Wealth of Nations

Book 1

OF THE CAUSES OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE PRODUCTIVE POWERS OF LABOUR, AND OF THE ORDER ACCORDING TO WHICH ITS PRODUCE IS NATURALLY DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE DIFFERENT RANKS OF THE PEOPLE

Chapter 1 Of the Division of Labour

The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labour, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it is anywhere directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labour.

举例:制作针需要 18 个步骤,10 个人在分工状态下,一个人只做其中的 2~3 个步骤,则可以一天制造 48000 个针,但是 10 个人单独制作情况下,可能每个人连 1 个针也做不出来。

制造业(比如流水线)比农业(作物生长必须要经过时间等待,所以一个人可以干不同时间段的活)容易分工,所以国家的贫富主要体现在制造业的差异上。

因为劳动分工,同样数量的劳动力可以干的活增加,有三种原因。一是,每个工人工作的熟练度(dexterity)增加,二是,节省了从一个工作到另一个工作切换所需的时间,三是(分工导致)发明了许多机器,这些机器能够方便劳动力,节省劳动力,使得一个工人能够干多人的活。

对于第三点,当人的注意力集中在一件事情上时,相比于人的注意力分散在几个事情上,其更可能找到更容易和更便捷地完成该事情的方法;许多机械就是该岗位上的工人自己发明的。 Men are much more likely to discover easier and readier methods of attaining any object when the whole attention of their minds is directed towards that single object than when it is dissipated among a great variety of things. A great part of the machines made use of in those manufactures in which labour is most subdivided, were originally the inventions of common workmen, who, being each of them employed in some very simple operation, naturally turned their thoughts towards finding out easier and readier methods of performing it。

All the improvements in machinery, however, have by no means been the inventions of those who had occasion to use the machines. Many improvements have been made by the ingenuity of the makers of the machines, when to make them became the business of a peculiar trade; and some by that of those who are called philosophers or men of speculation, whose trade it is not to do anything, but to observe everything; and who, upon that account, are often capable of combining together the powers of the most distant and dissimilar objects. In the progress of society, philosophy or speculation becomes, like every other employment, the principal or sole trade and occupation of a particular class of citizens. Like every other employment too, it is subdivided into a great number of different branches, each of which affords occupation to a peculiar tribe or class of philosophers; and this subdivision of employment in philosophy, as well as in every other business, improves dexterity, and saves time. Each individual becomes more expert in his own peculiar branch, more work is done upon the whole, and the quantity of science is considerably increased by it.

分工使得生产力提高,使得生产出的东西变多,从而使得该国富裕,该富裕也惠及到普

Chapter 2 Of the Principle which gives occasion to the Division of Labour

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 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。即劳动分工起源于人们做交易的倾向。

其他动物要获取其他动物的东西或者人的东西,只能通过乞求的方式,人也会通过这种方式获取别人的东西或帮助,但是在文明社会,人需要获取的其他人的东西或帮助太多了,以至于这种方式根本不够用。所以人获取其他人东西或帮助的方式是,让他人知道他人帮自己是对他人本身有好处的。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。

在一个部落里,一个人主要做弓箭,用弓箭交换别人打的猎,逐渐地他发现自己做弓箭并换取猎物比自己去打猎更好,他就专职做弓箭。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.

天赋的差异不是分工的原因,人的天赋差不多,人的特点的差异主要来自后天的习惯,习俗和教育。但是如果没有交易的倾向,每个人从小就为寻找基本的生存必需品而劳动,从而使得人的后天形成的特点也差不多,从而也不会有分工。所以由于有交易倾向,人们从小时候开始从事不同的事情,从而形成了人不同的特点,从而使得分工更有好处,即使得从事符合自己特点的事情更有好处。另外,是交易倾向使得人之间的差异有用。不同的动物天生就有很多差异,但是这些差异因为没有交易倾向,不能最大化地发挥长处;而人类由于具有交易倾向,具有差异的人生产的东西可以形成一个 common stock,人们通过交换来使用这个 common stock。

Chapter 3 That the Division of Labour is limited by the Extent of the Market

As it is the power of exchanging that gives occasion to the division of labour, so the extent of this division must always be limited by the extent of that power, or, in other words, by the extent of the market. When the market is very small, no person can have any encouragement to dedicate himself entirely to one employment, for want of the power 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 has occasion for.

市场小的时候,一个人可能从事类似的好几种活。

由于水上运输比陆上运输便宜很多,靠近港口的地方的市场被水上运输扩大,所以该地

Chapter 4 Of the Origin and Use of Money

When the division of labour has been once thoroughly established, it is but a very small part of a man's wants which the produce of his own labour can supply. He supplies the far greater part of them by exchanging 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 has occasion for. Every man thus lives by exchanging, or becomes in some measure a merchant, and the society itself grows to be what is properly a commercial society.

