```
ments in
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         e workhouse. a
                he wire; another straights it; a third cuts it; a fourth points it; a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business; to whiten the pins
                                                                                                                                                        manufactures. The corn
               itity of work, which, in consequence of the division of labour, the same number of peopl
 he first begins the new work, he is seldom very keen and hearty; his mind, as they
  acquired by every country workman who is obliged to change his work and his
                                                                                                 tools every half hour, and to apply his hand in twenty
on the most pressing occasions . Independent, therefore, of his deficiency in p
                                                                                               int of dexterity, this cause
                                                   y the application of proper ma
                                                                                             chinery. It is unnecessary to
                                                                                           our. Men are much more lik
                                                                                          at variety of things. But, in
                                                                                                                          s tow
                                                                                                                        ate and q
                                                                                                                      ording as th
                                                                                                                    ould open and
                                                                                                                   ho wanted to save
                                                                                                                machines, when to mak
                                                                                                              unt, are often capable of c
                                                                                                             a particular class of citizens
                                                                                                          oyment in philosophy, as well as
                                                                                                        considerably increased by it. It is the
                                                                                                                                                         great multiplication of the productions of all t
                                                                                                                                                                                                                      he d
                 s, in a well-governed society, that universal opulence which extends i
                                                                                                                                                                                                                    own wor
                ry other workman being exactly in the same situation, he is enabled t
                                                                                                    o exchange a great quantity of his own good
                                                                                                                                                             s for a great quantity or, what comes
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  to the same th
them
               abundantly with what they have occasion for, and they accommoda
                                                                                                                                                               nd a general plenty diffuses itse
                                                                                                                                                                                                              If through all the dif
                                             on artificer or daylabourer in a civiliz
                                                                                               ed and thriving country, and you will perceive that the
                                                                                                                                                                 e number of people, of who
                                                                                                                                                                                                           se industry a part, thoug
                                                                                             moutation. The woollen coat, for example, which covers
                                                                                                                                                                   the day-labourer, as co
                                                           dation, exceeds all co
                                                                                                                                                                                                         arse and rough as it may app
         titude of wor
                                                                                            he shepherd, the sorter of the wool, the wool-comber or ca
                                                                                                                                                                    rder, the dyer, the s
                                                                                                                                                                                                      cribbler, the spinner, the weaver,
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      the fuller, the dresser, with many others, must a
                                                                                                                                ete even this homely prod
        I join thei
                                                                                          r different arts in order to compl
                                                                                                                                                                      uction. How ma
                                                                                                                                                                                                   ny merchants and carriers, besides, m
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        ust have been employed in transporting th
                                                                                                                                                                       istant part
                                                                                       me of those workmen to others
                                                                                                                                   who often live in a very d
                                                                                                                                                                                                of the country? How much commerce and n
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           avigation in particular, how many s
      e mate
                           builders, sailors, sail-makers, r
                                                                                                                                    employed in order to brin
                                                                                                                                                                                              ther the different drugs made use of by the dyer
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              which often come from the
                                                                                                                                                                         g toge
                        remotest corners of the world? What a variety of
                                                                                                                                    n order to produce the too
                                                                                                                                                                                          of the meanest of those workmen! To say nothing of s
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               uch complicated mac
                  hines as the ship of the sailor, the mill of the fuller, or even the loom of the weaver, I
                                                                                                                                                                                         variety of labour is requisite in order to form that very simp
                                                                                                                                      et us consider only what a
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  le machine, th
                                                                                                                                       elting the ore, the feller of t
                                                                                                                                                                                     he timber, the burner of the charcoal to be made use of in the s
              ears with which the shepherd clips the wool. The miner, the builder of the furnace fo
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 house.
