 **一个对大陆封锁体系的经济学解释**

填写作品集的一些相关简介或者一些作品集的说明

**SIMPLE BUSINESS LAW RELATED**

作品集名称

**THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM**

**An Economic Interpretation**

嘉兴糖汉化组翻译

武汉大学历史学院拿破仑同好会校对

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英汉对照版

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

## 编者序言

THE author of the present inquiry into the Continental System during the beginning of the last century is known as one of the most promineni political economists in Scandinavia and as a thorough investigator of the history of commerce. Among other things he has done very useful work by his suggestive researches concerning the economy of the World War

本书作者作为斯堪的纳维亚半岛最著名的政治经济学家之一，也是商业史的彻底调查者，对上世纪初的大陆体系进行了调查。通过对世界大战经济的提示性研究，他在其他方面也做了非常有益的工作。

When the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace publishes the book, the obvious explanation is that the Continental blockade in many ways throws light on the economic blockade among the belligerent powers involved by the World War.

当*卡内基国际和平基金会*出版这本书时，明显的解释是大陆封锁在许多方面揭示了世界大战所涉及的交战国之间的经济封锁情况。

That the Napoleonic Continental System could by no meanshave such far-reaching effects as those of the World War already appears from the great difference in dimensions, and from the fact that the separate nations at that time were far more independent of each other economically than they are At the present time with its extraordinary degree of international division of labour. But the author further shows how powerless the governments were at that time compared with those of the present day in the face of attempts at breaking the blockade, and to how slight an extent the measures were supported by the populations themselves. These great changes in the conditions of ower and in the general view are highly interesting from a sociological point of view. But even if Napoleon had been in possession of sufficient power his own policy shows to how slight an extent a real international blockade was aimed at by the Continental System.

拿破仑时期的大陆体系绝不可能像世界大战那样产生深远的影响，这一点从规模上的巨大差异以及当时各个国家在经济上的相互独立程度远远超过现在的国际分工程度这一事实可以看出。但作者进一步说明，与今天的政府相比，当时的政府在面对打破封锁的尝试时无能为力，而且这些措施得到民众本身的支持是如此缺乏。从社会学的角度来看，这些在条件和一般观点上的巨大变化是非常有趣的。但是，即使拿破仑拥有足够的权力，他自己的政策也表明，大陆体系旨在实现真正的国际封锁的程度是多么微不足道。

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

## 作者序言

FOR the aim and character of this short study the reader is referred to the Introduction and the Bibliographical Note. A few words may be added, however, as to the conditions under which it was written.

关于这项简短研究的目的和特点，请读者参阅导言和书目说明。不过，对于写这本书的条件，我可以补充几句话。

The book represents a sort of synthesis of earlier studies of the mercantile system and its outgrowths, on the one side, and the result of extensive theoretical and practical workprivate, academic, and government-in the field of presentday war economics, on the other. In its original form it was written very rapidly during the winter of 1917-18, under strong pressure of other work, and was presented to my history teacher, Professor Harald Hjarne, on the seventieth anniversary of his birth, at the beginning of May 1918. Probably the atmosphere of a rather strict blockade in a neutral country will be found to pervade it as a more or less natural consequence of the time of its production.

这本书一方面代表了早期对重商主义制度及其发展的研究的集大成，另一方面代表了在当今战争经济学领域广泛的理论和实践工作——包括私人、学术和政府的成果。该书的原始形式是在1917-18年冬季，在其他工作的强大压力下迅速写成的，并于1918年5月初在我的历史老师哈拉尔德-希亚尔内（Harald Hjarne）教授诞辰70周年之际提交给他。我们可以发现，在一个中立国家，会弥漫着相当严格的封锁气氛，这或多或少是其生产时间所导致的正常结果。

When the Carnegie Endowment for Internatioml Peace, through its representative for Scandinavia, my esteemed colleague, Professor Harald Westergaard, proposed that I should treat the subject for its series, I overhauled my earlier text, changing its outward arrangement in several respects and making a number of additions, partly based on new materials. As before, however, I was restricted to suchinformationas was to be found in my own country, and consequently I cannot hope to have escaped error altogether, especially as the field is very large and some of my sources not above suspicion. But what I hope is that the leading ideas of the book, that is, the interpretation of the Continental System, will prove substantially correct.

