OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

RESTRICTIVE AND PROHIBITORY

COMMERCIAL SYSTEM;

ESPECIALLY WITH A REFERENCE TO THE DECREES OF THE SPANISH CORTES OF JULY 1820.

"Leave as above."

FROM THE MSS.

OF

JEREMY BENTHAM.

EDITED BY JOHN BOWRING.

(originally printed in 1831)
Spain is a country which possesses immense mines of agricultural wealth, and offers in consequence the strongest motives for the direction of her capital to agriculture. But, in the midst of this wealth, whose tangible riches are to be seen at every step, there is a vast area of desolate and undulating country, whose arid and barren aspects are in striking contrast with the abundant and fertile soil of the plains which watered by the rivers of the Valencian coast?.

This is the case with all the countries of the Peninsula, to record one of the latest, practical lessons that other countries will give a welcome to the works of our looms, because we offer them so honest an equivalent. It has been proved that the best part of the cloth, which is produced by theirs. Their wool and their fruit, their oil and wine, their drugs and dyewoods, will receive from us in our abundant generosity, as we are not able to produce them. But what right have we to complain, if they copy the example we have given them, and suddenly turn our manufactures away? They show how they value, and how well they apply, the good lessons we have given them. We would persuade them, perhaps, that it is for their interest to take our goods: they are cheaper, better—nothing more reasonable. But, in common justice, if they have a word to say to us on that score in favour of their own, let us pray let us listen to them. Shall our answer be—No, never? It would tend greatly to facilitate the fair consideration of this most important question, if, in reckoning up the sources of national wealth, and in determining the degree to which a free people may realize, and less prone to draw a broad line of demarcation between commercial and agricultural interest. The propriety of a nation of uncalculating arrogance: but it goes far enough for our arguments; and for anything beyond it, fewer arguments would of course suffice.

The writer cannot, however, in this place forbear expressing his astonishment at the reproaches and indignations which, he is permitted to share with the sentiments of so many of the illustrious authors in the late momentous and exhilarating changes, which he feels, and powerfully feels, disappointment and regret that her legislators should have committed an error so high, and so pernicious. He is not one of those who imagine that the writer deems it practicable to introduce a cornucopia, whose tangible riches are to be seen at every step, there is a vast area of desolate and undulating country, whose arid and barren aspects are in striking contrast with the abundant and fertile soil of the plains which are watered by the rivers of the Valencian coast. This is the case with all the countries of the Peninsula, to record one of the latest, practical lessons that other countries will give a welcome to the works of our looms, because we offer them so honest an equivalent. It has been proved that the best part of the cloth, which is produced by theirs. Their wool and their fruit, their oil and wine, their drugs and dyewoods, will receive from us in our abundant generosity, as we are not able to produce them. But what right have we to complain, if they copy the example we have given them, and suddenly turn our manufactures away? They show how they value, and how well they apply, the good lessons we have given them. We would persuade them, perhaps, that it is for their interest to take our goods: they are cheaper, better—nothing more reasonable. But, in common justice, if they have a word to say to us on that score in favour of their own, let us pray let us listen to them. Shall our answer be—No, never? It would tend greatly to facilitate the fair consideration of this most important question, if, in reckoning up the sources of national wealth, and in determining the degree to which a free people may realize, and less prone to draw a broad line of demarcation between commercial and agricultural interest. The propriety of a nation of uncalculating arrogance: but it goes far enough for our arguments; and for anything beyond it, fewer arguments would of course suffice.

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commerce recognised by some public act, and by degrees, but as soon as may be, everything should be made free of all duties, which, in truth, is a great principle. In many branches of commerce, the transit would be easy; with these we might begin, and step by step trace back the mistaken road.

And finally, let it not be forgotten, as a motive for reverting to a better system, that England no longer possesses the physical power and the means of carrying admission to her desire. When those decrees are friendly to nations whose local circumstances formerly made them so much dependent on the protection or for the bareance of our government. Our ships cannot now blockade their ports, nor assume the exclusive right of conveying to them the foreign commodities they need. They are no longer compelled to receive their supplies from our warehouses; nor is that state of things likely to return. Franklin spoke like a practical philosopher, when he said that the best plan of policy would be to make England free ports. With her immense resources, of mind, of wealth, of industry — with everything, indeed, which can contribute to her commercial superiority — she would be spared the interference of those who, intending perhaps to protect, manage constantly to wound and injure her, what might she not become?