但是交易的时候需要满足 coincidence of double wants,所以每个人都会在身边准备上一种商品,这种商品去买东西的时候,别人一般不会拒绝。历史上,有牛,盐,贝壳,烟草,糖,兽皮。历史上,人们似乎最终都选择了金属。金属的好处是不容易磨损,二是可以分割或组成任何的数量单位。金属有铁,铜,金银。这些金属一开始使用的时候是按照原始的bar 使用的,没有打标签(stamp 或 coinage),这有两个缺点,一是称重麻烦,二是化验成分麻烦。所以用原始的 bar 作为 money 很容易受到(货币掺假的)欺诈。为了解决该问题,很有必要在固定数量的金属上打上公共标签(public stamp),这就产生了 coined money,以及铸币部门 mints,其功能就像给商品贴合格证或检验证一样,其功能都是为了告诉大家该商品的数量和质量。一开始的标签只表示 bar 里的精度,不表示重量;由于这样称重仍然是个麻烦,后来标签即表示精度又表示重量。硬币一开始的面值都是表示里面包含多少量的某种金属。比如,pound,shilling,pence。这些面值之间的比例关系有时候会发生变化,但是更重要的是每隔面值本身所含的价值会发生变化,一般都是所含的数量或精度下降。王室通过这种方式还债,实则是欺诈了债权人。这种新出的贬值了的(debased)货币,对债务人有利,对债权人不利。

价值(value)有两种含义。一是使用价值,而是交换价值(购买其他商品的能力)。后面介绍,交换价值的本质用什么衡量,从而决定了真实(real)价格;真实价格由哪几部分构成;市场价格为什么偏离真实价格。

Chapter 5 Of the Real and Nominal Price of Commodities, or their Price in Labour, and their Price in Money

Every man is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessaries, conveniences, and amusements of human life. But after the division of labour has once thoroughly taken place, it is but a very small part of these with which a man's own labour can supply him. The far greater part of them he must derive from the labour of other people, and he must be rich or poor according to the quantity of that labour which he can command, or which he can afford to purchase. The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labour which it enables him to purchase or command. Labour, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities.

The real price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it. What everything 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. That money or those goods indeed save us this toil. They contain the value of a certain quantity of labour which we exchange for what is supposed at the time to contain the value of an equal quantity. Labour was the first price, the original purchase-money that was paid for all things. It was not by gold or by silver, but by labour, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased; and its value, to those who possess it, and who want to exchange it for some new productions, is precisely equal to the quantity of labour which it can enable them to purchase or command.

虽然可以支配的劳动力是商品的真实交换价值的衡量,但是这是一个抽象的概念,不同 类型的劳动是不一样的,比如一小时的脑力劳动可能超过2小时的体力劳动的价值。一个商 品能够交换的多少其他商品的数量或多或少的体现了这种劳动力类型差异的考虑,也体现了 相同类型劳动力具有相同价值的原理。用这种方式在现实生活中更方便。最后更方便的衡量 是一个商品能够交换多好金属(money)。这是商品的名义价值。要注意的是,金属 money 作为一种商品,其真实交换价值,即可以支配的劳动力是变化的,比如金矿的发现使得开采 一单位黄金耗费的劳动力变少,从而一单位黄金的真实价值减小。但是一单位的同样熟练度、 同样健康度的劳动力在不同时间不同低点能够带来的东西是一样的(不理解),所以劳动力 是最终的衡量,货币不是。Equal quantities of labour, at all times and places, may be said to be of equal value to the labourer. In his ordinary state of health, strength and spirits; in the ordinary degree of his skill and dexterity, he must always lay down the same portion of his ease, his liberty, and his happiness. The price which he pays must always be the same, whatever may be the quantity of goods which he receives in return for it. Of these, indeed, it may sometimes purchase a greater and sometimes a smaller quantity; but it is their value which varies, not that of the labour which purchases them. At all times and places that is dear which it is difficult to come at, or which it costs much labour to acquire; and that cheap which is to be had easily, or with very little labour. Labour alone, therefore, never varying in its own value, is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared. It is their real price; money is their nominal price only.

一单位的玉米所能支配的劳动力在一个世纪的尺度上是差不多的,而一单位黄金所能支配的劳动力在一个世纪的尺度上很可能减小;一单位的玉米在相邻两年之间所能支配的劳动力差异较大,而一单位的黄金在相邻两年之间所能支配的劳动力可能相差不大。所以进行长期租赁(出租)的时候,租金的约定单位用玉米来表示比用黄金来表示要好。

但是,在同一时间同一地点,两个商品的真实交换价值之比等于这两个商品的名义价格 之比,所以用名义价格就可以了。

Chapter 6 Of the Component Parts of the Price of Commodities

在有 stock 和土地开垦之前,商品的价格由其所耗费的劳动力决定,另外对于不同类型的劳动力,比如 hardship,dexterity,ingenuity,价格也会体现。In this state of things, the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer; and the quantity of labour commonly employed in acquiring or producing any commodity is the only circumstance which can regulate the quantity exchange for which it ought commonly to purchase, command, or exchange for.