                                                                                                                        r sm
         he brickmaker, the bricklayer, the workmen who attend the furnace, the millwright, th
                                                                                                                    e forger, t
                                                                                                                                        he smith, must all of them io
                                                                                                                                                                                  in their different arts in order to produce them. Were we to examine
      manner, all the different parts of his dress and household furniture, the coarse linen
                                                                                                                 shirt which he
                                                                                                                                         wears next his skin, the shoe
                                                                                                                                                                                s which cover his feet, the bed which he lies on, and all the different parts
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        which compose
                        it, the kitchen-grate at which he prepares his victuals, the coals
                                                                                                              which he makes us
                                                                                                                                          e of for that purpose, dug fro
                                                                                                                                                                            m the bowels of the earth, and brought to him, perhaps, by a long sea and a lo
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  ng land-carriage, all t
                                                                                                        rniture of his table, the kn
                                                                                                                                            ives and forks, the earthen or pewter plates upon which he serves up and divides his victuals, the different han
                                            e other utensils of his kitchen, all the fu
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            ds employed in preparing
                                                                                                                                                                                                                               rain, with all the knowledge and art
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         requisite for preparing that be
                                                                  his bread and h
                                                                                                    is beer, the glass window which
                                                                                                                                             h lets in the heat and the light, and keeps out the wind and the
                                                                                                                                               t which these northern parts of the world could scarce
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     have afforded a very comfortable habitation, together with the t
                                                                                                autiful and happy invention, withou
      ools of all the diff
                                                                                            erent workmen employed in producing t
                                                                                                                                                hose different conveniencies; if we examine
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           , I say, all these things, and consider what a variety of labo
         ur is employed about each of them
                                                                                         , we shall be sensible that, without the assist
                                                                                                                                                 ance and co-operation of many th
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 ousands, the very meanest person in a civilized coun
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       ated. Compared, indeed, with the more extrava
            try could not be provided, even according to, what
                                                                                   we very falsely imagine, the easy and simple mann
                                                                                                                                                  er in which he is commo
                                                                                                                                                                                                               nly accommod
               gant luxury of the great, his accommodation must no doubt appear extremely simple and easy; and yet it may be tru
                                                                                                                                                                                                       t the accommodation of an E
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             uropean prince does not always so much
                                                                                                                                                   e, perhaps, tha
                                                                                                                                                                                             g, the absolute masters of the lives and libe
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    rties of ten thousand naked savage
                  ceed that of an industrious and frugal peasant, as the accommodation of the latter exceeds that of many an African
  ex
   s. C
                     HAPTER II. OF THE PRINCIPLE WHICH GIVES OCCASION TO THE DIVISION OF LABOUR. This division of labour,
                                                                                                                                                                                     from which so many advantages are derived, is not origi
   nally t
                        he 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 cert
                          ensity in human nature, which has in view no such extensive utility; the propensity to truck, barter, and exchan
                                                                                                                                                                   ge one thing for another. Whether this propensity be one of those original principles i
     ain prop
                             nature, of which no further account can be given, or whether, as seems more probable, it be the necessary co
                                                                                                                                                         nsequence of the faculties of reason and speech, it belongs not to our present subject to inquire. It i
      n human
                                o 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 turn
        common t
        s her towards
                                                                                  or endeavours to intercept her when his companion turns her towards himself. This, however, is not the effect of any contract, but of the accidental concurrence of their passions in the same object at tha
         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, t
                                                                                         ling 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 requi
          t yours; I am wil
                                                                                            pon its dam, and a spaniel endeavours, 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
            A puppy fawns u
                                                     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 ci
            brethren, and when
             d society he stands at all times in need of the co-operation and ass
vilize
                                                                                                    istance 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 ma
                                                                                                       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 mo
               is entirely independent, and in its natural state has occasion for the
                                                                                                          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 sh
               y to prevail if he can interest their self-love in his favour, and shew them
                 this which you want, is the meaning of every such offer; and it is in this m
                                                                                                             anner that we obtain from one another the far greater pa
                                                                                                                                                                             rt of those good offices which we stand in need of. It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the b
all have
                  we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We addres
                                                                                                                                                                                 r self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities, but of their advantages. Nobody but a beggar chooses
aker that
                                                                                                                s ourselves, not to their humanity, but to their
                                                                                                                    epend upon it entirely. The charit