Of the following tract, everything that is emphatic in its style, or irresistible in its reasoning, belongs to its distinguished author. He has seized on, and applied with singular felicity and energy, all the great bearings of this interesting and important subject; and the writer has only ventured to blend with the original matter a few practical and local observations which have come under his personal cognizance.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

SECTION I.

NATURE OF THE PROHIBITORY SYSTEM. Just as the period was expiring, beyond which, according to the Spanish constitution, the Cortes had no power to continue their sittings — at least, there is that great principle. It was certainly no more the case then, than now, that the Cortes had no power to continue their sittings — at least, there is that great principle. It was certainly no more the case then, than now, that the Cortes had no power to continue their sittings — at least, there is that great principle. It was certainly no more the case then, than now, that the Cortes had no power to continue their sittings — at least, there is that great principle.

So hurried was this measure, that its details were obliged to be referred to the finance minister; and so unexpected, that all the correspondence which communicated to this country the first news of the decree, breathed nothing but surprise or disappointment, regret or anger. Yet there can be no doubt the real, as the averred object was, to give encouragement and increase to the manufacturing branch of national industry, by compelling the employment of home productions, in lieu of those which Spain had been accustomed to receive from other manufacturing countries. It may be laid down as a universal maxim, that the employment of home productions, in lieu of those which Spain had been accustomed to receive from other manufacturing countries.

This injudicious and baneful decree is illustrated of the extreme absurdity of that part of the constitution which only allows an exclusive right of conveying to them the foreign articles. The effect of this sort of tax goes, whose is it? that of the public? No! but that of the individual producer, and the consumer. The amount of loss is not to be calculated from the price of the tax, the expense of collection, or the consumers. The article is purchased instead of the foreign one, or if neither the one nor the other be purchased; disobeyed, if instead of the home article, the foreign one be purchased. In the case of such prohibition, obedience takes place in some instances; disobedience in others. The particular, as especially affecting Spain, is the law disobeyed, but its purpose is more mischievous. Here, though the law is not more costly. Here, too, in respect of the loss unexpended, to be employed in the national treasury, it were pocketed by the individual collectors.

SECTION II.

ITS NATURE. It may be desired here to explain that the word better, when used, means better at the same time. The text is, in truth, a more convenient standard, because an unfixating and determinate standard; quality not. Indeed, in the opinions of the purchasers or the consumers, the article is more advantageous, or more agreeable; and it is better in the proportion in which it is more advantageous. This premise, we proceed more satisfactorily to consider the results of a prohibitory law as to the points of view of which it is susceptible.

When, in the view of favouring home commodities, a prohibition inhibiting the introduction of foreign rival commodities is obtained, that prohibition is either obeyed or disobeyed; obeyed, if the home article be purchased instead of the foreign one, or if neither the one nor the other be purchased; disobeyed, if instead of the home article, the foreign one be purchased. In the case of such prohibition, obedience takes place in some instances; disobedience in others.

Case I. The prohibition obeyed, and the purpose answered, by the purchase and use of the home article instead of the rival foreign article. The tax paid for the home article is greater than what had been paid for the foreign article, and the prohibition not existed; if not, the prohibition would be without an object. What, then, is the result to the consumer? He has exercised his feelings of hostility, indeed, neither more nor less than an application of the system of fictitious encouragement of the domestic production in the indirect mode; that is, by discouragement applied to the same articles when produced by foreign countries.

The expediency of such a measure may be conveniently considered in two points of view: — the general, in its application to all countries; the particular, as especially affecting Spain.

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of it, the effect—the bad effect—of a tax; and by every increase given to the severity, or in any other way to the efficiency of the law, a correspondent increase is given to the amount and the bitterness produced by this unproduc-
ductive substitute to a government tax.

And into whose pockets is the produce of this tax, less useful, this baseless substitute to a tax, conveyed? Into the pockets of the home-producers, whom, at the expense of all their fellow-countrymen, its advantages are thus employed to serve? No! But into the pockets of those whose labours are em-
ployed, whose lives and liberty handed, in effectuating the necessary law to be disobeyed, and the design of it frustrated.