当*卡内基国际和平基金会*通过其斯堪的纳维亚代表，我尊敬的同事Harald Westergaard教授，建议我为其系列研究这个主题时，我彻底修改了我以前的文本，在几个方面改变了其外部安排，并做了一些补充，部分是基于新材料。然而，和以前一样，我局限于在我自己的国家能找到的信息，因此我不指望完全避免错误，尤其是由于这个领域非常大，而且我的一些材料来源并非无可置疑。但我希望这本书的主要观点，即对大陆体系的解释，将被证明是基本正确的。

As the book appears in an English translation, it may bewell for me to point out that I have not had American readers principally in mind. Had that been the case, the brief outline of American policy with regard to the Continental System (part 11, chapter IV) would have been either enlarged or omitted altogether, since it cannot contain, in its present form, much that is unknown to educated American readers.

由于该书是英译本，我不妨指出，本书内容并非主要面对美国读者。如果是这样的话，美国对大陆体系的政策的简要概述（第11部分，第四章）就会被扩大或完全省略，因为在这个版本中，它不能包含很多受过教育的美国读者都不知道的东西。（美国对大陆体系的政策是很多受过教育的美国读者都不知道的，因此如果要迎合美国市场，要么详细阐述它，要么直接忽略它）

The British Orders in Council of 1807 have been reproduced in an appendix, as they are far more inaccessible than the Napoleonic decrees, and are, moreover, very often misunderstood and sometimes even misquoted.

英国1807年的枢密院令被转载在附录中，因为它们远比拿破仑的法令更难获得，而且经常被误解，有时甚至被错误引用。

The English text is, in the main, the work of my colleague Mr. C. S. Fearenside, M.A. (Oxford), Junior Lector in English at the University College of Commerce. There can be no question about the desirability of writing a book from the beginning in the language in which it is to appear, since the association of ideas with language, at least in political and social sciences, is far too close to allow a text to pass entirely unscathed through the ordeal of a translation. But in this case too much was already written in Swedish to leave more than one course open to me. Mr. Fearenside has found it the best plan to follow the Swedish original very closely, instead of attempting to recast the sentence structure on English lines. I am very grateful to him, not only for the work of translation, but also for numerous valuable suggestions regarding the outward arrangement of the text.

这些英文文本主要是我的同事C.S.Fearenside先生的作品，他是牛津大学商业学院的英语初级讲师。毫无疑问，从一开始就用它要出现的语言来写一本书更加可取，因为思想与语言的联系，至少在政治和社会科学中是非常密切的，不允许一个文本完全无损地通过翻译的磨难。但在这种情况下，有太多的东西已经用瑞典语写好了，所以我只能选择一种方法。Fearenside先生发现，最好的办法是紧跟瑞典语原文，而不是试图按照英语的思路重塑句子结构。我非常感谢他，不仅因为他的翻译工作，而且还因为他对文本的外在安排提出了许多宝贵的建议。

My wife has been my best helpmate throughout the work, and to the Carnegie Endowment I am deeply indebted for the reading of the proof.

在整个工作过程中，我的妻子一直是我最好的帮手，而对于*卡内基基金会*对校对的阅读，我深表感谢。

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# INTRODUCITION

# 导言

**HISTORY** has rightly been called **of** old *magistra vitae[[1]](#footnote-0)*, which function is incompatible with that **of** *ancilla fidei [[2]](#footnote-1)*or even *ancilla pietatis[[3]](#footnote-2).* The' fact is that historical research can offer us knowledge only by bringing forward its conclusions quite irrespective of their value as **a** support for any practical aims, howsoever lofty. The endeavours which have been going on all over the world in recent years to transform scientific work into a species of propaganda with a great show of learning, are related not only to the conditions of the moment, but also to the deeper spiritual influences which themselves have done much to bring those conditions about. They are in this way easy to explain ; but their tendency to endanger and to create indifference for true research is not lessened thereby.