o depend
                   chiefly upon the benevolence of his fellow-citizens. Even a beggar does not d
                                                                                                                                                                                    y of well-disposed people, indeed, supplies him with the whole fund of his subsistence. But though this princ
                                                                                                                                                                                        de him with them as he has occasion for them. The greater part of his o
                   ely provides him with all the necessaries of life which he has occasion for, it neit
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        ccasional wants are supplied
ole ultimat
                                                                                                                       her does nor can provi
                                                                                                                                                                                           n gives him he purchases food. The old clothes which another be
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           stows upon him he exchange
the same
                    manner as those of other people, by treaty, by barter, and by purchase. With the mo
                                                                                                                           nev which o
                                                                                                                                                                      ne ma
                     clothes which suit him better, or for lodging, or for food, or for money, with which he
                                                                                                                                                                                              ood, clothes, or lodging, as he has occasion. As it is by tr
es for other
                                                                                                                                                               can buy either f
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             eaty, by barter, and by pur
hase, that w
                      e obtain from one another the greater part of those mutual good offices which we stand
                                                                                                                                                                                                 me trucking disposition which originally gives occa
                                                                                                                                                        in need of, so it is this sa
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              sion to the division of lab
our. In a tribe
                       of hunters or shepherds, a particular person makes bows and arrows, for example, with m
                                                                                                                                               ore readiness and dexterity than any
                                                                                                                                                                                                      other. He frequently exchanges them for ca
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                ttle or for venison, with
                        s; and he finds at last that he can, in this manner, get more cattle and venison, than if he hi
                                                                                                                                                                                                         ard to his own interest, therefore, th
                                                                                                                                      mself went to the field to catch them. From a reg
his companion
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                e maki
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  ng of bows and arrow
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             ay to his nei
                         s chief business, and he becomes a sort of armourer. Another excels in making the frames an
s grows to be hi
                                                                                                                              d covers of their little huts or moveable houses. He is accu
                                                                                                                                                                                                            stomed to be of use in this w
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    ghbours, who rewar
                           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-car,
I him in the same
                                                                                                                                                                                                               er. In the same manne
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        r a third becomes
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       a smith or a brazi
                           er 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 pro
er; a fourth, a tann
                                                                                                                                                                                                                  e of his own la
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    bour, which is over and
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         above his own
consumption, for s
                            uch 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 a
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 to perfection whatever talen
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         t of genius he
nay possess for tha
                             t 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
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           rent professi
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            appears to distinguish men of diffe
                               to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause, as the effect of the division of labour. The difference between the most dissimilar characters, between a
ns, when grown up
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        philosopher and a common street porter
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              for examp
                               so much from nature, as from habit, custom, and education. When they came in to the world, and for the first six or eight years of their existence, they were, perhaps, v
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ery much alike, and neither their parents nor p
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               lay-fellow
e, seems to arise not
                                markable difference. About that age, or soo
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                and widens by degrees, till at last the vanity of the
                                                                                  n after, they come to be employed in very different occupations. The difference of talents comes then to be taken notice
 could perceive any re
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 philoso
 her is willing to acknow
                                  ledge scarce any resemblance. B
                                                                                     ut without the disposition to truck, barter, and exchange, every man must have procured to himself every necessary and co
                                                                                                                                                                                                                           nveniency of life which he wanted. All must have had the s
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ame d
 ties to perform, and the
                                                                                       re could have been no such difference of employment as could alone give occasion to any great difference of talents.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                   As it is this disposition which forms that difference of talents, so
                                   same work to do, and the
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    rem
                                                                                          ns, so it is this same disposition which renders that difference useful. Many tribes of animals, acknowledged to be all of the same species, derive from nature a much more remarkable
rkable among men of diff
                                   erent professio
tinction of genius, than w
                                                                                            edent to custom and education, appears to take place among men. By nature a philosopher is not in genius and disposition half so different from a street porter, as a mastiff is from a
                                    hat. an
                                                                    from a spaniel
ey-hound, or a grey-hound
                                                                                               , or this last from a shepherd's dog. Those different tribes of animals, however, though all of the same species are of scarce any use to one another. The strength of the mastiff is not
in the least supported either
                                                           by the swiftness of the g
                                                                                                  reyhound, or by the sagacity of the spaniel, or by the docility of the shepherd's dog. The effects of those different geniuses and talents, for want of the power or disposition to barter
and exchange, cannot be bro
                                                  ught into a common stock, and do n
                                                                                                    ot in the least contribute to the better accommodation and conveniency of the species. Each animal is still obliged to support and defend itself, separately and independently, and d
