contain Petty's complete work, introduced by the editor Charles Henry Hull (1899). The texts consist of various kinds of reports to the King and Parliament, and are in the nature of accounting reports and investigations.


The Political Anatomy of Ireland (1672) examines the wealth, value and productivity of Ireland. Petty takes detailed stock of the lands, people, houses, smokes, money, trades and inhabitants: their religion, language, manners etc. This account contains several proposals on ways of improving the profitability of Ireland for the English. One way to do this, according to Petty, was to exchange Irish and English women in order to achieve a 'transmutation' of the Irish population.

In the preface to his _Political Arithmetick_ Petty refers to the general idea prevalent at that time in England, that the 'whole Kingdom grows every day poorer and poorer' (Petty 1676, 241-2). He indicates more positive tendencies and applies in this discourse the Baconian scientific method. He reasons 'in Terms of Number, Weight, or Measure' and bases his arguments on those causes which only 'have visible Foundations in Nature' (Petty 1676, 65).

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66 One way of levying taxes was according to the amount of smokes (Petty 1676, 272-4).

67 'If Henry the II. had or could have brought over all the people of Ireland into England, declining the Benefit of their Land; he had fortified, beautified and enrich'd England, and done real Kindness to the Irish.' (Petty 1672, 157)

68 Observations, and that Men eat, and drink, and laugh as they use to do, have encouraged me to try if I could also comfort others, being satisfied my self, that the Interest and Affairs of England are in no deplorable Condition.' (Petty 1676, 244)
Applying the 'scientific' approach to economic inquiry, he measures the 'Wealth and Strength' of England vis-à-vis France, Holland and Zealand, in order to determine a basis for taxation, among other things. 69

5.2.2 The use of sex/gender distinction and perceptions of gender

In reading Petty's texts it is easy to overlook the perception of gender that is applied, especially when one takes the frequently used terms 'Man' and 'mankind' as generic. Explicit references to women are scarce and gender relations are rarely discussed. Although historians (e.g. Tribe 1978, Nicholson 1986) and feminist theorists (e.g. Bordo 1987, Flax 1983, Hekman 1990, Harding 1991) acknowledge that these texts address characteristics and social behavior of men in the abstract, historians of economics tend to rephrase 'Man' or 'men' into gender neutral terms (e.g. 'the individual' and 'human agent'), 70 and only few acknowledge the ambiguity of these terms. 71 What can be said about Petty's use of concepts of gender? Does he make distinctions between women and men, and if so how does he deal with women and men? What roles or characteristics does he ascribe to them?

What we see from his accounts is that Petty distinguishes between men and women, and focuses on men and their occupations and activities (see also Pujol 1992). In his discussion, for instance, of the valuation of the peoples of England and Ireland he chiefly refers to occupations such as 'Governours, Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants, and Retailers' (Petty 1662, 30) 72. Elsewhere Petty indicates 'Divines, Physicians and Civilians (that is, of men bred in Universities)' (1662, 27). In Political Arithmetick Petty states that 'Husbandmen, Seamen, Soldiers, Artizans and Merchants are the very Pillars of any Common-Wealth' (1676, 259). Women appear in his accounts as follows:

'[i]mployed about the taking of 5000 Hogsheads of Pilchards, Boats, Nets, Hewers &c. Men and Women. 1000 Imployed about making 1000 Tuns of Iron, Men and Women. 2000 Smiths as by account, Men and Women 15,000 Their Servants to the Trade 7,500 Taylors and their Wives 45,000' (Petty 1662, 145)

69 On the side, Petty also had specific thoughts about the Dutch: 'Many Writing on this Subject do so magnifie the Hollanders as if they were more, and all other Nations less than Men (as to the matters of Trade and Policy) making them Angels, and others Fools, Brutes, and Sots, as to those particulars; whereas I take the Foundation of their atchievements to lie originally in the Situation of the Country, whereby they do things inimitable by others, and have advantages whereof others are incapable.' (Petty 1676, 255)

70 See e.g. Hirschman 1977, Meyers 1983.

71 See e.g. Brown 1994, Bodkin 1999.

72 The more extensive quote contains the following: 'In the next place it will be asked, who shall pay these men? I answer, every body; for if these be 1000. men in a Territory, and if 100. of these can raise necessary food and raiment for the whole 1000. If 200. more make as much commodities, as other Nations will give either their commodities or money for, and if 400. more be employed in the ornaments, pleasure, and magnificence of the whole; of there be 200. Governors, Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants, and retailers, making all 900. the question is, since there is food enough for this supernumerary 100. also, how should they come by it?' (Petty 1662, 30)
Women are referred to as in 'Millers and their wives' (Petty 1662, 146), or more implicitly as in 'per Head, one with another'\(^73\) (Petty 1662, 152). They are mainly addressed in relation to marriage, the generation of children and in connection with the activities of men.\(^74\) Their activities are specifically addressed when Petty describes the backward position of the Irish people in his *Political Arithmetick*:

Irland being under peopled, and Land, and Cattle being very cheap; there being every where store of Fish and Fowl; the ground yielding excellent Roots (and particularly that bread-like root Potatoes) and withal they being able to perform their Husbandry, with such harness and tackling, as each Man can make with his own hands; and living in such Houses as almost every Man can build; and every House-wife being a Spinner and Dyer of Wool and Yarn, they can live and subsist after their present fashion, without the use of Gold and Silver Money; (...)' (Petty 1676, 272-3)

Petty regarded the Irish way of living as profoundly primitive. He thought it objectionable and devastating for the spirit of Irish men.

' [...] If the people be so few, as that they can live, Ex sponte Creatis, or with little labour, such as is Grazing &c. they become wholly without Art. No man that will not exercise his hands, being able to endure the tortures of the mind, which much thoughtfulness doth occasion.' (Petty 1662, 34)

In this passage Petty's use of the sex/gender distinction comes clearly to the fore, it indicates his focus on men.

**Petty's use of 'Man'**

A simple 'yes' or 'no' cannot answer the question as to whether Petty uses the terms 'Man', 'man' and 'men' in a generic manner or refers exclusively to biological men. In some cases Petty uses these terms in reference to male individuals as, for instance, when he compares the wages of seamen to those of other men (there were no women sailors):

*The Husbandman of England earns but about 4 s. per Week, but the Seamen have as good as 12 s. in Wages' ....'[w]hereas the Employment of other Men is confined to their own Country, that of Seamen is free to the whole World;' (Petty 1676, 259)

Or where he uses these terms in relation to the army, posing a question on 'the required Men to Man it'. In measuring the population of England, Scotland and Wales accounting the land, he is first includes women but in his more detailed discussion leaves them out:

\(^73\) 'One with another' means something like 'per capita', 'per person'.

\(^74\) Petty also discusses the issue of the sex balance: 'I might also say, that forasmuch as there be more Males than Females in *England*, (the said disproportion pro tanto hindering procreation) that it were good for the Ministers to return to their Caelibat; or that none should be Ministers whilst they were married, [...].' (Petty 1662, 25)
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'The value of people, Men, Women and Children in England, some have computed to be 70l. per Head, one with another. But if you value the people who have been destroyed in Ireland, as Slaves and Negroes are usually rated, viz. at about 15l. one with another; Men being sold for 25l. and Children 5l. each: the value of the people lost will be about 10,355,000.' (Petty 1672, 152, emphasis added)

Women are simply left out in the second emphasized phrase, assuming they were not sold for the same price as men.

When Petty wants to refer to human beings in a general, more abstract manner he uses the term 'Man'. Although these are general claims regarding human beings, Petty seems to have male individuals in mind rather than female:

'If there were but one Man living in England, then the benefit of the whole Territory, could be but the livelyhood of that one Man: But if another Man were added, the rent or benefit of the same would be double [...] For if a Man would know, what any Land is worth, the true and natural Question must be, How many Men will it feed? How many Men are there to be fed?' (Petty 1676, 286)

It remains however, impossible to really assess the masculinity or gender-neutrality of the term 'Man' as here used, from the text only. More information is required about the intertextuality and contextuality of Petty's use of 'Man'.

Before we turn to the discussion of intertextuality and contextuality of these texts, I would like to address the comments made by Sir Richard Cox. Cox was a contemporary of Petty, who criticized him on various counts including his use of a masculine perspective - although not in those terms - and pointed at the effects on his arguments. Petty inserted these comments in a set of footnotes (see Hull 1899, 23). Especially relevant here are two critical comments on the accuracy of the accounts in The Political Anatomy of Ireland (1672), where Cox stresses the exclusion of women from Petty's considerations. One footnote concerns the way Petty counts the number of smiths' servants but leaves out the servants of the smiths' wives:

"Smiths 15000 and their serv4s but 7500: whereas of all Trades Smiths doe most need a serv4 to help: It is indeed a two handed trade y4 cannot be without a serv4: ergo there should be as many Serv4s as Smiths". But Petty allows a servant to each smith, though none to the smiths' wives" (Petty 1672, 145).76

The other comment provides a critical remark on Petty's proposal for transmutation of the Irish people, especially on the role of women in this process. Cox points out a blind spot with regard to gender in Petty's argument, which is rather offensive to women and their economic contribution (as well as to the Irish, by the way),

75 This last sentence was added by Petty to Cox' comment.
76 Superscripts as in 'y4' have to be read as an abbreviation of 'yet', 'serv4' as servant etc.
The expedient of Transmutacon is mistaken in ye sex, for if a million of women were married to as many poor Ir[ish, EK], it is certain they would degenerate into meer Irish & ye in a few years, experience proves my Assertion'. (Petty 1672, 158)\(^77\)

The inclusion of these comments, the way he stresses the importance of fact finding and countering prejudice (e.g. against the Irish as being lazy, see Petty 1672, 201) indicates Petty's scientific attitude.

Concerning his use of sex/gender distinctions and perceptions of gender, it was indicated that Petty applies a biological concept of gender differences and a fairly clear-cut perception of women's and men's activities. Petty provides little information on the lives and activities of women. Women's work is only incidentally included in economic considerations; most of it vanishes into obscurity. Instead, he focuses on men and their activities in the elaboration of his accounts.

5.2.3 Intertextuality of Petty's texts

The use of gender in Petty's texts requires an examination of the academic discussions in which these texts played a role, of Petty's academic position and, linked to that, his position in these discussions.

Petty had a creative and innovative mind, he had a good knowledge of Latin and pursued a varied career. He studied medicine,\(^78\) and was associated with the leading experimental scientific thinkers of the day (Roll 1938). Thomas Hobbes was one of his teachers when he was in Paris. In contrast to his predecessors, he wrote on economic matters without having direct business or mercantile interests in this area.\(^79\) Petty was invited to make certain investigations by Parliament and other authorities, which conferred on him a relatively independent position. Still, he had to gain trust and acknowledgement for his research and findings, which probably makes him one of the first contract researchers.

Petty was involved in the scientific movement and in discussions around the founding of the Royal Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge in London. The scientific movement - the Royal Society in particular - turned away from the scholastic approach. These people distanced themselves from the hermetic heritage, and favored the experimental method and the making of direct observations of nature. The new science associated humanism and mechanical philosophy with a sharp distinction between the world of man and the world of

\(^77\) The full quote contains the following text: 'The expedient of Transmutacon is mistaken in ye sex, for if a million of women were married to as many poor Ir, it is certain they would degenerate into meer Irish & ye in a few years, experience proves my Assertion; besides in reason it must be soe, for women unless elevated by education and a principle of honour are less virtuous than men, ye is they are more easy & sooner allured by temptation or frightened by anything ye is like terrible, they are naturally more slothful and love their ease, besides ye Irish naturally lord it over their wives & and are not soe uxorious as we Eng but if a number of young boys were exchanged yearly it would do w our Author designs for boys bred after ye English manner would not marry but with women soe bred, wherefore ye Ir women would betake themselves to Eng service to qualify themselves for such husbands.' (Petty 1672, 158)

\(^78\) He studied medicine in Utrecht, Leiden and Amsterdam and later in Paris. (Hull 1899)

\(^79\) In this he differs from his predecessors such as Thomas Mun (1571-1641), who was a 'captain of industry' (Roll 1938) (see Mun 1621).
nature (R.F. Jones 1936). Keller (1983a) describes the constitution of this new science as strongly linked to a hierarchical perception of masculinity and femininity, in which nature is addressed as female and described in terms of marriage, sex and rape metaphors.

It would certainly be interesting to conduct more research on Petty's exact role and position in these discussions than is possible in the context of this thesis. However, we can say that Petty was an enthusiast experimentalist, who collected his own data to a large extent. As one of the pioneers of the new science, he faced a situation in which there were only a few scientific scholars he would and could refer to.

References to traceable texts
In his texts, particularly where data are concerned, Petty makes use of primary observations, records from the tax levy practice, military records, and accounts such as the Bills of Mortality of London. In his own investigations, as we have also seen above, Petty focuses on men's work. In A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions he also makes use of the levy practices of those days, which were gendered in the sense that women were generally not considered as the subject of taxes. In those days women's interests were represented by men: fathers, brothers and husbands. As a consequence, the measuring of the national accounts tends to get biased along these lines.