The persons for whom this favour is in-
tended,—what title have they, what title can they ever have, to such a preference,—to a benefit to which a correspondent injury, not to say injustice, to others,—an injury, an injustice to such an extent,—is unavoidably linked?

And in point of numbers, what are the fa-
voured when compared with the disfavoured?

Answer: The few; the few always served, or meant to be served, at the expense of the many.

This one observation attaches inevitable and inseparable condemnation to the mea-
sure, unless it can be shown that the sum of profit to the few is more than equivalent to the sum of loss to the many.

But in favour of such a supposition no reasonable argument can be presented. If any one believes he can discover such a reason—if any one imagines it falls within the possibilities of the case, to him it belongs to produce it.

The loss sustained by those on whom the burden of the tax lying itself, is immediately accumu-
lated—who are, as it were, in actual contact with the measure, is not the only loss. And what is wanted is to the prohibition, the articles now prohibited were furnished by foreign pro-
ducers, to whom home articles to an amount regarded as fair equivalent were supplied in return, and were in fact the means of pur-
chase and consumption of the means of paying for the goods of the country which issues the prohibition, the foreign producer is driven from the market. And here, on the very face of the transaction, is another set of men whose livelihood is imposed—or, which is the same thing, to whom a profit is denied—equi-

valent at least to the expected benefit, sup-
posing it received, of whatever is prohibited and manufactured and consumed within the country.

And here, then, in addition to the injury done to the universal interest, is an injury done to a particular interest, equal to the benefit con-
templated to the other particular interest for whom the prohibition was made.

Not so, it may be objected—not so; for what they before purchased with the prohib-
ited goods, they will then continue to purchase with other prohibited goods, which is still better.

Van, however, is this objection. In money perhaps they would have paid for these goods, rather than have gone for the like to the prohibited article, if, have paid for them, could they have got it. But they could not have got it, in selling their goods. If they have sold their goods and realized their profit, why should they bring the money they have produced to you?

But they will pay in other goods. If we want these goods, and can pay for them, and will allow them to be brought to us, we shall have them in any case, whether the others be prohibited or not: so that the question remains as it was before.

This is the point at which any person who, being determined to justify the prohibitory system at all events, though at the same time conscious of its unjustifiability, would be apt to attempt a diversion by leading the debate into the subject of the balance of trade. But, without going into the details of that contro-
versy, a demonstration of the reality of the facts found on universal experience is easy even the self-denying sinner.

After the mechanical question is the sort of operation to sell the whole or a part of his produce to this or that particular customer, no man who knows that what customer is prevented from selling the only goods he used was sent to return, but would unhesitatingly present himself, for any one believes he can discover such a reason—if any one imagines it falls within the possibilities of the case, to him it belongs to produce it.

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In Spain, again, this third mischief singularly great. Of some of her exporting produce, the greater part is bought for foreign markets by foreigners. Distress produced by the prohibition proportionally great. In 1810 an instance in point occurred, when in the interior provinces (particularly La Mancha and Castilla) great distress was occasioned among the agricultural producers, by the excess of produce remaining unsold on their hands: in some districts the harvest was left to rot on the ground. But this was the reign of the restrictive system only: how much would then have been augmented under the prohibitory system? It appears by Table C, that the amount of produce yearly imported into England from Spain varies between $2,500,000 and $2,200,000 sterling.

Mischief IV. Mischief by the loss of the tax, which antecedently to the prohibition was paid by the commodities now prohibited; i.e. of the correspondent supply received from that source by the government for the use of the people. Sufferers, all payers of taxes; i.e. all the population. Amount of the suffering, the annual amount of the supply received from this source.

In Spain, again, the mischief eminently great; the duties on imported goods being one of the most important sources — nearly a fourth of the whole revenue. The net amount of custom-house revenue from June 1820 to June 1821, is calculated 80,000,000 reals de Vellon. The expense of collecting the custom-house rate was nearly 25 per cent.; its gross amount is about 100,000,000 reals, or one million sterling.*

Mischief V. Mischief given to the number of smugglers, in consequence of the prohibition, and the increase of price which the persons habituated to consume or otherwise use the now prohibited commodities, will determine to give, rather than forego the use of them.