在某些人有了 stock 后,将一部分 stock 购买劳动力,一部分购买原材料,经过生成将产品卖掉,stock 持有人这样操作的目的是期望卖掉产品的收入除了弥补生产该产品用掉的 stock,还可以多出一部分来,这一部分就是利润。In exchanging the complete manufacture either for money, for labour, or for other goods, over and above what may be sufficient to pay the price of the materials, and the wages of the workmen, something must be given for the profits of the undertaker of the work who hazards his stock in this adventure.

有一种错误理解利润的方式是将利润当成一种特殊劳动的工资,the wages of a particular sort of labour, the labour of inspection and direction。该理解错误是因为,the labour of inspection and direction 仍然可以给以固定的工资,该工资不是与投入的 stock 成比例的,而利润是与投入的 stock 成比例的。

当土地变成私产后,即时该块土地上的果实是自然长出的,地主没有做任何劳动,劳动力在上面采摘的果实有一部分要交给地主,这部分叫做地租(rent of land)。

所以,商品的价格由三部分构成,工资,利润,地租。这三部分的真实价值仍然用每一部分各自可以支配的劳动力来表示。

以玉米为例,玉米的价格由利润,地租,工人的工资,以及生产中用到的工具的消耗构成,而生产中用到的工具的价格进一步可以分解成该工具的利润,地租,工资,生产工具的价格,这样最终可以分解成只剩下工资,利润,地租。

Chapter 7 Of the Natural and Market Price of

Commodities

每个社会,应用在不同岗位上的劳动力的工资都有个平均价(average or ordinary rate),应用在不同生意上的 stock 的利润率有个平均价。这些平均率一方面受到社会的一般情况的影响,比如社会的贫穷还是富裕,社会正在进步还是退步,另一方面受到具体岗位性质或具体生意性质的影响。地租也类似。这些率称为 natural rate。

如果商品的价格正好等于劳动力,利润,地租按照各自的 natural rate 加总,则该商品的价格称为 natural price。商品的实际价格就是市场价格,市场价格可能高于,等于或低于自然价格。

商品的市场价格由当时该商品的固定的供给量,以及愿意支付自然价格的人的需求决定,这些人的需求称为有效需求。当供给量小于有效需求时,需求者之间的出价竞争使得市场价格高于自然价格,当供给量大于有效需求时,供给者之间的出价竞争使得市场价格低于自然价格。

商品的供给量会向有效需求调整。因为,如果供给量小于有效需求,市场价格高于自然价格,则价格中的三个成分中的一种要高于其自然率,如果是工资,则劳动力会向该产品的生产流动,如果是利润,则 stock 会向该生产流动,如果是地租,则土地的使用也会向该产品生产倾斜,从而使得供给量增加,更加接近于有效需求。反之,如果供给量大于有效需求,则类似,只不过反过来,是劳动力,stock,土地流出。

从上一段的逻辑也可以看出商品的市场价格会向自然价格调整。The natural price, therefore, is, as it were, the central price, to which the prices of all commodities are continually gravitating. Different accidents may sometimes keep them suspended a good deal above it, and sometimes force them down even somewhat below it. But whatever may be the obstacles which hinder them from settling in this centre of repose and continuance, they are constantly tending towards it.

这些 accidents 有的是需求端的有的是供给段的。比如,供给是按照原来的需求生产的,但是生产出来后需求变化了,则供给不等于有效需求。比如,需求没有变化,生产也是按照需求来生产,但是生产出的数量质量受一些随机因素的影响,则供给不等于有效需求,农产品属于这种。

市场价格相对自然价格的波动主要会落在利润和工资上,不会对地租产生多大影响,因为地租一般会约定长期的,会尽量约定在平均水平上。至于会落在利润上还是落在工资上,取决于当时市场当时是商品存量过多或过少,还是劳动力过多或过少,或者说取决于做完的工作是过多还是过少,还是没做的工作是过多还是过少。如果突然发生了集体戴孝的时间,那么,生产黑布的厂商利润增加,因为其黑布 understocked,而用黑布做孝的裁缝的工资会增加,因为其劳动力 understocked;而生产彩色布的常数利润下降,因为其彩色布 overstocked,用彩色布做东西的工人的工资下降,因为其劳动力 overstocked。

虽然市场价格不断趋向于自然价格,但是一些原因会使得市场价格在较长时间内不能趋向自然价格。这些原因一是 accidents,二是自然条件,三是政策。accidents,比如某个商人突然发现了一个贸易秘密,或者发现了一种新的生产方法,前者不容易保密,后者更容易,后者的利润保持得更久。自然条件,比如某种葡萄酒只有世界上一小块土地可以生长。政策主要是政府赐予的垄断。在这些条件下,只要有效需求大于供给,则市场价格就高于自然价格,但是生产要素由于上面的愿意不能向该行业流动,所以供给没法增加。

下面介绍工资、利润、地租的自然率的决定因素。

Chapter 8 Of the Wages of Labour

当 stock 和土地私有化出现后,stock-owner 给劳动力提供生活用品,提供生产资料,直到将生产出的产品卖出去。所以劳动力的工资取决于劳动力和 stock-owner 之间的讲价。一般 stock-owner 会隐性地联合起来,压低劳动力的工资,但是最低也不能低于维持基本生活的工资; 当 stock-owner 具有的 stock 增加时,stock-owner 之间就会对劳动力的需求产生竞争,从而提高劳动力的工资。但是 stock 表示财富,所以 stock 增加的国家,其劳动力工资也增加。

Stock 增加,劳动力工资增加,导致商品价格增加,但是 stock 增加,也导致劳动生产率提高,从而降低产品价格。

Chapter 9 Of the Profits of Stock

Stock 的增加,使得利润率减小。The increase of stock, which raises wages, tends to lower profit. When the stocks of many rich merchants are turned into the same trade, their mutual competition naturally tends to lower its profit; and when there is a like increase of stock in all the different trades carried on in the same society, the same competition must produce the same effect in them all.