That it was also possible to have another view and perception of gender is shown in Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality (Graunt & Petty 1665), which strikes a different tone in this respect. The Bills of Mortality of London, a statistical account of London's inhabitants, is ascribed, at least in part, to captain Graunt. Taking the contents of the Bills of Mortality of London as the basis for his conclusions, Graunt stumbles on various unexpected facts. One of these is that in those days, there were more men than women in London. Where Petty considers - though mostly implicitly - the social distinction between males and females to be evidently relevant, one of Graunt's 'general observations upon

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81 Francis Bacon, for instance, characterized the scientific relation between Man and Nature by stating 'Let us establish a chaste and lawful marriage between Mind and Nature' (quoted in Keller 1983a, 190).
82 Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality (1665) contains an almost clinical, though racily presented report on all kinds of statistics relating to the population of London. Graunt first provides facts about casualties, death by sickness and other causes, burials and christenings, starting from 1603. Subsequently the author gives some observations based thereupon, in which he contradicts common opinions with fact. After these figures, Graunt & Petty discuss the sicknesses and causes of death in London.
83 Graunt first published this essay in 1665. After his death, Petty edited this essay and later brought it out under his name in 1690. I refer to this text here by acknowledging them both as author (Graunt & Petty 1665).
84 Compare Becker's discussion on polygamy with that of Graunt & Petty: 'It is a Blessing to Mankind, that by this over-plus of Males there is this natural Bar to Polygamy: for in such a state Women could not live in that parity and equality of expense with their Husbands, as now, and here they do.' (Graunt & Petty 1665, 378)
85 This was against the expectations raised by the recent plague outbreak, war casualties and the fact that women more frequently visit doctors, 'that Men, being more intemperate than Women, die as much by reason of their Vices, as Women do by the Infirmity of their Sex; and consequently, more Males being born than Females, more also die.' (Graunt & Petty 1665, 376)
casualties' states that, for him, the importance and relevance of sex/gender distinctions were not evident at all:

'[n]or could I ever yet learn (from the many I have asked, and those not of the least Sagacity) to what purpose the distinction between Males and Females is inserted, or at all taken notice of?' (Graunt & Petty 1665, 347, emphasis as in the original)

This tension between the sex/gender distinction applied by Graunt and the one applied in Petty's work is neither further discussed nor reflected upon in Petty's texts.

Although Petty introduces and stresses the importance of his new method of investigation, he explicitly refers to the work of his academic colleagues and takes over some of their gender notions. In order to stress the authority, importance and possibilities of this scientific approach to economic inquiry, he also refers to medicine - a field familiar to Petty - as a fairly well established scientific field (see also Hutchison 1992).

'Sir Francis Bacon, in his Advancement of Learning, hath made a judicious Parallel in many particulars, between the Body Natural, and Body Politick, and between the Arts of preserving both in Health and Strength: And it is as reasonable, that as Anatomy is the best foundation of one, so also of the other; and to practice upon the Politick, without knowing the Symmetry, Fabrick, and Proportion of it, is as casual as the practice of Old-women and Empyricks.' (Petty 1672, 129)

Petty positions himself here on the side of the new science in opposition to older practices in medicine, which were generally conducted by midwives and older women with practical knowledge. This new art of anatomy excluded women from the practicing of medicine and distanced itself from women's traditional practices.  

Petty also refers to Bacon's Advancement of Learning and thereby stresses the gender dichotomy between 'the Body Natural' versus 'the Body Politick' as elaborated in medicine, to propagate his method of research. The method of medicine - here described as the 'Art of Anatomy' - is suggested as the best approach to analysis and to preserving the health and strength of the Body Politick.

The use of genre

Petty's texts are directed to those in power: princes, kings and members of Parliament. In letters to the Duke of Ormond and to the High Chancellor of Great Britain, Petty appeals

86 See e.g. Schiebinger 1989.
87 The letter the Duke of Ormond for instance starts with 'My Lord, The Celebrated Author of the following Treatise, had not only the Honour to be known to Your Grace's Grandfather, the late illustrious Duke of ORMOND, but was likewise held by him in that just Esteem, which he never fail'd of expressing towards Men of Learning and Ingenuity.' (Petty 1672, 125)
88 The letter to the High Chancellor of Great Britain states that 'As the whole Design of this Treatise tends to the enriching of a Kingdom, by advancing its Trade and Publick Credit, I am naturally led to

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particularly to their scientific interests. Petty’s use of genre is reflected in the texts of the reports as well as in the letters that accompany the reports and that address the commissioner directly.\(^8^9\) The nature and status of these reports affect the questions Petty thinks the men in power consider important, and that should therefore be raised and the perspective he applies in answering them. In the *Treatise of Taxes & Contributions*, for instance, he perceives Ireland’s situation from the perspective of the English Crown and deals with the issue of how to increase tax income. Petty himself comes rather strongly to the fore here, taking the role of narrator. He states questions, which he subsequently answers in a systematic manner. Thus he, as narrator, coincides with the focalizer; he is the one who decides what he thinks those in power will see as important and it is through his eyes that the reader perceives ‘the facts’. Men appear as the main characters in these texts, but neither men nor women are focalizers; the story is never told from their perspective. They remain passive and figure only as observed subjects.

Petty’s texts contain a monologic account in the sense that he provides definitions, numbers, and conclusions and contradicts accepted views, without leaving much space for counter arguments or various considerations.

The power perspective thus applied goes in some instances with a masculine perspective, as for instance, in *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1672). Here Petty proposes to solve ‘the Irish problem’ by ‘transmutation’, the moving of English people to Ireland, and of unmarried Irish women to England. To protect English men from fighting in Ireland, Petty thus suggests manipulating the Irish men by importing English women and priests, who are addressed as mere instruments of control.\(^9^0\) Petty thus extends his approach to achieving ‘the richness and welfare of England’ to other, non-economic spheres. The use of genre reflects here the power relation between Petty and the authorities, his main readers. Gender appears to play a secondary role in this respect.

*References to culture texts*

Petty refers to ‘culture texts’ (established, untraceable scientific notions) only to a limited extent. Unlike in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1672) in which he refers to Francis Bacon, in *Political Arithmetick* (1676) Petty explains his use of method without explicit references:

> put it under the Patronage of a Minister of State, whose Love for his Nation’s Welfare and Glory is so generally known to all the World; and more especially, my Lord, this Work, being founded upon Mathematical Truth, claims a Right to the Protection of your Lordship, who is so great a Master in that Science.’ (Petty 1672, 128)

\(^8^9\) The *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, for instance, is accompanied by several letters of reference, which recommend Petty’s work to King Charles II and the members of the King’s private council, among others.

\(^9^0\) It was thought that transmutation would be speeded up through the transportation of Irish women to England and English women to Ireland, as well as the reduction of the number of Irish priests, the remaining priests being replaced by English priests. ‘So as that when the Priests, who govern the Conscience, and the Women, who influence other powerful Appetites, shall be English, both of whom being in the Bosom of the Men, it must be, that no massacring of English, as heretofore, can happen again. Moreover, when the language of the Children shall be English, and the whole Oeconomy of the Family English, viz. Diet, Apparel &c. the Transmutation will be very easy and quick.’ (Petty 1672, 158)
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The Method I Take to do this, is not yet very usual; for instead of using only comparative and superlative Words, and intellectual Arguments, I have taken the course (as a Specimen of the Political A-rithmetick I have long aimed at) to express myself in Terms of Number, Weight or Measure; to use only Arguments of Sense, and to consider only such Causes, as have visible Foundations in Nature; leaving those that depend upon the mutable Minds, Opinions, Appetites, and Passions of particular Men, to the Consideration of others: [...]’ (Petty 1676, 244)

Petty positions himself here again as part of the new science, constructing an opposition between 'Sense' and 'Causes with visible Foundations in Nature' versus what he characterizes as 'mutable Minds, Opinions, Appetites and Passions of Particular Men' from which he distances himself. Instead of leaning on Bacon and medical science, Petty here states his arguments in more general terms, which gives the impression that the approach to science he propagates was better established by then.

The gendered character of 'Man'
In his use of the term 'Man' Petty draws on his colleagues in science. In his days the definition of 'Man' - and the relation between man, society, the state, the sovereign, and the family - was still a major topic in academic circles. Petty's perception of the relation between the sovereign and his subjects shows Hobbesian features, just as his use of the new scientific method indicates Baconian influences (see also Poovey 1998, 123).

Hobbes' concept of 'Man' is articulated in relation to the state and the family. Man can be considered, not so much as a male person, but rather as a 'possessive individual' (Macpherson 1962), 'an artificial person' or 'head of a household' (Tribe 1978, 44, Okin 1979, 198), or as a 'patriarchal father' (Flax 1983, 264), in other words, an abstract person to whom a certain authority is assigned. Hobbes displays some ambiguity on the issue as to whether women and men have to be considered equal. At one place men and women are perceived equal partners in the family; elsewhere, however, he posits 'The Father' as an unquestioned authority in the family (Flax 1987, Nicholson 1986).

In his endeavor to found a 'New Philosophy' and inaugurate the 'Masculine Birth of Time' (see Keller 1985), Francis Bacon - as indicated, another author Petty builds on - redefines nature from a nurturing mother into a mechanism which must be exposed and understood (Hekman 1990, 115). Bacon postulates scientific knowledge as a means to power, and articulates the relation between man and nature in terms of domination and control: 'in terms of "conquering" and "mastering" nature' (Keller 1983a, 190). In Bacon there is also

91 See e.g. Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, (1605), Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1651), John Locke, Two Treatises of Government (1690).
92 This head of the household acquires authority by virtue of having the domination of 'children, fools and madmen that have no use of Reason', and these categories may be personated by Guardians or Curators' (Hobbes, quoted in Tribe 1978, 43).
93 An immortal Father who 'by controlling and channeling the passions of his sons, [...] creates the possibility of civil society, morality and culture, none of which can exist in the state of nature' (Flax 1983, 264).
94 Keller quotes Bacon here, stating 'I am come in very truth leading you to Nature with all her
ambiguity concerning the perception of gender: Bacon uses on the one hand metaphors that speak about 'a chaste and lawful marriage between Man and Nature' and on the other hand he builds on rape metaphors (Keller 1985).

Where both Hobbes and Bacon are more or less explicit about the ontological status of their main subject, though ambiguous concerning its gender, Petty's 'Man' is an abstract concept, whose gender is not discussed at all. Considering Petty's use of 'Man', which is in reference and content based on Hobbes' and Bacon's definitions of man, this has to be considered as masculine rather than feminine.

So far we have seen perceptions of gender that enter Petty's texts through the data applied from the tax levy practice, the focus on men's activities, and his use of the term 'Man'. Petty, who strongly favors the new experimental approach based on observation, mostly refers to facts, sources and metaphors from other sciences. This does not prevent however, his masculine (and power) perspective from influencing his texts. His usage of gender at the level of observation, of use of method and use of the term 'Man', seem to reinforce each other, while ambiguities and contradictions concerning gender are left out. To obtain insight into the contextuality of Petty's texts and in the way social perceptions of gender that play a role here, we now turn to the context of Petty's texts, to gender in seventeenth century England.

5.2.4 Contextuality of Petty's texts

Petty lived in an era in which the power of the Roman Catholic Church had passed its peak. Luther and Calvin had already claimed the individual's responsibility for his own acts before God, the Inquisition had terrorized many European countries and the wave of witch-hunting was more or less over. The attitude towards hermetic philosophy and alchemy was a major topic of concern in what was known as the 'Invisible College' in Oxford, which later became the Royal Society. Because of former links to radical social and religious movements, and 'since heresy had come to be associated, through witchcraft and enthusiasm, with women, [...]' those associated with empiricist movement had to earnestly emphasize that theirs was, above all, a reliable "masculine" endeavor' (Noble 1992, 229). Where before research had been conducted in monasteries and convents, it now increasingly took place in universities, which were, like the new scientific societies, not accessible to women (Schiebinger 1989, Noble 1992, Wertheim 1995).

Although God the Father was still perceived as the main source of power and the founder of laws (with the King as his earthly representative), the legitimization of the sovereign became increasingly perceived as based on the will of the people. This will of the people found its expression in Parliament rather than through the Crown. The state's fairly firm grip on social and economic matters was loosening; trade, manufacturing and industry was beginning to be freed from state regulation and intervention. However, England was then still a predominantly agricultural society.

In addition to his academic work, Petty took part in politics, and was a landlord in Ireland. In his person and his actions, he brought a new way of doing science into contact with the emerging class of new rulers; he had contacts with the most highly esteemed scholars of children to bind her to your service and make her your slave' (Keller 1983a, 190).

95 In this period scientific societies were founded all over Europe. None of them were accessible to women. This did not change until well into the twentieth century (Noble 1992).
his age, and with the king and Parliament. During the Restoration he took the side of those in
power (Poovey 1998). Later in life he himself rose to an influential position and continued to
write from that position.

After he had completed his studies, and been appointed a professor in Oxford in 1650,
he left for Ireland to serve in the army as a physician in 1652. He became acquainted with
Cromwell and, as a result of his work on the Down Survey, he was appointed as a member of
the commission that assigned forfeited Irish land to English officers and soldiers. He married
in 1667. After the Restoration he acquired large Irish estates, was knighted, and appointed
Surveyor-General of Ireland (Hull 1899).

What appears to be a very solid social position was threatened for a number of years.
As a prominent member of the Protestant colony in Ireland, he encountered problems with
local farmers. When the position of the English Protestants in Ireland became severely
threatened, Petty spent increasing periods of time in London, where he died in 1687.

Petty writes his texts from the position ascribes above, applying gender symbols and
metaphors of his time in elaborating and explaining central arguments, and makes a
connection with the then current and emerging ideas on the division of tasks within the
household, husbandry and productivity. Concerning his use of notions of individual gender,
Petty appears to adhere to the more traditional pre-modern perception of individual gender.