曾经有如此正确的观点，认为历史以史为鉴的功能与信仰或虔诚方枘圆凿，格格不入的。事实上，历史研究只能通过提出其结论来为我们提供知识，而不考虑其作为任何实际目标的支持的价值，无论多么崇高。但近年来，世界各地都在努力将历史的科研工作转变为一种学术性的宣传工作，这不仅与当前的条件有关，而且与更深层次的精神影响有关，而这些精神影响本身也为当前条件的形成做出了很大贡献。不幸的是，我们很容易解释这一趋势的来源，但它们危害真正研究，使人们对真正研究冷漠的负面效果却没有因此而减少。

In the present inquiry I have pursued, to the best **of** my humble ability, a purely scientific aim, in the meaning **of** the term that has just been indicated. **I** have not sought to take sides in the struggles that are barely finished, but **only** to make use of the experiences of former times, in combination with the experiences of to-day, in order thereby to make room for a better understanding of the entire course of developments. **As** a matter of fact, it is difficult to imagine **a** task within the sphere of economic history which is more worth while taking up just now than a consideration of the last great commercial blockade. **As** will appear from the following account, both the resemblances and the differences **of** the Napoleonic wars with respect to the recent World War are instructive in the hlghest degree. But it can scarcely be expected that the matter will be treated in a purely objective manner, that is to say, exclusively on the basis of its own inherent conditions, by those who, metaphorically speaking, have been in the midst **of** the conflict ; **for** the possibilities of utilizing the lessons of the past as a spear to cast at the joints **of** the enemy with the laudable purpose of the warrior to wound and kill-to adapt the words of Victor Rydberg--are here, quite naturally, legion.

在现在的调查中，我尽我最大的能力追求一个纯粹的科学目标，即刚才所指出的那个词的含义。我并非试图在刚刚结束的斗争中站队[[4]](#footnote-3)，而只是利用以前的经验，结合今天的经验，从而为更好地理解整个发展过程提供空间。事实上，在经济史的范围内，很难想象有什么任务比考虑最后一次大的商业封锁更值得现在就去做。从下面的叙述中可以看出，拿破仑战争与最近的世界大战的相似之处和不同之处都具有最大程度的启发性。但是，几乎不能指望那些身处冲突之中的人能够以纯粹客观的方式来处理这个问题。化用维克多·赖德伯格的话，他们将过去的教训作为矛头投向敌人的弱点，以战士的身份来伤害，杀死别人。

An even approximately exhaustive treatment of the Continental System, however, lies beyond what has here been attempted. Neither time nor strength was available for so much. It was intended that the following survey should be, first and foremost, economic in character ; and the aim of objective treatment was thereby considerably simplified. For economy, as is well known, simply means housekeeping-the directing of outward means to a given end. The moral content of the means in themselves, and still more the expediency of the end in itself, fall outside the confines of economic research. All examination of the one or of the other will therefore be avoided. Instead of this, we will have before us two objects : first, the purely historical one of determining how the means and the end came into being ; secondly, the economic one of inquiring into the suitability of the means for their task and the effects of the policy in general.

然而，对大陆体系进行近乎详尽的处理，超出了这里所尝试的范围。我既没有时间，也没有精力来做这么多工作。为了解决这个问题，下文的调查应首先是经济方面的，这使得客观处理的目的大大简化。众所周知，经济就如家务管理——将外在的手段引向一个特定的目的。手段本身的道德内容，以及目的本身的便利性，都不在经济研究的范围之内。因此，我们将避免对这一问题或另一问题的所有研究。取而代之的是，我们将有两个目标：第一，纯粹的历史目标，即确定手段和目的是如何产生的；第二，经济目标，即调查手段对其任务的适合性和一般政策的效果。

More clearly stated, there are three principal questions to be examined :