                                          m that variety of talents with which nature ha
                                                                                                      s distinguished its fellows. Among men, on the contrary, the most dissimilar geniuses are of use to one another; the different produces of their respective talents, by the general di
rives no sort of advantage fro
 position to truck, barter, and e  xchange, being brought, as it were, into a common stoc
                                                                                                         k, where every man may purchase whatever part of the produce of other men's talents he has occasion for. CHAPTER III THAT THE DIVISION OF LABOUR IS LIMITED BY THE EXT
NT 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
n can have any encouragement to dedicate himself entirely to one employment, for want of th
                                                                                                             e 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. There are some sorts of industry, even of the lowest kind, which can be ca
                                                                                                                rried on nowhere but in a great town. A porter, for example, can find employment and subsistence in no other place. A village is by much too narrow a sphere for him; even an
ordinary market-town is scarce large enough to afford him constant occupation. In the lone house
                                                                                                                   s and very small villages which are scattered about in so desert a country as the highlands of Scotland, every farmer must be butcher, baker, and brewer, for his own family
In such situations we can scarce expect to find even a smith, a carpenter, or a mason, within less th
                                                                                                                     an twenty miles of another of the same trade. The scattered families that live at eight or ten miles distance from the nearest of them, must learn to perform themselves a g
eat number of little pieces of work, for which, in more populous countries, they would call in the assist
                                                                                                                       ance of those workmen. Country workmen are almost everywhere obliged to apply themselves to all the different branches of industry that have so much affinity to one
nnother as to be employed about the same sort of materials. A country carpenter deals in every sort of wer in wood, as well as a wheel-wright, a plough-wright, a cart and waggon-maker. The employments of the l
workman at the rate of a thousand nails a-day, and three hundred working days in the year, will make three hu
                                                                                                                          ork that is made of wood; a country smith in every sort of work that is made of iron. The former is not only a carpenter, but a joiner, a cabinet-maker, and even a carve
                                                                                                                            atter are still more various. It is impossible there should be such a trade as even that of a nailer in the rémote and inland parts of the highlands of Scotland. Such a
                                                                                                                               ndred thousand nails in the year. But in such a situation it would be impossible to dispose of one thousand, that is, of one day's work in the year. As by means of
 water-carriage, a more extensive market is opened to every sort of industry than what land-carriage alone can
                                                                                                                                         afford it, so it is upon the sea-coast, and along the banks of navigable rivers, that industry of every kind naturally begins to subdivide and improve itsel
 and it is frequently not till a long time after that those improvements extend themselves to the inland parts of the
                                                                                                                                                     country. A broad-wheeled waggon, attended by two men, and drawn by eight horses, in about six weeks time, carries and brings back betw
 en London and Edinburgh near four ton weight of goods. In about the same time a ship navigated by six or eight m
                                                                                                                                                                 en, and sailing between the ports of London and Leith, frequently carries and brings ba
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           ck two hundred ton weight o
 goods. Six or eight men, therefore, by the help of water-carriage, can carry and bring back, in the same time, the same
                                                                                                                                                                              quantity of goods between London and Edinburgh as fifty broad-w
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              heeled waggons, attende
 by a hundred men, and drawn by four hundred horses. Upon two hundred tons of goods, therefore, carried by the cheapest land-c
                                                                                                                                                                                           arriage from London to Edinburgh, there must b
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  e charged the mainte
 ance of a hundred men for three weeks, and both the maintenance and what is nearly equal to maintenance the wear and tear of four hundred
                                                                                                                                                                                                       horses, as well as of fifty gr
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      eat waggons. Whe
eas, upon the same quantity of goods carried by water, there is to be charged only the maintenance of six or eight men, and the wear and tear of a ship of t
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            dred tons bu
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         rthen, together
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     therefore, but by land-c
with the value of the superior risk, or the difference of the insurance between land and water-carriage. Were there no other communication between those two places,
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            arriage, as
o goods could be transported from the one to the other, except such whose price was very considerable in proportion to their weight, they could carry on but a small part of that
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            commerce which at present subsis
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                ts betwe
  them, and consequently could give but a small part of that encouragement which they at present mutually afford to each other's industry. There could be little or no commerce of any kind b
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    ods
 ould bear the expense of land-carriage between London and Calcutta? Or if there were any so precious as to be able to support this expense, with what safety could they be transported through the terri
                                                                                                                                                                                                                           tories of so many barbarous nations? Those two cities, h
  ever, at present carry on a very considerable commerce with each other, and by mutually affording a market, give a good deal of encouragement to each other's industry. Since such, therefore, are the advantages of water-carriage, it is natural that the first improvement
 of art and industry should be made where this conveniency opens the whole world for a market to the produce of every sort of labour, and that they should always be much later in extending themselves into the inland parts of the country. The inland parts of the country
an for a long time have no other market for the greater part of their goods, but the country which lies round about them, and separates them from the sea-coast, and the great navigable rivers. The extent of the market, therefore, must for a long time be in proportion to the rich
s and populousness of that country, and consequently their improvement must always be posterior to the improvement of that country. In our North American colonies, the plantations have constantly followed either the sea-coast or the banks of the navigable rivers, and have s
carce anywhere extended themselves to any considerable distance from both. The nations that, according to the best authenticated history, appear to have been first civilized, were those that dwelt round the coast of the Mediterranean sea. That sea, by far the greatest inlet that is known in the world, having no tides, nor consequently any waves, except such as are caused by the multitude of its islands, and the proximity of its neighbouring shores, extremely favourable to the infant navigation of the world; when, from their ignorance of the compass, men were afraid to quit the view of the coast, and from the imperfection of the art of ship-building, to abandon themselves to the boisterous waves of the ocean. To pass beyond the pillars of Hercules, that is, to sail out of the
straits of Gibraltar, was, in the ancient world, long considered as a most wonderful and dangerous exploit of navigation. It was late before even the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, the most skilful navigators and ship-builders of those old times, attempted it; and they were, for a lo
ng time, the only nations that did attempt it. Of all the countries on the coast of the Mediterranean sea, Egypt seems to have been the first in which either agriculture or manufactures were cultivated and improved to any considerable degree. Upper Egypt extends itself nowhere above a few miles from the Nile; and in Lower Egypt, that great river breaks itself into many different canals, which, with the assistance of a little art, seem to have afforded a communication by water-carriage, not only between all the great towns, but between all the considerable villages
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