References to gender symbols
The metaphor 'Labor is the Father and active principle of Wealth, as Lands are the Mother'
(Petty 1662, 68)96 was an established notion at the time and is a dominant thought in Petty's
writings (Hull 1899).97 Or as is stated in The Political Anatomy of Ireland: 'the most important
Consideration in Political Oeconomies viz. [is, EK.] how to make a Par and Equation
between Lands and Labour, so as to express the Value of any thing by either alone.' (Petty
1672, 181) Where in this metaphor land and labor are to some extent on an equal footing, in
Petty's texts the value of land is determined by what is considered as the productivity of labor
alone (see quotes A and B in Appendix 5.1 and the discussion in section 5.2.5).

References to established concepts
For his conceptualization of labor, Petty makes use of and implicitly refers to what at the time
was a common way of speaking and writing about farmers, who cultivate the soil. In the
section in which he determines the value of labor in the Treatise of Taxes & Contributions we
read:

'Suppose a man could with his own hands plant a certain scope of Land with
Corn, that is, could Digg, or Plough, Harrow, Weed, Reap, Carry home, Thresh,
and Winnow so much as the Husbandry of this Land requires; and had withal
Seed wherewith to sowe the same. I say, that when this man hath subducted his
seed out of the proceed of his Harvest, and also, what himself hath both eaten and

96 Later in the text he refers to 'Hands being the Father, as Lands are the Mother and Womb of
Wealth' (Graunt & Petty 1665, 377).
97 See e.g. Hull 1899, 377-8n.
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given to others in exchange for Clothes, and other Natural necessaries; that the remainder of Corn is the natural and true Rent of the Land for that year; and the medium of seven years, or rather so many years as makes up the Cycle, within which Dearths and Plenties make their revolution, doth give the ordinary Rent of the Land in Corn.' (Petty 1662, 43)

This description of the activities involved in husbandry links up to a tradition of handbooks written for farmers or landed gentry. In these texts husbandry is the activity of maintaining resources, which are given to man by God. Agricultural production begins and ends with the activities of the husbandman, 'an individual divorced from any specific social or economic status, whether yeoman or cottar, owner or tenant.' (Tribe 1978, 56).

Based on this reasoning, in the following paragraph of the Treatise of Taxes Petty defines the value of the corn produced by one laborer as equal to 'the money, which another single man can save, within the same time, over and above his expense, if he imployed himself wholly to produce and make it' (Petty 1662, 43). Thus this conceptualization of the relationship between God, man and nature reproduces and confirms the conceptualization of value based on the work ascribed to male farmers. Value thus becomes computed by reference to the work of male individuals on the one hand, while on the other hand the 'active' contribution of land is equated to the supposedly constant value of silver.

A little further on in the text of The Treatise on Taxes and Contributions (p.45), we see the use of an established social gender concept where the father is assumed to be the head of the household and the representative of the family, especially of its female members. This representation of women by their fathers and brothers related initially to the political or authoritative aspect of gender relations. Here Petty applies it in the determination of the use of resources by a family and in the determination of the value of land. When Petty computes the natural par between land and labor, the rent or value of the usus fructus per annum, he states that:

'the number of years, which I conceive one man of fifty years old, another of twenty eight, and another of seven years old, all being alive together may be thought to live; that is to say, of a Grandfather, Father, and Childe; few men having reason to take care of more remote Posterity' (Petty 1662, 45).

89 Tribe (1978) discusses a few examples of these texts: Five Hundredth Pointes of Good Husbandrie (Fitzherbert and Tusser 1586), Maison Rustique or the Country Farme (Estienne 1606), Adam out of Eden: Or, An Abstract of Divers Excellent Experiments Touching the Advancement of Husbandry (Speed 1659) Epitome of the Whole Art of Husbandry (Blagrave 1675).

99 'Let another man go travel into a Country where is Silver, there Dig it, Refine it, bring it to the same place where the other man planted his Corn; Coyne it, &c. the same person, all the while of his working for Silver, gathering also food for his necessary livelihood, and procuring himself covering, &c. I say, the Silver of the one, must be esteemed of equal value with the Corn of the other: the one being perhaps twenty Ounces and the other twenty Bushels. From whence it follows, that the price of a Bushel of this Corn to be an Ounce of Silver.' (Petty 1662, 43)
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It is men's cost of living that is calculated here, leaving out that of women.\(^{100}\) It seems that Petty was caught here in a set of social concepts that prevented him from following through what he planned to do: to base his reasoning on facts and numbers only. Later on in section 5.2.5, on the impact on economic reasoning, we see how Petty computes the value of land in terms of products of labor in the *Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1672).

References to gender structure
Consider all this against the background of a society in which gender relations and the organization of the family were changing from an extended family into a smaller unit, the nuclear family.

The debate on the relative strength of the position of women in pre-capitalist society compared to the early capitalist period has not yet been concluded. Alice Clark indicates in her description of the working life of women in the seventeenth century that women played a pronounced role in and made a substantial contribution to farming, manufacturing and other professions (Clark 1919). The assignment of 'domestic tasks' and 'production' was sex-based, and in the organization of agricultural work, specific tasks were allotted to the wife (Tribe 1978, 55). The sex of the worker also provided the basis for the distinction between skilled and unskilled work (Wiesner 1993, 84). Although women and men often worked together in farming, household work and spinning were generally considered to be women's work. Women's right to run a business was limited to special trades, such as fishmongers at the market, and to special situations, such as that in which a widow inherited her husband's business.

In Petty's texts, where he speaks of 'the value of land' and 'agricultural production', these are seen as the result of men's work. In the process, women's and other dependents' contributions become implicitly assigned to the man and the costs of reproduction are overlooked. Only very occasionally and incidentally does Petty acknowledge that men have children who need food and clothing, without however including this in his theorizing.\(^{101}\) Like many of his contemporaries, Petty overlooks women's existence and their generative and economic productive contribution, thus leaving them out of his theorization.

References to individual gender
In the Renaissance and later, the sex/gender distinction applied shifted from being perceived predominantly in relation to generation, towards a notion in which the sex of a person determined the whole organism (including the liver, bones and brain). Women and men became increasingly perceived as complementary to one another, as forming together one individual (Schiebinger 1989). This was supported by the developments then going on in disciplines such as medicine.

Petty's texts, however, ascribe certain tasks - rather than features - to women (and men), and thus seem to apply a rather traditional, pre-modern view of individual gender that limits the importance of the gender distinction to the distribution of (re)productive tasks.

\(^{100}\) See also Klant 1987.

\(^{101}\) Women and children are sometimes perceived as a burden: 'some poor, though stubborn, stiffnecked Refuser, [who is, EK] charged with Wife and Children' (Petty 1662, 33).
5.2.5 The impact on economic reasoning

How does the use of gender notions impact on Petty's perception of economic reality? What can we say on this subject while making use of what was indicated above? I shall discuss these issues in reference to pages 180-183 of *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1672) where Petty discusses his concept of value, which is at the core of his economic theory (see Appendix 5.1 to this section).

In these pages Petty makes two distinct computations of the yield of land. The first way of computing the natural value of land includes A) the acres of every parish, and B) the total of produced commodities such as butter and corn over a period of three years. In order to be able to obtain these values, Petty proposes to estimate the number of people living there and the value of their housing minus the wages of 'working people'. Thus first the production of land and labor are counted together in the amount of goods produced, then the number of people and the value of the houses is used to estimate the value of these goods, from which the value of the land is to be derived. The contribution of women, children and the elderly to production is thus either ascribed to the husband or laborer or to hired people.

The second computation is of a more quantitative and hypothetical character (see quote C. in Appendix 5.1). The language becomes more generalized, referring to 'Men' and 'Man' only. First the independent contribution of the land (including that of the calf) is stated. First he remarks that 'some Men will eat more than others, is not material, since by a days food we understand 1/100 part of what 100 of all Sorts and Sizes will eat, as to Live, Labour, and Generate.' (1672, 181, quote D) Petty deals here however, with men, as he subsequently establishes his measure of value containing 'the days of food of an adult Man, at a Medium, and not the days labour, is the common measure of Value, and seems to be as regular and constant as the value of fine Silver.' (Petty 1672, 181) The average number of the days of food of an adult man however, is not the average of those who work in husbandry and elsewhere, at most it is the average consumption of what he conceives of as 'labourers', i.e. adult male individuals.

Petty subsequently turns to finding 'a Par and Equation between Art and Simple Labour' and 'between drudging Labour, and Favour, Power, Authority &c.', in terms of exchange value (Petty 1672, 182). Then he returns 'to the matter in hand' (the finding of a par between land and labor). On this he finally states that the quantity of commodities produced shows the effects of the land, the first being measured by the number of people and the quality of housing (which gives an indication of the value of their food). These however depend in turn on the value of land, the value of which Petty ultimately admits that he 'is not yet able to furnish' (Petty 1672, 183, quote E). Land as producer of value is thus left aside. The laborer becomes central as the producer, and his days of food and labor are posited as the 'common measure of Value' (see also Roll 1938, 104).

5.2.6 Conclusions

In the above discussion on Petty's texts, it was shown that Petty applies a biological concept of gender; women and men are addressed as different groups of people to whom specific tasks are (implicitly) ascribed. The focus is on men and their activities.

Petty makes use of the practice of tax levy that counts men only. He confirms and reproduces the gendered nature of the notions of 'Man', reducing women to men; and he subsequently reduces women's work (such as cooking, washing clothes, spinning, keeping
house and taking care of the children and their work on the land) to that of men (or hired labor). These perceptions of gender at different levels sometimes contradict, but mostly strengthen one another. He makes use of established gender notions as introduced by Hobbes and Bacon, without however acknowledging the ambiguity concerning gender that used to go with it. Instead, these concepts are posited and applied as if they were uniform in meaning. All in all Petty's use of gender has considerable impact on the content and organization of economic concepts and accounts articulated in these texts, not in the least where it concerns his conceptualization of value.
assur'd by whom, and for what ends, and by what means every such Valuations and Inquisitions were respe&vively
made, had rather attempt some Rule in nature, whereby to
value and proportionate the Lands of Ireland: The first
whereof I propose to be; That how many Men, Women and
Children live in any Country Parish, that the Rent of that
Land is near about so many times 15.1 be the quantity ||
and quality of the Land what it will. 2. That in the
meanest of the 160 M. Cabbins, one with another are five
Souls, in the 24,000 six Souls. In all the other Houses Ten
a piece, one with another.

The TABLE.

BUT to make nearer approaches to the perfection of this
Work, 'twould be expedient to know the Content of
Acres of every Parish, and withal, what quantity of Butter,
Cheese, Corn, and Wooll, was raised out of it for three years
consequent; for thence the natural Value of the Land may
be known, and by the number of People living within a
Market-days Journey, and the Value of their housing, which
shews the Quality and Expence of the said People; I would
hope to come to the knowledge of the Value of the said
Commodities, and consequently the Value of the Land, by
deducting the hire of Working-People in it. And this brings
me to the most important Consideration in Political Oc-
eonomies, viz. how to make a Par and Equation between
Lands and Labour, so as to express the Value of any thing
by either || alone. To which purpose, suppose two Acres of Pasture-land inclosed, and put thereinto a wean'd Calf, which
I suppose in twelve Months will become 1 C. heavier in
etable Flesh; then 1 C. weight of such Flesh, which I
suppose fifty days Food, and the Interest of the Value of the
Calf, is the value or years Rent of the Land. But if a man's
labour ———— for a year can make the said Land to
yield more than sixty days Food of the same, or of any other
kind, then that overplus of days food is the Wages of the
Man; both being expressed by the number of days food.
That some Men will eat more than others, is not material,
since by a days food we understand the part of what 100 of
all Sorts and Sizes will eat, so as to Live, Labour, and
Generate. And that a days food of one sort, may require
more labour to produce, than another sort, is also not
material, since we understand the easiest-gotten food of the
respective Countries of the World.

As for example, I suppose a pint of Oatmeal equal to half
a pint of Rice, or a quart of Milk, or a pound of Bread, or a
pound and quarter of Flesh, &c. each, in the respective place
where each is the || easiest gotten food. But if Rice be 65
brought out of Ireland into Ireland, or Oatmeal carried from
Ireland thither; then in India the pint of Oatmeal must be
dearer than half a pint of Rice, by the freight and hazard of
Carriage, & vice-versa, & sic de ceteris. For, as for pleasant
tast, I question whether there be any certainty, or regularity
of the same in Nature, the same depending upon Novelty,
option of Virtue, the recommendation of others, &c. Where-
fore the days food of an adult Man, at a Medium, and not
the days labour, is the common measure of Value, and seems
to be as regular and constant as the value of fine Silver.
For an ounce, suppose, of Silver in Peru is equivalent to a
days food, but the same in Russia is equivalent to four days

1 S omits 'there.'
food, by reason of the Freigh, and hazard in carrying the same from Peru to Russia; and in Russia the price of Silver shall grow to be worth more days labour, if a Workman can by the esteem and request of Silver Utensils earn more than he can on other materials. Wherefore I valued an Irish Cabbin at the number of days food, which the Maker spent in building of it. ||

By the same way we must make a Par and Equation between Art and Simple Labour; for if by such Simple Labour I could dig and prepare for Seed a hundred Acres in a thousand days; suppose then, I spend a hundred days in studying a more compendious way, and in contriving Tools for the same purpose; but in all that hundred days dig nothing, but in the remaining nine hundred days I dig two hundred Acres of Ground; then I say, that the said Art which cost but one hundred days Invention is worth one Mans labour for ever; because the new Art, and one Man, perform'd as much as two Men could have done without it.