1. In what economic ideas did the Continental System

2. What was its actual economic bearing ?

3. In what manner did it correspond to its aim ?

更明确地说，有三个主要问题需要研究：

1. 大陆体系的经济理念是什么？

2. 它的实际经济影响是什么？

3. 它以何种方式符合其目标？

The first of these three questions is very richly illustrated, from a purely external point of view, in the literature already existing on the Continental System; for the third there is likewise abundant, though not completely worked-up, material ; the second, however, seems to have suffered from the fact that no economist, so far as is known, has yet subjected it to scientific treatment. On all three questions, and especially on the last two, a clearer light is thrown by comparison with the recent blockade. A French student of Napoleonic times, M. Marcel Dunan, has declared in an engrossing and very subjectively written bibliography of the Continental System (1913), that the time has not yet come for general surveys of this gigantic undertaking, because, according to his view, we do not yet know either its causes, its roots, its applications, or its effects. Absolute certainty, however, is not given to man ; and even though it is undoubtedly true that many years of research must elapse before positive judgment can be passed on certain important points-as will, indeed, appear from what follows-the agreement in the results of the different investigations is so surprisingly great that even now it seems possible to say a great deal without much danger of error. Otherwise, one may wait in vain for investigations on all the necessary points, if no efforts have been made beforehand to summarize the conclusions already reached.

这三个问题中的第一个问题（大陆体系的经济理念是什么），从纯粹的外部观点来看，在关于大陆体系的现有文献中得到了非常丰富的说明；对于第三个问题（大陆体系以何种方式符合其目标），尽管我们还没有完全解决它，但同样有丰富的材料；然而，第二个问题似乎受到了影响（大陆体系的实际经济影响是什么），因为就目前所知，还没有经济学家对它进行过科学的处理。在所有这三个问题上，特别是最后两个问题上（大陆体系的影响和作用方式），通过与最近的封锁[[5]](#footnote-4)进行比较，可以得到更清晰的认识。拿破仑时代的一位法国学生，马塞尔-杜南（Marcel Dunan）先生在一份引人入胜、写得非常主观的《大陆体系书目》（1913年）中宣称，对这项巨大事业进行全面调查的时机尚未到来，因为根据他的观点，我们还不知道它的原因、根源、应用或效果。虽然毫无疑问，在对某些重要问题作出肯定的判断之前，必须经过多年的研究。然而人类从来就没有过能对某事绝对确认的能力，因此调查在何时开展都是可能的。事实上，从下面的内容可以看出，不同调查的结果有着惊人的一致性，以至于即使现在看来，我们已经可以对很多东西做出判断而不会有很大的错误危险。否则，如果事先不努力总结已经得出的结论，那么人们可能会徒劳地等待对所有必要问题的调查。

In a supplement to this exposition the most important materials for a more detailed study of the Continental System have been brought together for the benefit of those who may feel impelled to push deeper into this fertile and interesting field of inquiry.

在对这一论述的补充中，我们汇集了对大陆系统进行更详细研究的最重要的材料，以利于那些可能感到有动力深入这一肥沃而有趣的调查领域的人。

# PART I

# ANTECEDENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM大陆体系的先声

## Foreword

## 前言

THE Continental System is a unique measure to which a country resorts for the purpose of crushing a political enemy by economic means and at the same time building up its own commercial and industrial prosperity to an extent previously undreamt of. The will to injure one’s enemy and to benefit one’s own country is, therefore, a matter to be taken for granted beforehand, and consequently does not require much elucidation. That will is seldom lacking in the life of nations, least of all when they are at war, and was-evidently bound to attain an unusual intensity in a statesman of the character of Napoleon, who throughout his career renounced all moral traditions and made self-assertion his loftiest lodestar. What we have here to investigate and elucidate, therefore, is not mainly these simple aims of policy, but rather, if one may put it so, the means to those ends ; or, to express it more clearly, what friends and foes conceive to be gain and loss in the sphere of economics, that is, what kind of economic changes they regard as beneficial and as detrimental. These matters are very far from selfevident even at the present time, although they have been the subject of protracted scientific treatment ; and they were obviously still less self-evident a hundred years ago. If we wish to understand the nature of the Continental System, therefore, we must first consider the body of ideas whence it proceeded; and if we wish to understand its effects, we must further consider those ideas with reference to their true economic connexions. Only in that way, too, can we form a clear idea of the similarities and dissimilarities of the Continental System with respect to the blockade policy pursued during the recent World War; for the aim to injure the enemy and benefit the home country is to be taken for granted as much in our own time as it was in the time of Napoleon.