当发现新大陆的时候,新大陆的工资会增加,利润会减小,而旧大陆的工资减小,利润增大。因为刚发现新大陆的时候,由于新大陆的劳动力相对于 stock 来说较多,新大陆的利润要高于旧大陆的,所以 stock 流向新大陆,流出旧大陆,推动新大陆工资增加,利润减小,推动旧大陆工资减小,利润增大。

Chapter 10 Of Wages and Profit in the different

Employments of Labour and Stock

劳动力在不同岗位上能得到的好处和坏处在一个自由的社会趋近于相同, stock 在不同的行业或生意上能得到的好处和坏处在一个自由的社会也趋近于相同。因为如果不同,劳动力或 stock 就会从不好的地方流向好的地方。

金钱工资或金钱利润就是好处的一种。相同的劳动力金钱工资不一样有两类原因,一是该岗位本身有一些特性,具有好特性的岗位工资低一点,具有坏特性的岗位工资高一点;二是政策原因,主要是限制自由的政策(这一点与前面市场价格跟自然价格永久差异的论述中的政策原因类似,二者似乎不易区分)。利润类似。

对于金钱工资差异,岗位本身原因有:

- (1) First, the wages of labour vary with the ease or hardship, the cleanliness or dirtiness, the honourableness or dishonourableness of the employment.
- Secondly, the wages of labour vary with the easiness and cheapness, or the difficulty and expense of learning the business.
- Thirdly, the wages of labour in different occupations vary with the constancy or inconstancy of employment.
- (4) Fourthly, the wages of labour vary accordingly to the small or great trust which must be reposed in the workmen.
- (5) Fifthly, the wages of labour in different employments vary according to the probability or improbability of success in them.

在关于第(5)点的论述中,作者提到,像律师这种行业,从开始学习到最终学成称为合格的律师,20个里面可能只有1个成功,所以成功的律师工资要比其他劳动力的金钱工资要高。但是作者发现即使律师的金钱工资高,但是其高的程度还不足以弥补这极低的成功概率,而且好多人从小开始涌入律师行业。其原因有而,一是人们给律师一种荣誉(类似的,演员行业由于人们对其有鄙视,所以作为补偿其金钱工资高),用来补偿其虽然高但是还不够高的工资,二是人们对自己能力的高估和对自己运气的高估。人们对于自己运气的高估表现为人们高估获利的可能,例如尽管彩票的平均收益是负的人们会买彩票(而且中奖金额越大,人们越容易高估);低估损失的可能,例如由于人们低估损失的概率导致导致对保险不愿意付较多的保费导致的保险行业的低利润。

第(2)(5)同样适用于利润率。

In order, however, that this equality may take place in the whole of their advantages or disadvantages, three things are requisite even where there is the most perfect freedom. First, the employments must be well known and long established in the neighbourhood; secondly, they must be in their ordinary, or what may be called their natural state; and, thirdly, they must be the sole or principal employments of those who occupy them.

关于上段第 1 点,当开展一项新产业的时候,工资一般要给的高一点,这样能吸引别人进来。另外,The establishment of any new manufacture, of any new branch of commerce, or of any new practice in agriculture, is always a speculation, from which the projector promises himself extraordinary profits. These profits sometimes are very great, and sometimes, more frequently, perhaps, they are quite otherwise; but in general they bear no regular proportion to those of other old trades in the neighbourhood. If the project succeeds, they are commonly at first very high. When the trade or practice becomes thoroughly established and well known, the

competition reduces them to the level of other trades.

关于第二点,不同时间段对劳动力的需求不一样,所以工资不一样,前面的趋同规律是指的是平均时段工资。农产品的价格在不同年份间由于天气原因导致产量不同,从而利润不同,前述趋同规律主要说的是农户在不同年之间的平均利润率;而 The operations of the speculative merchant are principally employed about such commodities. He endeavours to buy them up when he foresees that their price is likely to rise, and to sell them when it is likely to fall.

对于金钱工资差异, 政策原因有

- (1) First, by restraining the competition in some employments to a smaller number than would otherwise be disposed to enter into them;
- (2) secondly, by increasing it in others beyond what it naturally would be; and,
- (3) thirdly, by obstructing the free circulation of labour and stock, both from employment to employment and from place to place.