By the same way we make an Equation between Art and Opinion. For if a Picture-maker, suppose, make Pictures at 5l. each; but then, find that more Persons would employ him at that rate than his time would extend to serve them in, it will certainly come to pass that this Artist will consider whether as many of those who apply to him at 5l. each Picture, will give 6l. as will take up his whole time to accommodate and upon this Computation he pitcheth the Rate of his Work. ||

By the same way also an Equation may be made between drudging Labour, and Favour, Acquaintance, Interest, Friends, Eloquence, Reputation, Power, Authority, &c. All which I thought not amiss to intimate as of the same kind with finding an Equation between Land and Labour, all these not very pertinent to the Proportionation of the several Counties of Ireland.

Wherefore to return to the matter in hand, I say, that the Quantity of Commodity produced, and the Quantity of the shews the effects of the Land; and the number of People living thereupon, with the Quality of their housing, shews the Value of the Commodity; for one days delicate and exquisit Food may be worth ten of ordinary. Now the Nature of Peoples feeding may be estimated by the visible part of their Expence, which is their housing. But such helps of knowing the Value of Lands, I am not yet able to furnish. ||

[CHAPTER X.]

Of the Money of Ireland.

Money is understood to be the uniform Measure and Rule for the Value of all Commodities. But whether in that sense there be any Money, or such Rule in the World, I know not, much less in Ireland, tho most are perswaded that Gold and Silver Money is such. For 1. The proportion of value between pure Gold and fine Silver, alters as the Earth and Industry of Men produce more of one than of the other; that is to say, Gold has been worth but twelve times its own weight in Silver; of late it has been worth fourteen, because more Silver has been gotten. That of Gold proportionally, i.e. about twelve times as much Silver has been raised as of Gold, which makes Gold dearer. So there can be but one of the two Metals of Gold and Silver to be a fit matter for Money. Wherefore, if Silver be that one Metal fit for Money; then Gold is but a Commodity very like Money. And as things now stand, Silver only is the matter of Money; and that elsewhere as well as in Ireland. ||

2. The value of Silver rises and falls it self; for Men make Vessels of coyned Silver, if they can gain by the Workmanship enough to defray the Destruction of the Coynage, and withal, more than they could expect by employing the same Silver as Money in a way of Trade. Now the Accidents of so doing, make Silver rise and fall, and consequently take from the perfect Aptitude for being an uniform steady Rule and Measure of all other things.
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5.3 Texts by Adam Smith

5.3.1 Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments and Wealth of Nations

Taking a large step in the history of economic thought, I now turn to texts by Adam Smith, published about a century after those of William Petty. During this century British society changed substantially and the position of science and the social and academic perceptions of gender changed with it.


The book starts with a discussion of propriety, more specifically with an explanation of sympathy and the way judgments of conduct are made. Smith stresses the importance of sympathy: the propensity of humans to put themselves in other people's shoes in order to understand their feelings and judge their conduct. Smith considers sympathy to be limited to the extent that identification with the passions of the other person is possible. When for instance, these passions are too vehement, it is impossible to 'follow' them or 'enter' them, which will lead to a negative judgement of such conduct. Men, according to Smith, will therefore modify their behavior to enable others to enter into their feelings and to induce a positive judgement in others about their conduct. Since the love and praise of one's fellow men are important aims for most people, men will strive for mediocrity in passions and for propriety. Society enables men to adjust their feelings, since in society there are other people, who will 'mirror' and judge one's behavior. At the end of Part I, Smith distinguishes two kinds of virtues: the soft and amiable virtues such as humanity, and the virtues of self-denial and self-government. While the former is considered as 'mere propriety' and the latter as a virtue that has to be striven for, both are considered essential in order to arrive at the perfection of human nature.

After the discussion of various sorts of passions in Part II, Smith deals with ambition, ranks, vanity, the causes of approbation and disapprobation and how to achieve the respect of one's fellow men. As an elaboration of the latter aspects, Smith discusses merit and demerit, more specifically the legitimate basis for reward and punishment. In the distinction made between merit and demerit and judgements made here, sympathy with the motives of the agent who acts provides the main foundation (TMS II.i.5.1). Though society will flourish

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102 I use the 1984 reprint of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith edited by Raphael & Macfie [1976].
104 The fourth edition of the TMS has as a subtitle: 'An Essay towards an Analysis of the Principles by which Men Naturally Judge Concerning the Conduct and Character, First of Their Neighbours and Afterwards of Themselves' (see Raphael 1975)
105 Propriety (decency) consists in Smith's view of a mediocrity of passions (TMS I.ii.intro.1).
106 Sympathy is very broadly defined by Smith as 'our fellow-feeling with any passion whatever.' (TMS I.i.1.5)
107 Humanity, the common quality of fellow-feeling: being kind, thoughtful, sympathetic to other people. Smith states about this virtue that it 'requires, surely, a sensibility, much beyond what is possessed by the rude vulgar of mankind.' (TMS I.i.5.6)
CHAPTER 5: A GENDER READING OF PETTY AND SMITH

when benevolence\textsuperscript{108} between its members flourishes, it cannot subsist when justice is absent. Justice in turn cannot be achieved by the gentle virtues but has to be maintained by more forceful means. Although justice has its rules, and men strive for praise, fortune is unpredictable and compels men to face up to disaster.

Having discussed the foundation of the judgements of others, Smith turns in Part III to the foundation of self-judgement, and the sense of duty. In this part, Smith explains the construction of the 'impartial spectator' and stresses the importance of praise-worthiness over praise. He makes a distinction between the person who is praised and the one who is praiseworthy. The man who is praiseworthy is he, who does not merely adjust his behavior, considering the judgements of his fellow men, but mainly considers his own (high) standards and identifies with the impartial spectator. Smith describes the impartial spectator as:

'\textit{his inmate of the breast, this abstract man, the representative of mankind and substitute of the Deity, whom nature has constituted the supreme judge of all their actions...}' (TMS III.2.31n)

It is identification with the impartial spectator which makes man the immediate judge of his fellow men, because it gives the perspective not of an interested agent, but instead of a third instance, 'the demi-god with-in'. Smith allows for various attachments in the private sphere; he would sooner censure a man who appears insensible to his children or to the death of his father, than those who show too much feeling. Subsequently, he discusses self-command, the opposite of weakness, and how to achieve it. Smith propagated this entire scheme as a set of general moral rules, or a sense of duty, which by repeated assertion and application in society become internalized, helping men to refrain from despicable behavior and to be trustworthy. Subsequently Smith declares these general moral rules to be the 'laws of the Deity' or general rules prescribed by 'the vicegerents of God within us' (TMS III.5.6).

Smith discusses in Part IV and V the effects of utility and of custom, which seem to go against these general rules, but in Smith's view do not. In Part VI Smith discusses in more detail 'Of the Character of Virtue' and describes the features of 'the prudent man'. Here Smith deals first with the individual in relation to other people, his children, parents and friends, and then his relation to the nation. Finally, he discusses benevolence at a universal level and finishes his treatise with a full chord on self-command.

The last part, Part VII, contains Smith's lectures on systems of moral philosophy. He discusses here the views of the Greek philosophers Aristotle, Plato and Zeno (the Stoics) and more contemporary philosophers like Hutcheson, Hume and Mandeville.

\textit{An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations}, a text of almost 1000 pages, consists of six books that address issues ranging from the importance of the division of labor, theories of value and of capital, to economic development, economic political systems and fiscal policies.

The WN differs in various and fundamental ways from the TMS. The TMS posits man as capable of humanity and sympathy. The WN, however, regards common people as

\textsuperscript{108} Benevolence can be described as affections, which aim at the happiness of others. (TMS VII.ii.intro.3)
purely self-interested. Where the TMS applies a dialogical manner of speech, the style of the WN is monologic (see Brown 1994). Where the TMS addresses nature as an active and didactic force, the WN applies mechanical metaphors and investigates the social system in terms of an abstract mechanism such as the invisible hand. The way and extent to which the WN differs from the TMS has prompted many economic historians to try and tackle 'the Adam Smith problem': to explain how and in what way these texts are related. Without aiming to solve this issue here, the TMS is here considered as prior to the WN in the sense that in the TMS Smith defined his view on morality and masculine identity, while the WN takes this as a given and a starting point from which to address the public economic realm.

Although it is of course impossible to do justice to such a large and rich work as the WN in this context, let me give a rough summary of the text that will enable me to discuss some of the main elements of the work. The WN starts with a discussion of production and distribution. Smith begins his treatise with 'the improvement of productive powers by the division of labour'. The division of labor in the manufacturing shop is starting point of his analysis (his example of the pin factory is well known). Smith bases his value theory on the productivity of labor (its use value and its exchange value). In his price theory, he sees the use of land, capital and labor as the three main sources of revenue.

Book II contains Smith's theory of capital and his distinction between productive and unproductive labor. He defines the first as labor that 'adds value to the subject upon which it is bestowed [...] that of his own maintenance, and of his master's profit.' (WN, II.iii.1) The labor of manual servants is thus perceived as unproductive and women's reproductive work is excluded. Smith's capital theory perceives capital mainly as stock.

Books III, IV and V address the development and progress of nations and social economic systems. Smith discusses here in succession the communities of hunters and of shepherds, the mercantile and commercial societies and the social and economic changes that accompany progress and growth between these stages.

Book VI deals in great detail with government policies on taxation and debt. As elsewhere, Smith shows here extensive knowledge of a number of countries, their economic practices and wealth. Let me mention here in passing Smith's lengthy plea for a standing army.

In the WN Smith constructs society as a coherent system, a machine in which the behavior of the separate parts - i.e. individuals who act out of self-interest - together produces a harmonic unity and promotes the wealth of the nation, even if there is no intention to do so. Government should refrain from interference as much as possible. In this process, according to Smith, it is the division of labor in particular that makes the growth of production and wealth possible.

5.3.2 Use of sex/gender distinction and perceptions of gender

Feminist economic analyses of Adam Smith's work address his perception of gender and describe his use of masculine perspective on specific topics.\textsuperscript{109} Nancy Folbre indicates that Smith perceives gender inequality as ordained by God and nature, and points out his attachment to the sexual double standard that describes chastity as a specifically female obligation (Folbre 1992). The approach here applied addresses Smith's use of gender in a

broader sense and questions Smith's use of sex/gender distinction and the perspective he takes.

As we follow Smith's texts, the use of a biological concept of gender in both the TMS and the WN can now, after our analysis of Petty's texts, be established without too much difficulty. Like Petty, Smith distinguishes between women and men and ascribes different tasks to each group. Reference is made to men's occupations\textsuperscript{10}, to manhood\textsuperscript{11}, to male family members\textsuperscript{112} in the TMS, and to farmers, laborers, journeymen etc. in the WN (see also Pujol 1992). In the WN the laborer is regarded as a male person, he is stated to have a 'wife and family, whom he must maintain out of his wages at home' (see e.g. WN I.x.b.31) The impossibility in many cases of replacing 'men' with 'women' makes it highly unlikely that Smith is speaking here of women as well as of men.\textsuperscript{113} At the same time women, or 'the fair sex',\textsuperscript{114} are considered as significantly different from men.\textsuperscript{115}

'To talk to a woman as we would to a man is improper: it is expected that their company should inspire us with more gaiety, more pleasantry, and more attention; and an intire insensibility to the fair sex, renders a man contemptible in some measure even to the men.' (TMS I.ii.1.2, emphases added, EK)

Women are scarcely present, and are even absent in those instances where they might be expected to be the subject of discussion as, for instance, in the passage on the relationship between parent and child.\textsuperscript{116} On these and similar topics, Smith refrains from discussing the role of the mother or simply leaves her out.\textsuperscript{117} In the WN the differences between men are considered to 'arise not so much from nature, as from habit, custom, and education'. (WN I.ii.4) At the same time, women are perceived as different, and therefore have an education

\begin{footnotes}
\item 10 Wise and judicious conduct, when directed to greater and nobler purposes than the care of the health, the fortune, the rank and reputation of the individual, is frequently and very properly called prudence. We talk of the prudence of the great general, of the great statesman, of the great legislator. (TMS VI.i.15) 'A wise man should surely be capable of doing what a good soldier holds himself at all times in readiness to do.' (TMS VI.ii.3.4)

\item 11 Death, too, is just as proper a termination of old age, as is youth is of childhood, or manhood of youth.' (TMS VII.ii.1.37)

\item 12 The most virtuous of all affections, therefore, was that which embraced as its object the happiness of all intelligent beings. The least virtuous, on the contrary, of those to which the character of virtue could in any respect belong, was that which aimed no further than at the happiness of an individual, such as a son, a brother, a friend.' (TMS VII.ii.3.10)

\item 13 See e.g. where Smith speaks of a soldier for whom '[t]he loss of a leg may generally be regarded as a more real calamity than the loss of a mistress.' (TMS I.i.1.7)

\item 14 See also Rendall (1987) who argues that Smith addresses women as dependent and vulnerable beings, whose main task is to stay at home and take care of the children.