大陆体系是一种独特的措施：一个国家为了通过经济手段击垮政治敌人，同时将自己的商业和工业繁荣发展到以前做梦都想不到的程度而采取的措施。因此，伤害敌人并使自己的国家受益的意愿先天就被认为是理所当然的事情，而不需要过多的解释。这种意愿在国家的生活中很少缺乏，尤其是在战争中，而且在拿破仑这样的政治家身上，显然必然会达到一种不同寻常的强度。他在整个职业生涯中放弃了所有的道德传统，把自我主张作为他最崇高的目标。因此，我们在这里要研究和阐明的，主要不是这些简单的政策目标，而是，如果可以这样说的话，实现这些目标的手段；或者，说的更直白点，朋友和敌人认为在经济领域有什么收获和损失，也就是说，他们认为什么样的经济变革是有益的和有害的。这些问题即使在目前也是不言自明的，尽管它们是长期科学处理的主题；而在一百年前，它们显然更不言自明。因此，如果我们想了解大陆体系的性质，我们必须首先考虑它所产生的思想体系；如果我们想了解它的影响，我们必须进一步考虑这些思想与它们真正的经济联系。也只有这样，我们才能对大陆体系与最近一次世界大战期间实行的封锁政策的异同形成一个清晰的概念；因为在我们这个时代，伤害敌人并使本国受益的目标与拿破仑时代一样，都是理所当然的。

In order to form a correct understanding of the antecedent conditions of the Continental System, in the meaning just given,we must point especially to one feature of the mercantilist point of view whence it sprang, namely, to what we may call its static conception of economic life. If, for instance,we refer to one of the most clear-headed and consistent of the mercantilist statesmen, namely, Colbert, we learn from many of his writings that he conceived the industry, trade, shipping, and bullion resources of the world as quantities given once for all, which, therefore, could not be appreciably increased or decreased by human activity. Under such a conception it is obvious that there can be but one conclusion, viz., that the economic prosperity of a country depends on its power to deprive its competitors of their shares of the given quantity, and not on its power to increase the total quantity. That is to say, only at the expense of others can a country be rich.[[6]](#footnote-5)

按照刚才的意思，为了正确理解大陆制度的前提条件，我们必须特别指出重商主义观点的一个特点，“经济生活的静态概念”。例如，如果我们提到最头脑清醒和最前后一致的一位重商主义政治家，科尔贝尔。我们能从他的许多著作中得知，他认为世界上的工业、贸易、航运和金银资源是简单的固定数量，因此，人类活动不可能明显地增加或减少这些资源梳理。在这样的概念下，显然只能有一个结论，即一个国家的经济繁荣取决于它剥夺其竞争者在既定数量中的份额的能力，而不是取决于它增加总数量的能力。也就是说，只有在牺牲他人利益的情况下，一个国家才能富裕起来。（零和博弈）

It is not difficult to understand to what kind of economic policy such a conception would naturally lead. It led to the policy of commercial war ; and without any great exaggeration we may say with the well-known German economic historian, Professor Schmoller, that the trade policy of former times consisted of an unbroken series of commercial blockades.This, then, was the body of ideas in which the Continental System originated, in so far as commercial wars, in the current view of that time, were bound to seem economically profitable to an extent that can scarcely be appreciated by any tolerably clear-minded person of to-day.

不难理解，这种观念会自然地导致什么样的经济政策——它导致了商业战争的政策。我们可以毫不夸张地与著名的德国经济史学家施莫勒教授做出同样的判断：以前的贸易政策是由一系列不间断的商业封锁组成的。这就是 "大陆制度 "的起源，因为按照当时的观点，商业战争在经济上必然是有利可图的，其程度几乎是今天任何头脑清醒的人都无法理解的。