This mischief is of a very complicated nature, and branches out into a variety of evil consequences pernicious to the moral feeling of society.

Of the government functionaries, whose labour, previously to the prohibition, was employed in the collection of the tax paid on the prohibited commodities in question, the labour will now be employed in securing the exclusion of them from the hands of the intruded purchasers — or depriving such purchasers of them, should they have reached their hands.

Suppose them to be thus seized, what is to become of them? Are they to be destroyed? Here is dead and absolute loss to everybody. Are they to be sold for government account? What benefit intended for the government is prevented from coming into their hands? If sold with permission to be employed at home the harvest of which they have been accustomed to sell with an obligation to export (as is the practice in England,) the loss is diminished, but not less certain — loss of the extra value given in consequence of a consequent on non-adaptation to other markets — and other contingent loss, unsusceptible of calculation. At all events, all loss attaches to your own people. The commodities having passed from the hands of the foreigner whose profits have been secured, into yours, — with you the risk of the adventure now lies.

Of a part of the people, whose labour antecedently to the prohibition may have been, and, until reason appears to the contrary, that which is presumed to have been, employed in some profit-seeking and productive operation, — and the produce remaining unsold on their hands in consequence of the prohibition — when erroneous views shall be succeeded by correct ones, and these prohibitory decrees be repealed accordingly,—these smugglers, what becomes of them? A return to honest labour is neither so agreeable nor so easy as, but for the prohibition, was in the case of Spain. Then is suffering created to the amount of the value to the holder, and not an atom of benefit obtained from them. If they are to be benefited with an obligation to export (as is the practice in England,) the loss is diminished, but not less certain — loss of the extra value given in consequence of a consequent on non-adaptation to other markets — and other contingent loss, unsusceptible of calculation. At all events, all loss attaches to your own people. The commodities having passed from the hands of the foreigner whose profits have been secured, into yours,—with you the risk of the adventure now lies.

We have thus, under the prohibitory decree, two contending bodies, not to say armies, engaged in constant conflict: — the custom-house officers, having for the object of their exertions to give effect to the decree, and to prevent the introduction of the prohibited articles,—the object of the smugglers, to evade the decree, by promoting and effecting the introduction of those articles. The government functionaries, some- luntarily by the government rulers, out of the contributions paid involuntarily by the people: the smugglers are paid voluntarily by the people.

In the course of this conflict, lives will be lost, and other bodily harm will be sustained by the people of the house of the husbands of the women who are engaged in constant conflict: — the custom-house officers, by the excess of the produce of the prohibited articles, the prohibited articles will also have place; particularly of such articles as are the subject of the contest thus set on.

Nor can the calculations under this head of mischief be closed, without reversing to another mischief procured by the giving execution of the prohibitory-ordinance, as against those by whom that ordinance is disregarded; — i.e. by the execution of the law against, or upon, such delinquents.

Under this head must be considered two perfectly distinct objects: — the one a consequence of evil: — 1. The evil of expense, attached to the officer created and paid, and to the other arrangements of all sorts, having abolished habits of the punishment of offenders, the prevention of the offence; 2. Evil of punishment, composed of the suffering of those in whom, whether justly or unjustly, the idea of the supposition of delinquency on their parts, the punishment is caused to be inflicted.

Aside from this support due to all who have in any instance benefited by the lessons of experience, and from whom we have reason to hope that there will be no abstinence persisting in a system, to a white and clear, when erroneous views shall be succeeded by correct ones, and these prohibitory decrees be repealed accordingly,—these smugglers, what becomes of them? A return to honest labour is neither so agreeable nor so easy as, but for the prohibition, was in the case of Spain. Then is suffering created to the amount of the value to the holder, and not an atom of benefit obtained from them. If they are to be benefited with an obligation to export (as is the practice in England,) the loss is diminished, but not less certain — loss of the extra value given in consequence of a consequent on non-adaptation to other markets — and other contingent loss, unsusceptible of calculation. At all events, all loss attaches to your own people. The commodities having passed from the hands of the foreigner whose profits have been secured, into yours, — with you the risk of the adventure now lies.