\item 15 See for instance the following two quotes from the TMS: 'Anger against a man is, no doubt, somewhat different from anger against a woman, and that again from anger against a child.' (TMS VII.iii.3.13) or 'The friendship which we conceive for a man is different from that with which a woman affects us, even where there is no mixture of any grosser passion.' (TMS VII.iv.4)

\item 16 'A father is apt to be less attached to a child, who, by some accident, has been separated from him in its infancy, and who does not return to him till it is grown up to manhood.' (TMS VI.ii.1.8)

\item 17 'After himself, the members of his own family, those who usually live in the same house with him, his parents, his children, his brothers and sisters, are naturally the objects of his warmest affections.' (TMS VI.ii.1.2)
\end{footnotes}
that renders 'them both likely to become the mistresses of a family, and to behave properly when they have become such'. (WN V.i.f.47). Smith thus not only ascribes different tasks to women and men just as Petty did, but also different characteristics and features to both sexes to a point where 'the fair sex' almost becomes another species. Like Petty, Smith applies a masculine perspective in that he focuses on men and their activities. More so than in Petty's texts, women have become invisible and are excluded from consideration.

Perceptions of gender relations

The masculine perspective in Smith's text contains not just a view on matters from a man's point of view, but also embraces a negative perception of women as, for instance, where he discusses the passions. Smith regards the passions as excited by 'objects peculiarly related to ourselves'. (TMS I.ii.intro.1) In this perception, a passion for a woman is excited by the woman, who is the object of that passion. The passions that have their origin either in the body or in the imagination must be controlled and dominated, so it becomes possible for others to 'enter them', to sympathize with them. Where passions felt by men for women have their origin mainly in the body, Smith considers it difficult to sympathize with the feelings of the man in love, and he refers to this kind of love as an indecent passion. Though men who give in to such feelings are in no high esteem with Smith, he applies their perspective (the use of 'we'), articulating his contempt for the object of these men's love: women who are here literally looked upon as dirt.

When we have dined, we order the covers to be removed; and we should treat in the same manner the objects of the most ardent and passionate desires, if they were the objects of no other passions but those which take their origin from the body.' (TMS I.ii.1.3)

Smith feels more for the man whose love is of an imaginary kind. This kind of feeling however,

'appears to every body, but the man who feels it, entirely disproportioned to the value of the object [the woman, EK]; and love, though it is pardoned in a certain age because we know it is natural, is always laughed at, because we cannot enter into it.' (TMS I.ii.2.1)

Women are never focalizers; they are described as property or examples of vice and

118 The adulterer 'imagines he does no evil, when he corrupts the wife of his friend, provided he covers his intrigue from the suspicion of the husband, and does not disturb the peace of the family. When once we begin to give way to such refinements, there is no enormity so gross of which we may not be capable.' (TMS III.6.10) Or where Smith discusses the difference between an attempted but failed crime and a crime carried through: 'The attempt to seduce a married woman is not punished at all, though seduction is punished severely.' (TMS II.iii.2.4)

119 As in: 'A woman who paints [to conceal her ugliness, A.S.], could derive, one should imagine, but little vanity from the compliments that are made her complexion. [...] To be pleased with such groundless applause is a proof of the most superficial levity and weakness. It is what is properly called vanity, and is the foundation of the most ridiculous and contemptible vices, the vices of
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weakness or in relation to their (loss of) virginity and chastity (see also Folbre 1992). As we have seen, Smith elsewhere distinguishes sharply between women and men and their experience. Notwithstanding his use of a biological concept of gender and his description of the workings of sympathy as quoted above (TMS I.ii.2.1), Smith regards his conceptualization of sympathy as being of universal validity, also in the extreme case where:

'[a] man may sympathize with a woman in child-bed; though it is impossible that he should conceive himself as suffering her pains in his own proper person and character.' (TMS VII.iii.1.4)

Though positing women's experience as different from men's, Smith does not acknowledge it as distinct. Instead, he claims that all experience is accessible to men, even in instances where men are never to have any.

5.3.3 Intertextuality of Smith's texts

David D. Raphael, one of the editors of the TMS, indicates that the views articulated in the TMS were not particularly novel but together formed an ingenious and coherent perception of the moral agent, which as such could form the basis for the Wealth of Nations (Raphael 1975). Moreover, others such as Roll (1938) describe the TMS and WN as texts in which various conceptual and theoretical developments, as articulated by predecessors and contemporaries of Smith, come together (see also Taylor 1989, 286). This is highly relevant when considering the use of gender in these texts. The various lines of thought thus brought together contain to various degrees implicit and explicit gender meanings that are furthered and strengthened by Smith. How this occurs and what these gender meanings contain, will be discussed in this section by focusing on the intertextuality of Smith's texts. After having discussed Smith's position in the academic tradition, I address the use of and reference to traceable texts, the genre conventions applied, and the references to culture texts, to established scientific notions, in the TMS and WN.

affectation and common lying; follies which, if experience did not teach us how common they are, one should imagine the least spark of common sense would save us from.' (TMS III.2.4)

120 This comes to the fore for instance where Smith discusses 'time, the great and universal comforter, [who] gradually composes the weak man to the same degree of tranquillity which a regard to his own dignity and manhood teaches the wise man to assume in the beginning.' To reinforce his argument he states a little later that 'time, however, in a longer or shorter period, never fails to compose the weakest woman to the same degree of tranquillity as the strongest man.' (TMS III.3.32).

121 As in '[a] woman of gallantry laughs even at the well-founded surmises which are circulated concerning her conduct. The worst founded surmise of the same kind is a mortal stab to an innocent virgin.' (TMS III.2.13)

122 In Smith's discussion of philosophical systems, when he comes to the casuists he states that 'the violations of chastity in the fair sex, a virtue of which, for the like reasons, we are excessively jealous; [... ] Breach of chastity dishonours irretrievably. No circumstances, no solicitation can excuse it; no sorrow, no repentance alone for it. We are so nice in this respect that even a rape dishonours, and the innocence of the mind cannot, in our imagination, wash out the pollution of the body.' (TMS VII.iv.13)
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Smith's academic position

Smith was the first academic political economist, a circumstance that enabled him to attain a much higher degree of systematic thinking than his predecessors (Roll 1938, 142). He studied from 1737 until 1740 at the University of Glasgow. Although his teacher Hutcheson had already made a connection between moral and economic issues, political economy only emerged later as a distinct science, relatively late compared to physics, mathematics and political philosophy.₁²³

Having received a scholarship, Smith went to Oxford to study to become a clergyman in the Church of England (Meyers 1983, 93). Here Smith was confronted - unlike Petty - with a fully-developed English academia, which was, however, showing signs of stagnation. Disappointed in the closed and 'unadventurous atmosphere' in Oxford (Ross 1995, 70), Smith returned to Scotland in 1746, where he encountered a Scottish academic community that was open to new ideas and developments and the various academic societies and clubs provided fertile ground for Smith's ideas.₁²⁴

Smith decided against a career in the Church of England and started on a series of lectures at the University of Edinburgh. Here, according to Smith, 'the rivalry of competitors, who are all endeavoring to justle one another out of employment, obliges every man to endeavour to execute his work with a certain degree of exactness.' (WN V.i.f.4, quoted in Ross 1995, 87) In 1751 he was appointed Professor of Logic at the University of Glasgow, where he was later appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1752.

Smith went to Paris as tutor to the Duke of Buccleuch from 1764 to 1766, where he met many eminent scholars of his time, among them the Physiocrats Quesnay and Turgot. The death of his pupil led to his return to Scotland, and left him with a pension that enabled him to devote his full attention to writing (Roll 1938, 142).

Smith worked on successive editions of The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759) during the rest of his life. He completed the last, 6th edition of the TMS two years before his death in 1790. The TMS made him famous, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations made him a legend: the book was sold out within six months (Ross 1995). Smith was inspired by his predecessors such as Newton, Reid, Descartes, and contemporaries like Hume, Hutcheson, Rousseau. Ross, his biographer, concludes that 'Smith's aim was that of the Enlightenment: to create a cosmopolitan culture fed from the classics, and the modern languages and literatures of Europe, and from what could be learned from the cultures, including aboriginal ones, of other continents.' (Ross 1995, 94)

Traceable texts

Concerning references to traceable texts, Smith is fairly explicit in the TMS on his indebtedness to Hume, Hutcheson and other predecessors. While both Hume and Hutcheson held rather positive views on women, their characteristics and their potentialities, Smith is, in comparison, more negative about the family, women and wives (Rendall 1987, 71).

₁²³ Thomas Malthus was appointed to the first professorship in political economy in 1805 in Britain (Flew 1985).
₁²⁴ The Political Economy Club in Glasgow, the Philosophical Society in Edinburgh, the Select Society and the Poker Club to name a few. Smith became a Fellow of the Royal Society 21 May 1767 (Ross 1995).
Smith mostly (and often from memory) refers to Ancient Greek literature including authors such as Seneca, Plato, and Aristotle. It might very well be his thorough education and interest in the classic philosophers that induces Smith to be silent on women in his texts: Plato, for instance, saw women as being inferior in reason and virtue to men (see e.g. Okin 1979, 1982, Spelman 1983) and Aristotle posited the male as the real father, as the one who contributes the human soul to a newborn child (Lange 1983, 11).

Smith's use of traceable texts in the WN is incidental where it concerns his indebtedness to his predecessors and contemporary economists. One of the few economists he refers to is Richard Cantillon, who is cited on the issue of the necessary wage 'of the lowest species of labor'. We see here that Smith molds here the phrase of Cantillon to his view on the family, by adding a phrase to it.

'Mr. Cantillon seems, upon this account, to suppose that the lowest species of common laborers must every where earn at least double their own maintenance, in order that one with another they may be enabled to bring up two children; the labor of the wife, on account of her necessary attendance on the children, being supposed no more than sufficient to provide for herself.' (WN, I.viii.15, emphasized phrase added by Smith to Cantillon's remark)

Cantillon's original text states that he does not take into account the costs of the wife, as she is supposed to take care of herself (Cantillon 1755). The husband is assumed to carry the financial burden for the children. The text of the WN continues by calculating the husband's work and wage as based on the basis of the costs of one laborer and four children. Where instead, as Cantillon suggests, two children, Smith states the necessity of four children, because of the high rate of child mortality. The costs of these four children are perceived as equal to the wages of one man, and - similar to the value of the labour of an able-bodied slave - the wage of a laborer is stated as to equal more or less that of the costs of maintenance of two labourers (one man + four children). Smith speaks here of 'the labour of husband and wife together' but refrains from determining in what proportion, as he makes allowance for customary expense and for 'those things which the established rules of decency have rendered necessary to the lowest rank of people' (WN I.viii.15n). As the discussion proceeds, the wife is left out of the economic considerations: she is not perceived as depending on the husband - in which case the laborer would, in addition to the costs of four children, also have to earn her costs of living - neither is she accounted for as a laborer for her own income, in which case two kinds of laborers would need to be distinguished (the male laborer with four dependent children, and alongside him, an economically independent female laborer). The wife returns

125 'Je ne considère pas ici la dépense de la femme, je suppose que son travail suffit à peine pour son propre entretien, et lorsque'on voit un grand nombre de petits enfants dans un de ces pauvres ménages, je suppose que quelques personnes charitables contribuent quelque chose à leur subsistance, sans quoi il faut que le mari et la femme se privent d'une partie de leur nécessaire pour faire vivre leurs enfants.' (Cantillon 1755, 21-22)

126 Or as Smith puts it: 'A man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must even upon most occasions be somewhat more; otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family, and the race of workmen could not last beyond the first generation.' (WN I.viii.15)
again later in the considerations, where Smith discusses the distinction between necessities and luxuries, in relation to that of 'creditable people, even of the lowest order' (WN V.ii.k.3) as an extreme case.

The use of genre
Concerning the use of genre in Smith's texts we can say that both the TMS and WN have a much more narrative style than Petty's reports. Vivienne Brown points out the differences in style between the TMS and the WN (Brown 1994). The TMS has an open dialectical style. A shift in tone can be indicated through the TMS from a more positive open discussion on sympathy (Chapter I) towards a more normative way of stating arguments. Smith uses in 'Of the Character of Virtue' (Chapter VI) all kinds of stereotypes and normative images such as 'the wise man', 'the proud and vain man', etc, and stresses the importance of self-command. The WN has a monologic, didactic style that claims access to one coherent reality (Brown 1994).

References to culture texts
Building his impressive system of thought, Smith makes extensive use of established scientific notions or 'culture texts', which are gendered in various ways. Where Petty made use of only a few gendered established concepts and metaphors from scientific practice, the TMS and WN apply a range of dichotomies from established scientific disciplines. Next to the standardized conceptualization of the relation between 'Man' and 'Nature', and between ratio and emotions, the relation between state and subject, references and use are also made of dichotomies such as public-private. The gendered character of these dichotomies has been discussed at great length elsewhere. These were shown to be articulated in reference to notions of masculinity and femininity and defined as hierarchical and asymmetrical opposites.

Considering the relation 'Man' - 'Nature', we see that nature is consistently referred to as female. The conceptualization of Nature by Newton, who was an important source for Smith, has been described by many (see e.g. Cohen 1994, Dijksterhuis 1950, Merchant 1980, Wertheim 1995). In his scientific work Nature was conceptualized as a passive entity and as female. In Smith's TMS Nature figures as an active force. It is here an entity that frequently takes the role of tutor, that on the one hand teaches 'Man' its laws and rules and helps him to misunderstandings.