Chapter 11 Of the Rent of Land

待阅读。

Book 2 Of the Nature, Accumulation, and Employment of Stock

分工出现后,在当前时间点,个人生活所需的消费品,其中大部分需要从其他人手中购买,但是个人购买的手段,即其生产的产品要在一段时间后才能生产出来并且卖掉,所以在当前时间点,社会上必须已经存在一些 stock,以供个人在当前时间点和产品生产出来之前进行消费,同时也供个人在生产当中使用。这些 stock 在当前时间点可能在个人手里,也可能在别人手里。所以,stock 增加,一方面可以同过提供劳动力所需的日常生活用品来增加对劳动力的需求,即在生产中增加劳动力,另一方面可以通过提供生产资料和生产工具来提高劳动生产力。这两方面能够同时增加劳动分工,提高劳动生产力。

Chapter 1 Of the Division of Stock

一个人的 Stock 分成两部分: 一分部 reserve for their own immediate consumption, reserving only so much for his immediate consumption as may maintain him till this revenue begins to come in。另一部分用来产生收益,这部分称为 capital。

Stock reserved for their own immediate consumption 分为三种: (1) first, in that portion of his whole stock which was originally reserved for this purpose; (2) or, secondly, in his revenue, from whatever source derived, as it gradually comes in; (3) or, thirdly, in such things as had been purchased by either of these in former years, and which are not yet entirely consumed; such as a stock of clothes, household furniture, and the like。

Capital 分为两类 circulating capitals 和 fixed capitals。

Circulating capitals: it may be employed in raising, manufacturing, or purchasing goods, and selling them again with a profit. The capital employed in this manner yields no revenue or profit

to its employer, while it either remains in his possession, or continues in the same shape. The goods of the merchant yield him no revenue or profit till he sells them for money, and the money yields him as little till it is again exchanged for goods. His capital is continually going from him in one shape, and returning to him in another, and it is only by means of such circulation, or successive exchanges, that it can yield him any profit.

Fixed capitals: it may be employed in the improvement of land, in the purchase of useful machines and instruments of trade, or in suchlike things as yield a revenue or profit without changing masters, or circulating any further.

一个国家的 stock 也分为三种。

- stock reserved for immediate consumption,其特征是 it affords no revenue or profit。 其主要是 the stock of food, clothes, household furniture, etc., which have been purchased by their proper consumers, but which are not yet entirely consumed。这里有一个与个人的 stock reserved for immediate consumption,某人的住房租给别人住,这在出租人来看是 capital,但是对于整个国家来说仍然是 stock reserved for immediate consumption,因为这房子对于租户来讲没有用来生产东西,而是用来居住。
- (2) fixed capitals,其特征是 it affords a revenue or profit without circulating or changing masters。其包括
 - (a) all useful machines and instruments of trade which facilitate and abridge labour •
 - (b) all those profitable buildings which are the means of procuring a revenue, not only to their proprietor who lets them for a rent, but to the person who possesses them and pays that rent for them.
 - (c) the improvements of land, of what has been profitably laid out in clearing, draining, enclosing, manuring, and reducing it into the condition most proper for tillage and culture.
 - (d) the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society.
- (3) circulating capitals,其特征是 it affords a revenue only by circulating or changing masters.其包括四种:
 - (a) the money by means of which all the other three are circulated and distributed to their proper consumers
 - (b) provisions: the stock of provisions(必需品) which are in the possession of the butcher, the grazier, the farmer, the corn-merchant, the brewer, etc., and from the sale of which they expect to derive a profit
 - (c) materials: the materials, whether altogether rude, or more or less manufactured, of clothes, furniture, and building, which are not yet made up into any of those three shapes, but which remain in the hands of the growers, the manufacturers, the mercers and drapers, the timber merchants, the carpenters and joiners, the brickmakers, etc。即该生产商的生产原料。
 - (d) finished work: the work which is made up and completed, but which is still in the hands of the merchant or manufacturer, and not yet disposed of

or distributed to the proper consumers.

循环资本中的 provisions, materials, and finished work 会转化成 stock reserved for immediate consumption 或 fixed capital。

固定资本源头性地来自于循环资本,而且不断的需要循环资本来维修维持。

固定资本必须通过循环资本才能带来收益。

固定资本和循环资本的唯一目的是为了维持或扩大 stock reserved for immediate consumption。

循环资本来自于 the produce of land, of mines, and of fisheries,这些东西可以构成 provisions,material,这些可以被制造成 finished work。金属 money 来源于 mines。

而 Land, mines, and fisheries 需要固定资本和循环资本来生产(cultivate)。

在比较安全的社会,人们将自己的 stock 要么用来 present enjoyment,要么用来生产未来利润。但是在 stock 受到暴力威胁的社会,人们会藏起来一部分 stock,以便受到威胁的时候带着这部分 stock 逃跑。

Chapter 2 Of Money Considered as a Particular Branch of the General Stock of the Society, or of the Expense of Maintaining the National Capital