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has been too long current. To Spain it would be a great calamity, whatever the result of the struggle might be, if the question of commercial policy should resolve itself into the question of political and professional rank. Mischief VIII. Ill-will on the part of your own people, exerted towards the ruling and fashionable few, by whom the prohibitions imposed have had their existence. Antecedently to the prohibition, in whom, as to the matter in question, did your people in general behold their friends?—whether the national and cosmopolitan interest of the respective nations, in those people—foreigners as they were and are—by whom, though without reciprocal remonstrance, those arguments and objections were made to their comfort; if not in point of affection their friends, at the least and at the worst their actual benefactors;—whether in intention or not, as any rate in effect.

Subsequently to the prohibitory system, in whom, in consequence of it, will they behold, though not their intended, yet not the less their real adversaries—the authors of their sufferings—of all the sources of suffering enumerated?—in whom but in their rulers, these—so far as it is hoped it may by this time be allowable to call them—these their misguided rulers? At the same time, still looking at home, in whom will the people behold, in addition to their foreign friends as above, a set of domestic ones?—Even in respect of their misinformed and misguided rulers—whether in those men by whose industry and intrepidity they have been preserved (in so far as they will have been preserved) in the enjoyment of those comforts, of which, had the endeavours of their rulers been effectual, they would have been deprived.

Thus, while on the one side they will be beholding in the character of adversaries and injurers a comparatively small portion of their fellow-subjects in confederacy with their rulers; on the other side they will see in the character of friends a nation of foreigners and a body of malefactors—friends linked to them by community of interest—friends, in whose good offices they behold their only resource against the ill of those done to them by those who should have been their friends.

Upon Spain the eyes of the world have been fixed full of hope: already they begin to turn away, full of disappointment. Not new authorities for this manifest of the reckless abandonment of the interests of the greater number to the usurpations of the lesser number, did we anticipate from that land of promise. Alas! we have been deceived.

A circumstance from which the evil connected with the encouragement of smugglers is liable to receive peculiar aggravation, is the state of the system of judicial procedure. Decision being always tardy and often unattainable, and, from the want of publicity on...
eminity necessarily produced by the frequent
and unavoidable competition of interests—is
such a nuisance, without making any new
and needless addition; without exerting
and letting loose the angry passions in any other
direction, and giving to ill-will—already too
active and too prevalent—auxiliaries at once
so unnecessary and so dangerous.

When, for the purpose of encouraging home-
industry, a restrictive measure is imposed on the pro-
duction of foreign industry when directed to the
same object, the

and needless addition
and

direction, and giving to ill-will—already too
branch of industry. By removal of

ficial support

should be thrown into the deep. If left to

active and too

be the most profitable, it needs not this

enmity necessarily produced by the frequent

fancy; it is

able to a less profitable employment. At all

wealth which for a time it is pro-

However, the idea intended to be conveyed is, that influence which on the
occasion in question is applied to the one or
the few on who will the success of the
exertion depends, by the one or the few
who, by habitual intercourse, possess in rela-
tion to them more or less facility of access in
private.

On the part of the individual in question,
be he who he may, the quantity of time it is
possible for him to apply to the business in
question, be it what it may, is a limited quantity — a quantity which, with reference
to that success in which the individual in
question stands engaged to give support to the
measure, is, in habits of adequate familiarity with
those on whom the adoption of it depends, the
consequent advantage possessed by the
measure is great and manifest. An additional
and extra quantity of the arbiters time is
required to be applied to a new branch or to
new field of productive labour, for the pur-
pose —not the ultimate purpose, but still
the purpose—of lessening the value of the
produce; diminishing unprofitableness, for the
relief of unprofitableness: preventing A
from selling good goods, in order that B
may be enabled to sell dear ones; prohibiting A
from producing superior articles, for the
purpose of helping B to get rid of his inferior
articles.

Here, then, is a vast proportion of the time
and labour of the constituted authorities em-
ployed to no better purpose, in order not
to check prosperity as it proceeds—to
sacrifice success to the want of success—to
diminish the mass of habitual wealth, instead
of increasing it.