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127 In the sixth chapter of 'Of the Character of Virtue' (Chap. VI), many paragraphs start with lines such as 'The wise and virtuous man directs his principal attention...' (TMS VI.iii.25); 'It is otherwise with the man of excessive self-estimation' (TMS VI.iii.32); 'The proud man is sincere' (TMS VI.iii.35).
128 Grapard mentions that for Smith the boundaries of the economics discipline were being stated already and that Political Economy was part of an episteme that was already well ahead in the process of structuring itself by gendered dichotomies (Grapard 1993).
129 Smith makes use of and frequently refers to Newton's work. Campbell indicates Isaac Newton's (1643-1727) work on scientific method as one of the major influences on Smith's work (Campbell 1971).
130 See e.g. John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690), A. Ashley Shaftesbury, Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times (1711), David Hartley, Observations on Man (1749), Francis Hutcheson, A System of Moral Philosophy (1755), Lévesque de Pouilly, The Theory of Agreeable Sensations (1749), Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discours on Inequality (1755).
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mature, yet on the other hand must be conquered and controlled. The WN, as indicated earlier, employs mostly mechanical metaphors in which God plays an authoritative role, society being a great machine and God 'the great watchmaker'. Nature is here perceived as passive or dead, which was the more common view in physics at the time (Merchant 1980). Thus two rather different perceptions of gender appear.

The dichotomy between the state and the subject/ the family, as articulated by Hobbes and Locke, is regarded by Smith in both his TMS and the WN as established and as natural (see also Grapard 1995, Pujol 1992 and Rendall 1987). In Smith's economic treatises this dichotomy importantly figures as the distinction between the public and the private domain. During the years of conception of the TMS, the question of how to conceptualize the relation between the public and the private domain and the respective place of women and men was the subject of keen debate (e.g. Rousseau 1754). In the TMS Smith discusses at length the problem of how to involve men in the public interest, which is done by talking to them about their interests and preferences (see also Hirschman 1977, Tufts & Thompson 1898).

When the WN was published in 1776 the public-private dichotomy was already an established social gendered dichotomy. The WN focuses on the public realm, leaving aside the private realm (e.g. WN V.i.f). Moral considerations are perceived as private. Virtue and moral independence is in the short run to be attained by a select group of civilized men only. The behavior of most men is considered as motivated by self-interest and ruled by rules of justice, which together benefits the well-being of all.

The dichotomy between ratio and emotions, as postulated by Descartes - who saw ratio as universal and linked metaphorically to the masculine, while women were linked to the particular, to the body and the emotions (Bordo 1987) - returns in the TMS in the opposition.

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132 'Thus man is by Nature directed to correct, in some measure, that distribution of things which she herself would otherwise have made. The rules which for this purpose she prompts him to follow, are different from those which she herself observes. She bestows upon every virtue, and upon every vice, that precise reward or punishment which is best fitted to encourage the one, or to retrain the other. [...] The rules which she follows are fit for her, those which he follows for him: but both are calculated to promote the same great end, the order of the world, and the perfection and happiness of human nature.' (TMS III.5.9)

133 'In every part of the universe we observe means adjusted with the nicest artifice to the ends which they are intended to produce; and in the mechanism of a plant, or animal body, admire how every thing is contrived for advancing the two great purposes of nature, the support of the individual, and the propagation of the species. [...] The wheels of the watch are all admirably adjusted to the end for which it was made, the pointing of the hour. All their various motions conspire in the nicest manner to produce this effect.' (TMS II.i.3.5)

134 This may well be related to the ambiguity in Smith's perception of God, as the all-wise Author of Nature' (see e.g. TMS III.2.31n) and his use of the 'Natural Law tradition'. (see e.g. TMS III.2.6.)

135 'Upon this account political disquisitions, if just, and reasonable, and practicable, are of all the works of speculation the most useful. Even the weakest and the worst of them are not altogether without their utility. They serve at least to animate the public passions of men, and rouse them to seek out the means of promoting the happiness of the society.' (TMS IV.1.11)

136 Rendall indicates the link between Smith's articulation of the moral behavior of men and the separation of the public and private spheres, and the assignment of the domestic sphere to women. The market economy - part of the public domain - is thereby contrasted with the family - the private domain - which is perceived as 'the source of emotional and moral strength, of the natural feelings' (Rendall 1987, 71).
between the imagination and the individual passions. As indicated above, women are mainly discussed in relation to bodily passions. In the TMS it is the identification with the impartial spectator ('the father-within') that has to be constructed by the suppression of personal feelings and passions in order to attain manhood and tranquility.

In the WN however, the conflict between passion and reason is assumed to have been settled, as:

'[i]t is thus that the private interests and passions of individuals naturally dispose them to turn their stock towards the employments which in ordinary cases are most advantageous to the society.' (WN IV.vii.c.88)

Although more research is required on Smith's exact use of and reference to these gendered dichotomies, both the TMS and the WN make extensive use of these basic concepts and dichotomies that contain gender meanings. More specifically, in applying these dichotomies, the focus is on what was originally perceived as 'masculine' ('Man', 'the State/the Head of the household', 'Ratio' and 'the Public'). By concentrating on what was conceptualized as 'masculine' Smith furthers, strengthens and constructs a perception of masculinity and femininity that renders women and what is considered as 'feminine' invisible. His implicit notion of gender and of masculinity in particular importantly informs his notions of the agent and the setting of the subject's boundaries: the field of economic study.

Smith did not only build on his predecessors and contemporaries outside the discipline, but also on the work of those working within political economy. While Petty was still struggling with the par between production from the land and production from labor, Smith starts from the productivity of labor and elaborates the importance of the increasing division of labor for the growth of wealth. In doing so he takes the division of tasks in the household for granted, and elaborates first the division between productive and unproductive labor and then discusses the relative contribution of labor and capital (as stock) to output. Where Petty linked the value of labor to that of silver, Smith concludes that silver has no fixed value and states that the money price of labor changes with 'the demand for labor and the price of the necessaries and conveniencies of life' (WN I.viii.52). Here he first takes the perspective of the laborer in discussing his needs and behavior. When he considers the role of capital in the production process the perspective shifts to that of the manufacturer (see also van Leeuwen 1984). Now it is the variation in the price of labor that causes a problem that has to be solved. After a discussion on the content and workings of these two influences in which Smith assumes that they counterbalance one another (WN I.iii.56), he turns to the theorization of capital (Chapter II). This conceptual move does not have a specific gender base, but rather a class character. Whether and how this is linked to the naturalization of a perception of gender which posits the sexual division of labor as natural, requires a great deal more research than is possible in the context of this thesis.

I therefore continue here with addressing the following questions. In what manner do these perceptions of gender (and the economy) coincide with those of late eighteenth-century England? What use is made in these texts of social gender symbols, established social concepts, gender structure and perceptions of gender identity current in Smith's time?
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5.3.4 Contextuality of Smith's texts

Smith lived in a period of considerable social and economic change. During the years 1750-1790, Scottish society was changing from an agricultural to a manufacturing and early industrial society. For England this was the period of the Industrial Revolution and the country was on its way to attaining international hegemony. With the authority of the Church declining, society was desperately seeking a new basis for the relations between men and the nation state: a new social order (see e.g. Bordo 1987, Keller 1985). These social, economic and political changes were accompanied by a shift in worldview and a change in the relations between women and men. Various historians have distinguished two major parties or streams in this period, 'classical republicanism' and 'civic humanism' (or 'Country and Court', Pocock 1975) (see also Rendall 1987, Still 1997). Civic humanism was based on human rights and contract theories, and in classical republicanism 'citizenship was based on social institutions instead of abstract reason'. (Akkerman 1992, 2)

God as the source of power and authority shifted to the background, and 'Man' was increasingly perceived as a sovereign being and as the center of the universe. Tribe states that '[i]n fact, between the comprehensiveness of the two theses, God creates man, Nature produces surplus, the conception that man creates value and surplus is neatly affirmed and then denied. And these two theses were the ones that reigned over the discourse of the eighteenth century' (Tribe 1978, 91). At the same time, women and men became increasingly perceived as each other's opposite and hierarchical complement.

Smith's economic and social position

Smith's economic and social position can be described as one of professional and academic freedom, and at the same time one of social dependence. While men dominated the former sphere in Smith's life, the latter was the realm of women.

Smith was born in 1723, a few months after the death of his father. He was raised by his mother and by some uncles who took up the role of guardian. As a boy Smith wanted to join the army, but was prevented by bad health. His interest in army matters, however, remained throughout his life. Instead he became a professor of moral philosophy, and he acquired financial means and a sound position as a famous scholar. For the rest, he was not physically attractive and had a speech deficiency. Indeed, he was the prototype of the absent-minded professor, who was said to speak when he was alone and to keep silent when in company. He never married.

Socially he depended on his mother, Margaret Douglas, with whom he lived until her death in 1784, when Smith was 57. His niece, Janet Douglas, ran his household in Glasgow.

There is one phrase in the TMS that refers to the emotional relationship between a young child and its mother and that contains a surprising autobiographical note: 'What are the pangs of a mother, when she hears the moanings of her infant that during the agony of disease cannot express what it feels? In her idea of what it suffers, she joins, to its real helplessness, her own consciousness of that helplessness, and her own terrors for the unknown consequences of its disorder; and out of all these, forms, for her own sorrow, the most complete image of misery and distress. The infant, however, feels only the uneasiness of the present instant, which can never be great. With regard to the future, it is perfectly secure, and in its thoughtlessness and want of foresight, possesses an antidote against fear and anxiety, the great tormentors of the human breast, from which reason and philosophy will, in vain, attempt to defend it, when it grows up to a man.' (TMS I.i.1.12)
from 1754 until she died in 1788. Smith outlived her by only a few years.

Besides his mother and his niece at home, Smith met women only occasionally in his academic life. 'The publick schools and universities of Europe were originally intended only for the education of a particular profession, that of churchmen [...] yet they drew to themselves the education of almost all other people, particularly of almost all gentlemen and men of fortune.' (WN, V.i.f.35). At some universities such as Cambridge and Oxford, where Smith spent his adolescent years, women were not allowed on the premises and Fellows who married had to resign their fellowships. Women had no access to universities and scientific societies, which meant that in academia, in a social context in which prostitution was paramount (see e.g. Noble 1992), stereotypes respecting women easily flourished.

Smith's treatises on moral behavior and on the economy connect with the changing understanding of the power and authority of God vis-à-vis mankind, with the content and organization of socio-economic gender relations and with the changing perception of gender differences in those days. As indicated above, this is done from a masculine perspective and while addressing his male (and mostly unmarried) academic colleagues.

References to gender symbols
The TMS positions man in the center of the universe.

'The all-wise Author of Nature has, in this manner, taught man to respect the sentiments and judgements of his brethren; [...] He has made man, if I may say so, the immediate judge of mankind; and has, in this respect, as in many others, created him after his own image, and appointed him his vicegerent upon earth, to superintend the behaviour of his brethren.' (TMS III.2.31)

In accordance with tradition, Smith's texts refer to nature and fortune as female, as did, for instance, Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Shakespeare (1564-1616) before him. Though nature is generally perceived as a powerful provider of rules for living, both nature and fortune are also perceived as unreliable and sometimes even as hostile (Merchant 1980).

Though, as indicated above, Nature is still powerful in the TMS, in the WN Smith

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138 Short before her death, Smith wrote to an acquaintance: 'She still, however, continues to direct the affairs of her family with her usual distinctness and attention; and waits for the great change, which she knows is very near, without any impatience, without any fear, and without much regret. Her humour and raillery are the same as usual. She will leave me one of the most destitute and helpless men in Scotland.' (Ross 1995, 401)

139 Thomas Malthus, admitted as a fellow to Jesus College, Cambridge in 1793, had to resign when he married in 1804 (Flew 1970, 9).

140 Smith refers to fortune as having 'great influence over the moral sentiments of mankind, and, according as she is either favourable or adverse, can render the same character the object, either of general love and admiration, or of universal hatred and contempt. This great disorder in our moral sentiments is by no means, however, without its utility; [...].' (TMS VI.iii.30)

141 Machiavelli, in Il Principe (1532), addresses 'Fortune' as female and as capricious.

142 As in Shakespeare's Hamlet: G.: On Fortune's cap we are not the very button. H.: Nor the soles of her shoe? R.: Neither my lord. H.: Then you live about her waist, or in the middle of her favors? G.: Faith, her privates are we. H.: In the secret part of Fortune? O most true; she is a strumpet. What's the news?
places man and his labor (the market relations between men, productivity and the value determined on the market) in a central position. Smith was ahead of his time, or ideological in the sense that he described a system that replaced family relations by market relations, in a period in which family ties and farming traditions were still dominant.

References to established concepts
In the Scotland of Adam Smith, the social separation of the public and private sphere was the subject of debate, especially around 1755-60. While the TMS contributes to that debate, the WN takes it as settled, and the distinction between the public as the male realm and the private as the female realm as accepted, 'which made women's participation in politics seem obviously absurd and impossible' (Browne 1987, 136; see also Rendall 1987, Pujol 1992).

Smith's use of notions connected to civic humanism and commercial society are to be found in Smith's WN. His propagation of a standing army however, is more in line with the republican view on society, in which commercialism is seen as effeminate (Akkerman 1992, 19-20).

References to gender structure
The feudal family was fading in England, and especially in the upper and middle classes, women's tasks and responsibilities deteriorated, in the sense that their place and space was increasingly restricted to the house and their scope for economic activity became accordingly limited ((Macfarlane 1978, Rowbotham 1973). Instead of being partners in economic affairs, women and their work were increasingly confined to the home (Wiesner 1993). On the other hand, the increase in industrial activities also created new opportunities for women, especially the development of domestic industries (Simonton 1998). The growth of manufacturing and workshops increased the division between the home and the workplace, making women's economic contribution less obvious from the perspective of men. The customs regarding inheritance and marriage, which then became formalized in marriage laws, had negative consequences for women: when they married, women lost control of their property.¹⁴³ In contrast to upper-class men, upper-class women were excluded from the right to vote, to speak in public and to enter into contracts; lower-class women and men were excluded per se.