去年的产量,在今年有一部分被用来弥补去年固定资本的减少,比如机器、厂房、土地 improvement 的损耗。去年的产量称为国家的 gross revenue,而 net revenue 是指从 gross revenue 中减去用来弥补去年 capital 减少的产量后剩下的部分。所以今年产量中被用来弥补去年固定资本的减少的部分不应该包含在 net revenue 中。

而循环资本中的 provisions, materials, and finished work 除了一部分被用来弥补去年固定资本的损失,剩下的都在今年用作消费,所以循环资本中的 provisions, materials, and finished work,在扣除被用来弥补去年固定资本的损失的部分后,剩下的部分应该包含在 net revenue 中。

而循环资本中的 money,

- (1) 类似固定资本,每年的产量中有一部分被用来弥补 money 在去年的消耗,比如每年有一部分金银和劳动力被用来铸造去年损失掉的金银货币,这一部分支出应该从 gross revenue 中减掉,不应该包含在 net revenue 中。
- (2) 固定资本本身即不包含在 gross revenue 中,也不包含在 net revenue 中,money 与之类似,本身也不能包含在 revenue 中,money 只起到循环商品的作用(The great wheel of circulation is altogether different from the goods which are circulated by means of it),只有商品才能是真正的 revenue。
- (3) 对于固定资本,如果可以减少用于弥补固定资本在去年的消耗的产量,而不影响固定资本的生产力的话,那么省出来的这部分产量就可以用在消费上,增加了 net revenue;类似地,对于 money,如果可以减少用于弥补 money 在去年的消耗的产量,而不影响固定资本的生产力的话,那么省出来的这部分产量就可以用在消费上,增加了 net revenue。纸币代替金银货币就是这么一种节省。

纸币当中最主要的是 bank notes,即个人存 100 磅的金币在银行,该银行给该客户一张 note,表明任何时候该客户来取金币,该银行会立马还给该客户。

银行发现日常情况下,只有 20 元的 notes 来取金币,所以其只需在金库中保留 20 磅的金币,剩下的 80 磅贷款出去可以收取利息收入。

一国的经济假设需要 1000,000 磅的金银货币来循环,如果该国的银行发行 1000,000 的 notes,只在金库中保留 200,000 的金币,则该国家流通的货币包含 1000,000 的 notes 和 800,000 的金币。由于当时该国的商品数量不变,作者假设所需的货币量也是不变的,所以会多出 800,000 的货币。这多出的 800,000 货币要么消失掉,要么流向国外,作者似乎假设只能流向国外。如果流向国外,由于国外不接受该国的纸币 notes,所以流向国外的只能是 800,000 的金币,剩下的 1000,000 纸币在国内循环,恰好代替了没有纸币发行前的 1000,000 金币。流向国外的 800,000 金币主要用来从国外购买 capital,用在国内的劳动力上,生产商品,这样的话就相当于国内增加了价值 800,000 金币的 capital,所以会增加该国产量。但是作者没有提及这样操作使得 800,000 金币与 1000,000 纸币的购买力其实并不相同,金币既可以购买国内商品也可以购买国外商品,而纸币只能购买国内商品,这会导致人们拿纸币找银行兑换金币。不过这种操作可能短期内有作者所说的效果,但是长期来看(根据上一句所说),是没有增加 capital 的效果的。

银行主要通过对 bills 进行 discount 来发行 promissory notes,即某个需要接入钱的商人如果手里有客户欠他的账单,则该商人把该账单给银行,而银行则给该商人一笔打折的(扣除利息)钱,这部分钱是通过在该银行的账上增加对应金额的 promissory notes,并将该 notes 的持有人记为该商人的方式来出现的;也通过 cash account 来发行 promissory notes,即只要某人有两个信用完好且有地产的担保人,则该人可以找银行来借钱,这笔钱出现的方式也是 promissory notes。

作者似乎认为上述例子中的纸币数量就是合适的数量,即 1000,000 的纸币,背后有 200,000 的金币支撑,剩余 800,000 金币用来购买外国的产品作为本国的资本。如果纸币发行得再多,就会有问题,比如,如果再多发行 100,000 的纸币,由于在国内流通的货币变成了 1100,000了(800,000 金币在国外),而商品量不变,商品量仍然只需要 1000,000 的货币来循环,所以这多出来的 100,000 纸币会被持有者提交给银行来兑换金币,而银行为了满足人们对着 100,000 纸币的兑换,需要耗费成本来获得金币。所以,一般银行也对通过上述方式给商人提供信贷比较谨慎,时刻关注借款人还回来的资金要与新出借出去的资金量保持差不多,这样就不会超发纸币,就不会让纸币持有者来找银行挤兑金币。

作者认为,银行通过上述发行纸币的方式,使得本国资本增加 800,000,作者认为这 800,000 在没有纸币的时候本来是留在企业的金库里,以备不时之需,所以动不了,通过上述发行纸币的方式,使得该部分资本动了起来。但是银行不能通过发行纸币的方式增加企业的循环资本(provisions,materials,finished work)和固定资本,因为循环资本从提供给企业到企业赚到钱需要的时间一般比银行需要回收的时间长,而固定资本能够赚到钱所需的时间更长,一般需要好几年,这种一般发行债券或找私人直接抵押借贷(mortgage)比较好(出借人和借款人的期限能对得上)。