Whatsoever be the effect of accident in this
or that particular instance, operating against
the general principle, the general principle
may be safely assumed and laid down, that
the prosperity of every branch of industry will
increase and decrease in the ratio of the
degree of aptitude — of moral, intellectual,
and active aptitude — on the part of the per-
sons engaged in it; on the degree, absolute
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It is, in a word, a contrivance for causing
everything to be done as badly as possible —
for giving to evil the encouragements due to
good.

SECTION III.
ITS CAUSES.

The system of injustice and impolicy thus
extensively pursued,—to what causes shall
its existence, and its domination be ascribed? In
so far as, in others, the cause will be found
in the comparative strength of the producing
influence, concurring with the comparative
weakenings of the opposing and restraining in-
fluence.

The efficient causes — the causes of the pro-
bhibitory measure.

1. Combined public exertions.
2. Secret or corrupt influence.
3. Non-existence of counter-efficient in-
fluence.

IV. Legislative blindness.

1. The apparent, and thence the real number
of the persons thus confederating, of whose
individual interests the particular interest in
question is composed.

When the result of the adoption of it
depends, by the one or the few
who, by habitual intercourse, possess in rela-
tion to them more or less facility of access in
private.

On the part of the individual in question,
be he who he may, the quantity of time it is
possible for him to apply to the business in
question, be it what it may, is a limited quantity — a quantity which, with reference
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RESTRICTIVE AND PROTECTORY SYSTEM.

[Sect. III.]

Even of the manufacturing interests, it is not every class that has the power to associate and combine in support of the common interest of the class: that power only exists where similar parties are concentrated in small districts — where means of intercourse are frequent and easy — or where large numbers are employed by large capital lodged in one field. But the individual, or of a single partnership. What facilities of general association or combination are possessed by individuals similar to those engaged in support of the common interest — that is sufficiently represented or imperfectly represented many, who compose the general interest, — in so far as it is clearly possessed.

But it is the exclusively-used attribute of a particular interest, at once to require and to create facilities for the support of sinister and corruptive influence. The universal interest — the people at large — the subject many — never see, never can see, engaged in support of their interest of that universal interest — a friend and advocate established in habits of intimacy with the official person, at the table of the official person; an intimate who, by any favour in their power to bestow, they can induce to engage that same official person to support, by his individual exertions, that general interest against which the particular interest is waging war. For any purpose of corrupt influence, the official person himself and himself to the facilities afforded, under the circumstances of the case, for the introduction of corrupting devices, is more accessible to the general interest: the particular interest can come at both.

The consequence is, that whenever the general interest is sacrificed to the particular interest, a probability has place that the sacrifice has been obtained, not from the sincerity of honest delusion, but from the perversity of corrupt intention. This probability will be more or less according to the more or less obvious impolicy of the measure, and to the facilities afforded, under the circumstances of the case, for the introduction of corrupting tactics. The general interest, in its efforts among those who occupy the high places of authority.

These causes, in fact, apply to the whole field of government; they account for the universal domination of the interests of the few over the interests of the many; they account for the largest portion of the aggregate mass of interest.

But it may be retold, this prevalence of particular over universal interest being, according to your self, so general, the necessary consequence of that neglect which mischief ensues — everything is as it should be; for what is the universal interest but the aggregate of all particular interests? This is evading, not meeting the argument.

The desire indeed exists universally to give preference each man to his particular interest; but not the faculty. The wish is everywhere — the power not so.

[Sect. IV.]

ITS CAUSES.

Even of the manufacturing interests, it is not every class that has the power to associate and combine in support of the common interest of the class: that power only exists where similar parties are concentrated in small districts — where means of intercourse are frequent and easy — or where large numbers are employed by large capital lodged in one field.

Such as the British manufacturer, or the British merchant, or any other particular interest, named in the aggregate the agricultural interest. By a system of prohibitions, foreign grain is excluded, with the avowed intent of making home-produced grain dearer than it would be otherwise — dearer to the whole population of the country.

But the class of persons means to be favoured, and actually favoured, by this undue advantage, are not any class of persons employed in any beneficial operation; but a class of persons who, without any labour of their own, derive from the labours of others a share of the universal good greater than is possessed by any who employ their labour in the purchase of it. They are land proprietors, deriving their means of employment from land proprietors, deriving their means of enjoyment much easier, and more to thank themselves and one another if they are not — a compact harmonizing body — a chain of iron: the land proprietors, the merchants, and all the table-companions of the people.