Smith appears to be taking up a position with regard to current changes and in the debate on gender relations. This comes to the fore when read Smith's statements on the importance of property, price, education, the division of labor and his definition of productivity against this background. His statements concern and define men's position, while in that same period these rights were increasingly denied to married women in the discussions around the Rights of Man and the constitution of national legislation and marriage laws (see e.g. Pott-Buter 1993).

Smith indicates for instance, man's ownership of his labor, his ability to work, as the foundation of all property.

¹⁴³ The eighteenth-century jurist Sir William Blackstone summed up the common law concerning marriage in England as 'In law husband and wife are one person, and the husband is that person.' (Holcombe 1983, 18)
CHAPTER 5: A GENDER READING OF PETTY AND SMITH

'The property which every man has in his own labor, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable.' (WN I.x.c.12)

Smith's statement is strongly put, speaking of 'the most sacred and inviolable': this description of the importance of property mirrors what was taken from married women in those days. Women's status and social and economic safety did not depend on their own toil, but on the status and power of their family. Women were legally dependent on men: on their father or brothers until they married, when all property was assigned to the husband.

Smith's definition of the real price of things is also of a gendered nature considering the fact that when women worked for pay, they were not supposed to keep these earnings.

'The real price of every thing, what every thing really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it.[...] What every thing is really worth to the man who has acquired it, and who wants to dispose of it or exchange it for something else, is the toil and trouble which it can save to himself, and which it can impose upon other people. What is bought with money or with goods is purchased by labour as much as what we acquire by the toil of our own body.' (WN I.v.2, emphasis added, EK)

As women were not allowed to keep the money they earned by their own hands, they were excluded from the new rights on property and contract and thus from participation in a large part of market-exchange activities. In his theorization of the real price of things, when he stresses the right to appropriate the results of toil and trouble taken, he is speaking of precisely that which was denied to women at the time. The stress he puts on the toil and trouble of 'our own body' indicates that the appropriation of the result of women's toil and trouble by men is not a conscious aim on his part, but rather the result of his specific perspective, his use of established social concepts and references to gender structure.

Smith took up a more explicit position in the then current debate on higher education for women. Where Smith stresses the importance of education for all men, he takes a swipe at women's education.

'There are no publick institutions for the education of women, and there is accordingly nothing useless, absurd, or fantastical in the common course of their education. They are taught what their parents or guardians judge it necessary or useful for them to learn; and they are taught nothing else. Every part of their education tends evidently to some useful purpose; either to improve the natural attractions of their person, or to form their mind to reserve, to modesty, to chastity, and to oeconomy: to render them both likely to become the mistresses of a family, and to behave properly when they have become such.' (WN V.i.f.47)

Rather than analytical, Smith's position is here distinctively normative.

The division of labor between men is, according to Smith, '[t]he greatest improvement

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144 See Rogers 1982.
in the productive powers of labor' (WN I.i.1). The sexual division of labor in the family, however, though a pre-condition for both the division of labor between men and the difference in social ranking between women and men, is hardly addressed, but posited as 'natural' (see also Pujol 1992).  

Smith touches upon this topic where he indicates the limited opportunities for division of labor in agriculture. In husbandry, the work was generally divided in men's work and women's work. Smith mentions this without, however, addressing the gendered character of this distinction.  

Of the work done by women on the farm, the work done around the house, the caring for children and spinning (see e.g. Wiesner 1993, 97-100, Simonton 1998), Smith mentions only spinning as work done by women.

'But our spinners are poor people, women commonly, scattered about in all different parts of the country, without support or protection... It is not by the sale of their work, but by that of the compleat work of the weavers, that our great master manufacturers make their profits.' (WN IV.viii.4)  

It is here that Smith explicitly denies that women's work is productive. Simonton (1998) states on this matter that the merchants transferred their industries to the countryside for reasons of finding 'cheap labor'. For these women and children '[t]he decisive marginal went underpaid, going primarily to the merchant as increased profit.' (Simonton 1998, 44) However, the productivity of their work is by Smith ascribed to that of the weavers (mostly men) who 'compleat their work', thus echoing Aristotle and his view of women as incomplete men. Smith's perception of gender plays a role here in the sense that it informs the way he makes distinctions, valuations and conceptualizations. Alertness to the gender context is important here: if the reader is unaware of the gender distinction underlying the sex segregation between weavers and spinners, this point could easily be overlooked.

Weaving and later also spinning shifted to the manufacturing workshops, where women and men initially worked together. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, with the rise of the bourgeois ideal of the non-working housewife, women were excluded from these workplaces (Wiesner 1993). It is men's productivity that Smith sees as adding value.  

Whereas Smith argues against the fact that the price of wool was kept artificially low by the prohibition of wool exports and other practices, he explains here the profits of the manufacturer by the labor of the weavers (and not by the low wages of the spinners).

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145 Pujol states that Smith uses the sexual division of labor - the basis of the social division of labor - as evident and as 'natural', and together with his definition of productive labor excludes women's activities from the (later) consideration of economists (Pujol 1992, 22-23).

146 'The spinner is almost always a distinct person from the weaver; but the ploughman, the harrower, the sower of the seed, and the reaper of the corn, are often the same.' (WN I.i.4)

147 'The spinning of linen yarn is carried on in Scotland nearly in the same way as the knitting of stockings, by servants who are chiefly hired for other purposes. They earn but a very scanty subsistence, who endeavour to get their whole livelihood by either of those trades. In most parts of Scotland she is a good spinner who can earn twenty-pence a week.' (WN I.x.b.51)

148 'There is one sort of labour which adds to the value of the subject upon which it is bestowed: There is another which has no such effect. The former, as it produces a value, may be called productive; the latter, unproductive labour. Thus the labour of a manufacturer adds, generally, to the value of the materials which he works upon, that of his own maintenance, and of his master's profit. The labour of a menial servant, on the contrary, adds to the value of nothing.' (WN II.iii.1)
The final point I wish to mention regarding Smith's notions of productivity in relation to his use of gender structure is the way Smith deals with servants (male and female) and production in and for the household. Postulating the produce of manufactures as productive, he stresses that more productivity takes place than is often accounted for, especially in cheap years, though this:

'never enters the publick registers of manufactures. The men servants who leave their masters become independent labourers. The women return to their parents, and commonly spin in order to make cloaths for themselves and their families.' (WN I.viii.51)

Elsewhere Smith states that women spin for monetary gain, which would be an argument for including women's spinning work in the registers. Smith confines himself, though, to stressing that the produce of the work of independent laborers should be included in the records in order to give a proper account of economic affluence or decline.

'Even the independent workmen do not always work for publick sale, but are employed by some of their neighbors in manufactures for family use. The produce of their labour, therefore, frequently makes no figure in those publick registers of which the records are sometimes published with so much parade, and from which our merchants and manufacturers would often vainly pretend to announce the prosperity or declension of the greatest empires.' (WN I.viii.51)

Where elsewhere the produce of labor is defined in terms of its own wages (see WN I.viii.1), here the distinction seems to be between the labor for money wages and produce for the household. By assuming that women work to satisfy the demands of family members and male laborers to meet the demands of 'neighbours in manufacturers for family use', this distinction tends to become gender-based (what men do is productive and what women do is for family use, i.e. unproductive). I will leave this issue for now, though more research might certainly be useful here.

References to gender identity
The distinction between women and men, and the importance of being a man (and not a womanish person or a woman) structures the TMS considerably. In the TMS Smith conceptualizes moral behavior from the perspective of men and only discusses the path to moral behavior of men. As described in more detail elsewhere (Kuiper 1997), Smith constructs here a masculine perception of moral behavior in opposition to what he considers as 'feminine': women, nature and fortune. When we read through the TMS it appears that to Smith:

'No character is more contemptible than that of a coward; no character is more admired than that of the man who faces death with intrepidity, and maintains his tranquillity and presence of mind amidst the most dreadful dangers. We esteem the man who supports pain and even torture with manhood and firmness; and we
have little regard for him who sinks under them, and abandons himself to useless outcries and womanish lamentations.' (TMS VI.iii.17)

Smith defines sympathy as the basis for moral behavior, which must be completed by the virtue of self-command. Sympathy provides the basis for judgement of others and for identification with the impartial spectator. Throughout the book, however, Smith shifts from sympathy, to the construction of the impartial spectator, and then to the attainment of self-command. In the end, it is no longer the balance between humanity and self-command which constitutes the perfect human being but the identification with the impartial spectator and self-command. The amiable virtues, linked to women and perceived as 'merely virtues', shift to the background. Wars and conflict then constitute in Smith's eyes important roads to manhood.

The 'awful and splendid virtues', such as self-government and control, are stressed as being worth striving for. Compared with the rest of the TMS, this chapter is relatively strong in its emphasis on self-command. This part was added to the last, 6th edition at the end of Smith's life (Raphael & Macfie 1976, 18), which contradicts what Ross says about Smith's change of attitude at the end of his life. Ross concludes here that Smith, who 'as a moralist, generally stressed the masculinist virtues of self-command and prudence, but late in life was prone to recognize the more feminine virtue of beneficence exhibited in "maternal tenderness" and "the domestic affections"' (Ross 1995, 399). This may perhaps have been true of his attitude in his daily life, but in the last 6th edition the stress is strongly on self-

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149 Smith also applies a gendered dualist reasoning to explain his views on virtues; he applies the terms masculinity and femininity in arguing for a specific valuation and articulation of virtues, as for instance where he pleads for generosity. He argues that 'generosity is different from humanity. Those two qualities, [..], do not always belong to the same person. Humanity is the virtue of a woman, generosity of a man. The fair sex, who have commonly much more tenderness than ours, have seldom so much generosity. That women rarely make considerable donations, is an observation of the civil law.[..] Humanity consists merely in the exquisite fellow-feeling [...] The most humane actions require no self-denial, no self-command, no great exertion of the sense of property. They consist only in doing what this exquisite sympathy would of its own accord prompt us to do. But it is otherwise with generosity. We never are generous except when in some respect we prefer some other person to ourselves, and sacrifice some great and important interest of our own to an equal interest of a friend or of a superior.' (TMS IV.2.10) The opposition of humanity vs. generosity is here developed by Smith by reference to masculinity and femininity. Humanity ('the virtue of a woman') has its value, although it does not have to be acquired. It is however, the importance of generosity which Smith wants to assert here which is ascribed to men. In order to be able follow Smith's plea for self-denial, self-command and 'great and important' sacrifices, one has to identify with men in Smith's text, which is assumed by Smith by his use of 'us'. Reading this text 'as a woman' does not only bring its gender-specific perspective to the fore. This approach also makes explicit the negative attitude towards women that is ingrained in it, or even stronger, that is required for Smith's argument. The fact that it is the concept of generosity which is in considerable length discussed in the rest of the chapter shows again Smith's use of a masculine perspective.

150 The army or rather, Smith's perception of it, recurs many times in the TMS in metaphors and examples. 'Good soldiers, who both love and trust their general, frequently march with more gaiety and alacrity to the forlorn station, from which they never expect to return, than they would to one where there was neither difficulty nor danger. [...] A wise man should surely be capable of doing what a good soldier holds himself at all times in readiness to do.' (TMS VI.ii.3.4)
command, and shows no signs of a softening of Smith's views in these matters. In general we can say that the TMS, as Smith states himself in Chapter VII, is written in a discourse that speaks about lust and luxury in terms of 'restraint and subjection which they [lust and luxury, EK] are kept under.' (TMS VII.ii.4.12, see also Kuiper 1997)

That women and men are perceived as fundamentally different by Smith was here indicated in section 5.3.2. Smith acknowledges the fundamental equality between men, posits women and men as fundamentally different and considers differences between women and men to provide rather than require an explanation. Despite the perceived differences between women and men, Smith assumes universality of men's experience and acknowledges that the way passions are dealt with and expressed are to a large extent determined by social regulations and arrangements, especially in the case of women. As example of this he mentions Phaedra, a figure from Greek myth:

'The reserve which the laws of society impose upon the fair sex, with regard to this weakness, renders it more peculiarly distressful in them, and, upon that very account, more deeply interesting. We are charmed with the love of Phaedra [...] notwithstanding all the extravagance and guilt which attend it. That very extravagance and guilt may be said, in some measure, to recommend it to us. Her fear, her shame, her remorse, her horror, her despair, become thereby more natural and interesting. All the secondary passions, if I may be allowed to call them so, which arise from the situation of love, become necessarily more furious and violent; and it is with these secondary passions only that we can properly be said to sympathize.' (TMS I.ii.2.4.)

While Smith explains elsewhere that a man who shows his 'secondary passions' only produces repulsion, women's extreme emotions, here evoked by their specific situation, arouses Smith's 'interest'. Here Smith connects with and strengthens the hierarchical and complementary perception of gender differences that was emerging in his day and expresses here the emotional and part of the psychological underpinnings of this gender model.

5.3.5 The impact on economic reasoning

The implications of Smith's use and construction of gender on various levels in his texts for his economic theorizing can be indicated if we make his perception and use of gender notions explicit. When reading, for instance, the pages of Smith's WN (see Appendix 5.2 to this

151 Compare Smith in his chapter on the passions: 'Grief and resentment for private misfortunes and injuries may easily, for example, be too high, and in the greater part of mankind they are so. [...] We denominate the excess, weakness and fury: and call the defect stupidity, insensibility, and want of spirit. We can enter into neither of them, but are astonished and confounded to see them.' (TMS I.ii.intro.1)

152 I agree with Schumpeter's remark, except for the underlined phrase: 'A fact which I cannot help considering relevant, not for his pure economics of course, but all the more for his understanding of human nature - that no women, excepting his mother, ever played a role in his existence; in this as in other respects the glamorous and passions of life were just literature to him.' (Schumpeter 1954, 182, emphasis added, EK)
Chapter) in which he explains the basic principle of the division of labor (with the famous quote on 'the butcher, the brewer, or the baker', WN I.i.1-4, quote E), the following emerges.