但是,即使银行很谨慎,银行这一业务很容易过量交易,即超发信用贷款,超发纸币;加上一些商人通过 draw and redraw 的方式(A 声称 B 欠自己一笔钱,即 A 有 B 的 bill,A 拿 该 bill 找银行借钱,等该 bill 快到期时,B 声称 A 欠自己一笔钱,B 那这个新的 bill 找银行借钱,偿还上一个 bill,这样一直下去。相当于 A 借入了一笔长期借款,而银行系统通过 discount bill,增加了纸币),使得整个银行业超发信用贷款,超发纸币。然等银行发现自己超发信用贷款的时候,想收紧信用贷款,但是只能慢慢收紧,让借款人从别的地方去借钱还该银行的钱,使得该银行自己能够逃出该信用贷款圈。

draw and redraw 的商人由于借的是长期借款,其投资的一般是长期项目,所以这些商人在整个国家信用贷款收紧的时候就说银行如果不给自己借钱,就是在损害国家的长期利益。

鉴于此,国家又成立了一个新的银行,该银行愿意 discount bills,这确实把其他银行救活了,因为其他银行超发的 notes 对应 bill 转移给了这个新的银行。同时这也延长了 draw and redraw 的商人的投资项目。但是这相当于把痛苦延长了。因为如果不成立这个新银行,超发的纸币就会被挤兑掉,同时 draw and redraw 的商人的劣质项目也会被淘汰掉;但是新银行相当于给这些劣质项目延长了寿命,并且使得劣质项目更大,最后损失会更大。draw and redraw 的商人项目大多数是劣质的(即最终亏损),因为作者认为,这种长期项目应该由 bond或私人抵押贷款来融资,这些私人出借人在仅投资少数几个项目(虽然这些项目没那么宏大)时会时刻关注该项目而且很谨慎;而银行,尤其是这个新银行,将所有的长期贷款项目都集中在自己手里,往往没有私人那么费心和谨慎。所以,上述超发纸币以及新银行进一步超发纸币带来的恶果是减少了该国的 capital。

Chapter 3 Of the Accumulation of Capital, or of Productive and Unproductive Labour

Productive labor:被雇佣用来生产东西出售的劳动力。比如用来生产棉布的工人。 Unproductive labor:被雇佣直接消费的劳动力。比如保姆,政府部门的工作人员。

上一年年产量中用来作为资本的部分(即用作今年生产的部分)主要用来雇佣 productive labor,年产量中剩下的部分(即作为利润和地租的部分,即用作今年消费的部分)主要用来雇佣 unproductive labor.

所以 productive labor 和 unproductive labor 的比例取决于年产量中用来作为资本的部分和剩下部分的比例。

- 一般在富裕的国家, 年产量中用来作为资本的部分比例较高。
- 上一年年产量中用来作为资本的部分比例越大,该国的人越勤劳,反之越闲。
- 上一年年产量中用来作为资本的部分比例越大,下一年产量越大。

人们越 parsimony,也就越节省,则上一年年产量中用来作为资本的部分比例越大,则 今年末的产量越大;反之,人们越挥霍 prodigality,即上一年年产量中用来作为资本的部分 比例越小,则今年末的产量越小。或者节省的意思本身就是将上一年的年产量少在今年消费 一点,而是多用今年的生产上。

不节省的话,消费品被自己用掉,这种用掉不会在未来产生收益;节省的话,节省下来的消费品用来雇佣工人,所以节省下来的消费品被工人用掉,这种用掉未来会产生收益。

一个国家的年产量提高,则该国内流通的金属货币量增加,即会有金属货币流入,反之则减小,即金属货币流出。

除了挥霍,人们如果在将上一年年产量用作资本时不严谨(misconduct),则几年年产量也会降低,从而使得明年可用作 capital 的部分变少。

对于一个大国,虽然有些人 prodigality 或 misconduct,但是大部分人还是不挥霍,行为谨慎的,因为大多数人想要改善自己生活状况,就得增加财富,但是要增加财富,就得 save,且谨慎使用 capital。

对于一个大国,虽然个人的 prodigality 或 misconduct 不会影响该国的 capital,但是 public prodigality 或 misconduct 会影响。因为政府部门的人员庞大,而且该部分都是 unproductive labor,如果该部门挥霍或者行为不谨慎,则该部门消费得过多可能导致去年一年的年产量被消费剩下的部分不足以保持去年年初的 capital。

但是,大多数时候,由于人们的节约和谨慎行为占了上风,而且足够大,使得个人的挥霍和不谨慎,以及政府部门的挥霍和不谨慎阻碍不了资本的增加,财富的增加,国家的进步。

一个国家年产量的提高只能通过增加 productive labour 的数量,增加已经在岗的劳动力的 productive power 来增加。而要增加 productive labour 的数量,必须增加 capital。要增加 productive power,必须增加辅助劳动力和节约劳动力的机械和工具,或者对劳动力是应用分配更加合理化,而这两项都是需要增加 capital 的。