In Spain, one-thirtieth part of the whole purchase of wheat will be about a twenty-sixth part. Dr. Antillon.

In Great Britain will have been about 600,000 quarters; and of flour, 200,000 quarters; and of corn, 430,000 quarters. In Spain, one-thirtieth part of the whole consumption of foreign corn in Great Britain the imports and exports for 25 years would be found in Tables D and E. They were published in 1813 by order of the House of Commons. By these it would appear that the pro-rata annual importation of wheat, taking this period into account, was about 450,000 quarters, 900,000 cwt.; which, taken in round numbers at 50,000 quarters, makes 500,000 quarters in. The pro-rata exports of the same period were about 45,000 quarters of wheat, and 100,000 cwt. of flour; say in all, 55,000 quarters of wheat; so that the net amount of foreign grain consumed in Great Britain will have been a mere 600,000 quarters yearly. Calculating the annual consumption of the country at 11 millions of quarters, the proportion employed of foreign home-produced wheat will be about a twenty-sixth part. Dr. Adam Smith gives no data, but assumes the proportion in his time to have been as 1 to 10. Can such a change have really taken place? In Spain, one-sixtieth part of the whole consumption is the general amount of importation. The estimated quantity employed yearly is said to be 2 million cwt. The estimated quantity employed yearly is said to be 2 million cwt.
In England, the prudential and all-sufficient cause of misgovernment, and consequent misery, is the corruption of the system of national representation; in every other country, the want of a system of adequate national representation, or rather the want of a representative democracy, in place of a more or less mitigated despotism: the want of the only form of government in which the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the end in view.

The mischief, then, of this system of partial encouragement being in all its shapes so vast, so insalubrious, and its sum so plainly predominant over the sum of good, to whom or to what shall we attribute the existence, the prevalence of such a system? To the general causes of misuse—to the want of the necessary elements of good government—to a deficiency of appropriate property, or intellectual aptitude, or active talent: in other words, to a want of honesty, or ability, or industry.

One cause bearing upon the question of appropriate intellectual aptitude or ability, and likely to mislead it, is this:—The good which constitutes the ground of the prohibitory measure, the reason that operates in favour of it, is comparatively prominent—the evil not equally so; its place is concealed in the background. Hence it is, as in too many other instances, a good, however small, is by its vicissitude to the eye enabled to eclipse and conceal the evil, and vice versa.

When, reckoning from the day on which a measure has received the force of law, a certain period of time has elapsed, or rather the want of a system of adequate national representation, is the end in view. The mischief, then, of this system of partial encouragement being in all its shapes so vast, so insalubrious, and its sum so plainly predominant over the sum of good, to whom or to what shall we attribute the existence, the prevalence of such a system? To the general causes of misuse—to the want of the necessary elements of good government—to a deficiency of appropriate property, or intellectual aptitude, or active talent: in other words, to a want of honesty, or ability, or industry.

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### TABLE D.

Account of Foreign Grain, &c. Imported into Great Britain from 1792 to 1812 inclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Barley</th>
<th>Barley Meal</th>
<th>Beans</th>
<th>Indian Corn</th>
<th>Indian Meal</th>
<th>Malt</th>
<th>Oats</th>
<th>Oatmeal</th>
<th>Pease</th>
<th>Rye</th>
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<th>Wheat</th>
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</table>

### TABLE E.

Account of the Quantity of Corn and Grains of all sorts, Meal, Flour, and Rice, exported from Great Britain from 1792 to 1812 inclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Barley</th>
<th>Barley Meal</th>
<th>Beans</th>
<th>Indian Corn</th>
<th>Indian Meal</th>
<th>Malt</th>
<th>Oats</th>
<th>Oatmeal</th>
<th>Pease</th>
<th>Rye</th>
<th>Rye Meal</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Wheat Flour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>2,936</td>
<td>7,136</td>
<td>1,216</td>
<td>1,216</td>
<td>1,216</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>1,020</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,340</td>
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</tr>
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<td>320</td>
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</tr>
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<td>320</td>
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<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>1,340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The values are in thousands of pounds sterling.