There is his use of 'man' and 'men' (see e.g. quote a), the focus on men's work and professions (see e.g. quote b), his silence on women except as objects (see quote c), and his characterization of man by masculine features (truck, barter and exchange) (see e.g. quote d) that were unattainable for married women at the time.

The text starts with the division of labor (quote A), according to Smith the main cause of the growth of wealth. Smith does not address the sexual division of labor, which enables the husband to be fully available for the labor market, but takes this division of labor as given. Family relations, power, dependency and care relations as manners of exchanging goods and services are excluded here from consideration. Even food and cloth are perceived as being obtained by money and/or by barter (see quote B). As one of the relations, the relation between women and men inside and outside the household becomes completely invisible (see also Grapard 1993). It is the dependency relation between 'men and his brethren' (quote C) that Smith posits as the main problem here, to which barter and exchange by means of money are given as the solution. Thus the 'dependency of men upon their family (their wife or their mother)' is not addressed. Instead, a mutual dependency between husband and wife is constructed, without being acknowledged (see also Eisenstein 1981).

Smith's statement on 'each animal' becomes contradictory when his perception of gender relations is borne in mind (see quote D). Instead of a realistic assessment of the role of the market, the state, and the family and their respective contribution to national wealth, Smith's account seems to be rather a wishful rationalization and legitimization of modern shifts in economic and power relations. In that case, the definition of market relations as exchange relations, in which people engage as impersonal and self-interested individuals, contains a range of gender meanings. This definition of exchange implicitly carries with it, for instance, the gendered perception of the family as a pre-conditional institution for market relations, in which women take care of the husband, children, elderly and the sick out of benevolence only. However, if Smith had acknowledged the real content of these relations, including their exploitation, power, dependency and care aspects, economics would probably have had a different founding father.
CHAPTER II
Of the Principle which gives occasion to the Division of Labour

1. This division of labour, from which so many advantages are derived, is not originally the effect of any human wisdom, which foresees and intends that general opulence to [20] which it gives occasion. It is the necessary, though very slow and gradual consequence of a certain propensity in human nature which has in view no such extensive utility: the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another. 2. Whether this propensity be one of those original principles in human nature, of which no further account can be given; or whether, as seems more probable, it be the necessary consequence of the faculties of reason and speech, it belongs not to our present subject to enquire. It is common to all men, and to be found in no other race of animals, which seem to know neither this nor any other species of contracts. Two greyhounds, in running down the same hare, have sometimes the appearance of acting in some sort of concert. Each turns towards his companion, or endeavours to intercept her when his companion turns towards himself. This, however, is not the effect of any contract, but of the accidental concurrence of their passions in the same object at that particular time. Nobody ever saw a dog make a fair and deliberate exchange of one bone for another with another dog. Nobody ever saw one animal by its gestures and natural cries signify to another, this is mine, that yours; I am willing to give this for that. When an animal wants to obtain something either of a man or of another animal, it has no other means of persuasion but to gain the favour of those whose service it requires. A puppy fawns upon its dam, and a spaniel endea-[21]vours by a thousand attractions to engage the attention of its master who is at dinner, when it wants to be fed by him. Man sometimes uses the same arts with his brethren, and when he has no other means of engaging them to act according to his inclinations, endeavours by every servile and fawning attention to obtain their good will. He has not time, however, to do this upon every occasion. In civilized society he stands at all times in need of the cooperation and assistance of great multitudes, while his whole life is scarce sufficient to gain the friendship of a few persons. In almost every other race of animals each individual, when it is grown up to maturity, is entirely independent, and in its natural state has occasion for the assistance of no other living creature. But man has almost constant occasion for the help of his brethren, and it is in vain for him to expect it from their benevolence only. He will be more likely to prevail if he can interest their self-love in his favour, and shew them that it is for their own advantage to do for him what he requires of them. Whoever offers to another a bargain of any kind, proposes to do this. Give me that which I want, and you shall have this which you want, is the meaning of every such offer; and it is in this manner that we obtain from one another the far greater part of those good offices which we stand in need of. It is not from

1 LJ (B) 218–19, ed. Cannan 168 reads: 'We cannot imagine this to have been an effect of human prudence. It was indeed made a law by Sesousstratis that every man should follow the employment of his father. But this is by no means suitable to the dispositions of human nature and can never long take place. Everyone is fond of being a gentleman, be his father what he will.' The law is also mentioned in LJ (A) vi. 54. See below, i. iv. 37 and iv. ix. 43.

2 This paragraph closely follows the first three sentences in ED 2.12. The propensity to truck and barter is also mentioned in LJ (A) vi. 44, 48 and LJ (B) 219 ff., ed. Cannan 169. Cf. LJ (B) 300–1, ed. Cannan 232: 'that principle in the mind which prompts to truck, barter and exchange, the it is the great foundation of arts, commerce and the division of labour, yet it is not marked with any thing amiable. To perform any thing, or to give anything without a reward is always generous and noble, but to barter one thing for another is mean.' In a Letter from Governor Pownall to Adam Smith, being an Examination of Several Points of Doctrine laid down in his Inquiry, into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (London, 1776), the author objected that the analysis of this chapter stopped short in ascribing the division of labour directly to a propensity to barter (c. 3). Pownall, a former Governor of Massachusetts, also criticized Smith's views on labour as a measure of value, paper money, the employments of capital, colonies, etc. Smith acknowledged Pownall's work in Letter 182 addressed to Pownall, dated 10 January 1777. In Letter 208 addressed to Andreas Holt, dated 26 October 1788 Smith remarked that: 'In the second edition I flattered myself that I had obviated all the objections of Governor Pownall. I find however, he is by no means satisfied, and as Authors are not much disposed to alter the opinions they have once published, I am not much surprized at it.' There is very little evidence to suggest that Smith materially altered his views in response to Pownall, but see below, p. 50, n. 15.

3 In LJ (B) 221, ed. Cannan 171, Smith argued in referring to the division of labour that 'The real foundation of it is that principle to persuade which so much prevails in human nature.' The same point is made in LJ (A) vi. 56.

4 The example of the greyhounds occurs in LJ (B) 219, ed. Cannan 169. LJ (A) vi. 44 uses the example of 'hounds in a chase' and again at 57. Cf. LJ (B) 222, ed. Cannan 171: 'Sometimes, indeed, animals seem to act in concert, but there is never any thing like a bargain among them. Monkeys, when they rob a garden throw the fruit from one to another till they deposit it in the hoard, but there is always a scramble about the division of the booty, and usually some of them are killed.' In LJ (A) vi. 57 a similar example is based on the Cape of Good Hope.

5 In ED 2.12 an additional sentence is added at this point: 'When any uncommon misfortune befals it, its piteous and doleful cries will sometimes engage its fellows, as sometimes prevail even upon man, to relieve it.' With this exception, and the first sentence of this paragraph, the whole of the preceding material follows ED 2.12 very closely in places verbatim. The remainder of the paragraph follows ED 2.12 to its close.

6 'To expect, that others should serve us for nothing, is unreasonable; therefore a Commerce, that Men can have together, must be a continual bargaining of one thing for another. The Seller, who transfers the Property of a Thing, has his own Interest as much at Heart as the Buyer, who purchases that Property; and, if you want or like a thing, to Owner of it, whatever Stock of Provision he may have of the same, or how greatly soev you may stand in need of it, will never part with it, but for a Consideration, which I likes better, than he does the thing you want.' (Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees, pt.
little huts or moveable houses. He is accustomed to be of use in this way to his neighbours, who reward him in the same manner with cattle and with venison, till at last he finds it his interest to dedicate himself entirely to this employment, and to become a sort of house-carpenter. In the same manner a third becomes a smith or a brazier, a fourth a tanner or dresser of hides or skins, the principal part of the clothing of savages. And thus the certainty of being able to exchange all that surplus part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he may have occasion for, encourages every man to apply himself to a particular occupation, and to cultivate and bring to perfection whatever talent or genius he may possess for that particular species of business.

The difference of natural talents in different men is, in reality, much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown up to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause, as the effect of the division of labour. The difference between the [24] most dissimilar characters, between a philosopher and a common street porter, for example,

Huia, a fourth makes Garments, and a fifth Utensils, they do not only become useful to one another, but the Callings and Employments themselves will in the same Number of Years receive much greater Improvements, than if all had been promiscuously follow'd by every one of the Five.'

Cf. Mackeson (System, i.288-9): 'Nay 'tis well known that the produce of the labours of any given number, twenty, for instance, in providing the necessaries or conveniences of life, shall be much greater by assigning to one, a certain sort of work of one kind, in which he will soon acquire skill and dexterity, and to another assigning work of a different kind, than if each one of the twenty were obliged to employ himself, by turns, in all the different sorts of labour requisite for his subsistence, without sufficient dexterity in any. In the former method each procures a great quantity of goods of one kind, and can exchange a part of it for such goods obtained by the labours of others as he shall stand in need of. One grows expert in tillage, another in pasture and breeding cattle, a third in masonry, a fourth in the chase, a fifth in iron-works, a sixth in the arts of the loom, and so on throughout the rest. Thus all are supplied by means of barter with the work of complete artisans. In the other method scarce any one could be dextrous and skilful in any one sort of labour.'

This paragraph is based on ED 2.1.13, which it follows very closely.

When we consider how nearly equal all men are in their bodily force, and even in their mental powers and faculties, till cultivated by education; we must necessarily allow, that nothing but their consent could, at first, associate them together, and subject them to any authority. (D. Hume, 'Of the Original Contract,' Political Discourses (1752); Essays Moral, Political and Literary, ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose (London, 1882), i.444-5.)

Cf. Treatise of Human Nature, III.ii: 'The skin, pores, muscles, and nerves of a day-labourer, are different from those of a man of quality: so are his sentiments, actions, and manners. The different stations of life influence the whole fabric, external and internal; and these different stations arise necessarily, according to the usual, and necessary and uniform principles of human nature.' On the other hand, Harris (Essay, i.15) believed that: 'Men are endued with various talents and propensities, which naturally dispose and fit them for different occupations; and are... under a necessity of betaking themselves to particular arts and employments, from their inability of acquiring all the necessaries they want, with ease and comfort. This creates a depen-
5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, we did a gender reading of texts by William Petty and Adam Smith. Using a biological concept of gender, these texts appeared to have been developed from a masculine perspective. The analyzed texts predominantly addressed men, their activities, features, and behavior. Women, their work and other contributions were neglected, reduced or attributed to men. As such, women and their work were not a topic of analysis or theorization. While Petty, and to an even greater extent Smith, on the one hand perceived women as profoundly different from men, the experiences and activities of men, on the other hand, were stated as generic and universal.

The texts by Sir William Petty contain a range of references to various kinds of gender notions. His economic inquiry serves the interests of the sovereign and regards men mainly as heads of households. Petty only incidentally refers to his predecessors, but when he does, as to Francis Bacon, these references also contain gender notions. A gender metaphor plays an important role as a culture text, which Petty applies in establishing the value of land. The product of land (and labor) is reduced and measured in terms of the product of labor. It is the average need for food per day of an adult man that is stated as the measure of value.

Smith's treatises also make use of notions of gender in various ways. Even more strongly than Petty, Smith focuses on men, their characteristics (achieved or yet to be achieved), and their activities. Women are almost entirely invisible in Smith's work. They remain outside the economic considerations in the WN. The TMS neither addresses the way women can become moral beings, nor an interesting topic such as how to achieve a moral relationship between men and women. Smith's perception of moral behavior appears to be based on a masculine perception of identity. Masculinity is associated with positive identity through, for instance, the potential 'to possess', to be active, in control and free to act out of self-interest. Smith does not identify with women, nor does he explicitly aim at achieving 'feminine virtues'.

Smith's economic treatise starts from the male laborer and takes the sexual division of labor as natural, as given. He makes ample use of his predecessors and of gender dichotomies from other sciences. Aided by his position as a fulltime academic, Smith was able to establish a coherent narrative about the economic system in a period of changing gender and economic relations. His treatises at the same time provided a rationalization of men's new social and economic position and relegated women and family relations to the background. By ascribing the productivity of nature and of women's labor to men and their labor, he rendered women and their labor invisible and seemingly redundant. Men's experience and activities are the focus of attention.

Though Smith states his 'equality of men' as generic, this perception is implicitly based on a specific gender relation and notion of gender that posit the husband as head of the household - able to enter into contracts, and as productive - and the wife as modest, not unnecessarily learned, dependent on her husband, as the person who takes care of the children and as invisible (except as sexual object). The WN contains an ideal character in the sense that it addresses the economy as if all these human conditions would have been met: a society in which family relations have been replaced by market relations.

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In representing the economic process in a scientific manner and taking account of the social, economic and political changes of the time, the focus shifts from the productivity of land to that of labor. In that it is mainly men that are counted, it is men's activities that are conceptualized and theorized. It seems that it is men's activities in particular that require articulation, ordering and rationalization. While women's identity was increasingly being defined by their sex and power to procreate, 'masculinity' and 'femininity' seem to be increasingly defined as mutually exclusive and as radically different.