Chapter 4 Of Stock Lent at Interest

某人的 stock 会以带利息的方式出借出去。在出借者来看,这是 capital,因为该 stock 的出借是希望在未来返还本金和利息(租金)。借入人对借入的 stock 有两种用途,一是用作 capital,而是用作 stock reserved for immediate consumption。

用作前者,借入人可以希望未来回收 capital 和利润,然后偿还本金和利息,而不用使用其他收益;用作后者,偿还本金和利息时必须使用其他收益来偿还。

Stock 出借的时候,用作前者的情况比后者要多,因为前者得到偿还的可能性更高。

贷款虽然是以货币的形式约定的,但是背后实际上是对该数量的货币能够购买的商品的借贷;本质上是出借者把对这么多金额对应的商品的拥有权转移给了借入者。并且,借贷中,出借人自己想省去自己直接使用这些金额对应的商品 stock 的麻烦。借贷的利息称为货币利息,其有别于 capital 持有人自己应用 capital 得到的收益。借贷的本质就是,出借人将这么多金额对应的商品的拥有权转移给了借入者,条件是,借入者在借贷持续期间将利息金额对应的商品的拥有权转移给出借者,且在最后将本金金额对应的商品的拥有权转移给出借者。

- 一个国家的 stock 增加,则用于带利息出借的 stock 增加。而用于带利息出借的 stock 增加,则利息率降低。一般原因是,类似于租金,待出租的土地越多,其租金(使用土地一定时间段的价格)越低。特殊原因是,capital 越多,利润率降低。随着 capital 增加,对 capital 应用的竞争越激烈,导致成本上升,销售价格下降,从而利润率下降,从而利息率下降。
- 一个国家货币增加,利润率,利息率都不变,只是商品价格升高。对于该论述的理解,可以理解成该货币量增加后相邻两期的利润率(同 Reisman 关于利润率的论述),而不是增加后与增加前相邻两期的利润率。
- 一些国家禁止利息,其效果是借入者除了支付正常的利息,还要支付额外的利息来补偿出借者被国家抓住判刑的风险。这是高利贷的一个原因。

利息率跟地租率二者之间有个均衡关系。当土地跟 capital 比没有额外优势或者劣势的时候,地租率和利息率应该一样。如果地租率高,那么人们可以将 capital 转换成土地,每年收取固定的地租金额,如果利息率高,人们可以把 capital 出借出去,每年收取固定的利息金额;最终两个率达到相等水平。如果土地有额外优势,那么其地租率要高一些,注入土地有额外劣势,其地租率要低一些。

Chapter 5 Of the Different Employment of Capitals

Capital 被用在四种方式上。

- (1) 保障社会所需的 rude produce,主要是对 lands,mines,fisheries 的 improvement 和 cultivation。
- (2) 制造业。
- (3) 把前面两种产品从丰富的地方贩卖到最需要的地方,主要是批发商的生意。
- (4) 把商品分割成很小的份出售给临时需要的人,主要是零售商的生意。

如果没有第(1)种,就不会有制造业和后面两种贸易;如果没有第(2)种,就不会有对制造业制造出的东西的需求,或者如果果实是自发长出来的,也不具有交换价值;如果没有第

(3)种,就不会有比生产地附近范围对该商品更大的需求;如果没有第(4)种,任何一个人买东西就得一次性购买大量的该东西,而不是当前时刻需要的量,这样会占用这个人大量的 stock,使得这部分 stock 不能用在其他地方,也就是说零售使得人们的 stock 能够被充分利用起来,而不是大量的 stock 待着不动:比如没有屠夫的话,我们买牛肉可能就得买六个月的牛肉,而不是一顿饭的牛肉,这会占用大量资金,也就占用大量资金对应的 stock。

零售业雇佣的劳动力一般只有零售商自己,用 capital 购买货物; 批发业雇佣的劳动力除了自己,还有雇佣的搬运工人,用 capital 购买货物; 制造业雇佣大量工人,用 capital 购买货物; 制造业雇佣大量工人,用 capital 购买固定资本和循环资本; 农业雇佣大量农民,另外 capital 也用来购买土地一年的使用(地租)。

一个国家的农业和零售业的 capital 一般在本国内,而制造业和批发业的 capital 有可能不在国内,外国人持有的 capital 如果能够用在国内,相当于本国的 capital 增加,可以雇佣更多的本国劳动力,可以让本国劳动力使用更好的机械,从而使得本国的产量增加。

批发业分为三类。

- (1) home trade,即在本国内,将商品从 a 地卖到 b 地,将 b 地的商品卖给 a 地。
- (2) foreign trade of consumption,将本国的商品卖给外国,将外国的商品卖给本国。
- (3) carry trade,将 a 国的商品卖给 b 国,将 b 国的商品卖给 a 国, a 和 b 都不是本国。

Home trade 的资本用在本国 a 地和 b 地的企业上; foreign trade of consumption 的资本前半部分用在本国企业上,后半部分用在外国企业上; carry trade 的资本都用在外国企业上。