All this, however, does not explain of what the benefit and profit of commercial war, on the one hand, and the injury and loss on the other, were supposed to consist. But on this point, too, the mercantilist conception gave all the guidance necessary. Profit was supposed to consist in the augmentation of exports, in forcing the goods of one’s own country on other countries ; loss, in allowing other countries to force goods on one’s own country. Industry, trade, navigation, that is, economic activity in general, were in a way regarded as ends in themselves. The goods that were their fruits, so to speak, were to be exported so far as possible, if they belonged to one’s own country, and to be kept out so far as possible, if they belonged to other countries. The verdict of the balance of trade—including, however, the balance of payments for freightage, &c.-determined the result. Modern economists are far more familiar with this trend of thought than they are with the static conception of things. Even in our own day ‘the natural man’ reasons in this way ; and this reasoning, so far as one can see, is substantially a fruit of the ideas contributed to history during the mercantilist period.[[7]](#footnote-6)

然而，这个观点一方面并没有解释商业战争的好处和利润是什么，另一方面也没解释商业战争带来的伤害和损失。但在这一点上，重商主义的概念也提供了所有必要的指导。利润被认为存在于增加出口，将自己国家的商品强加给其他国家；损失则是允许其他国家将商品强加给自己的国家。工业、贸易、航海，也就是一般的经济活动，在某种程度上被认为是目的本身。可以说，作为其成果的货物，如果属于自己的国家，则应尽可能地出口，如果属于其他国家，则应尽可能地拒绝出口。这是由对包括运费等的国际收支在内的贸易平衡的定义所导致的。现代经济学家对这种思想趋势比对事物的静态概念要熟悉得多。即使在我们这个时代，"自然人 "也是这样推理的；而这种推理，就目前来看，基本上是重商主义时期贡献给历史的思想的成果。

This subject is obviously too comprehensive for incidental treatment in this connexion. What the writer has in mind is the signal reversal from the rnedimval eagerness to keep goods within reach to the opposite eagerness to dispose of goods which has been the predominant trait both of mercantilist and of popular presentday opinion.All this makes clear, not only the existence, but also the tendency, of commercial wars. Their object was necessarily to force the greatest possible amount of one’s own goods into the enemy’s country, and, so far as possible, to prevent the enemy from introducing goods into one’s own country. Inasmuch as this, precisely because of the conception indicated, was the object of trade policy even in time of peace, the transition from peace to war was very easily effected; and for that reason we undoubtedly meet with a consistency in the trade policy of that time which, strictly speaking, is lacking in our own time. Nowadays, as in the days of mercantilism, most states, guided by the economic perceptions of the average man, labour in time of peace to render difficult the importation of foreign goods, and at the same time to force their own products on the world market, (although in reality this is incompatible with the former aim). In time of war, however, they suddenly swerve around, either to the inverted standpoint of encouraging imports and hampering exports, or, in general terms, of preventing all trade with the enemy. This statement does not, of course, imply any judgment as to which policy has the greater justification ; it is merely an assertion of the at least seemingly greater inconsistency of our present procedure.

所有这些都表明，商业战争不仅存在，而且有其倾向性。它们的目的必然是把自己的货物尽可能多地强行运入敌人的国家，并尽可能地防止敌人把货物运入自己的国家。正是由于这种观念，即使在和平时期，贸易政策的目标也是如此，因此，从和平到战争的过渡非常容易实现；由于这个原因，我们无疑在当时的贸易政策中看到了一种一致性，严格来说，这种一致性在我们这个时代是缺乏的。如今，和重商主义时代一样，大多数国家在普通人的经济观念指导下，在和平时期努力使外国商品的进口变得困难，同时将自己的产品强行推向世界市场，（尽管实际上这与前者的目标不一致）。然而，在战争时期，他们突然转过身来，要么采取鼓励进口、阻碍出口的颠倒立场，要么笼统地说是阻止与敌人的一切贸易。当然，这种说法并不意味着对哪种政策具有更大的合理性作出任何判断；它只是断言，我们目前的程序至少看起来是更不一致的。

An important part of what follows will be devoted to the investigation of the question as to whether and to what extent the older procedure may be expected to accomplish its purposethe crushing of the enemy by economic means. And in that connexion it will be shown that, while the older tendency in war time was in close harmony with commercial policy in peace time, its relation to the generally observed rules and methods of naval warfare was far more inconsistent.

下文中一大重要部分就会涉及这样一个问题：旧式程序能否达到其目的——通过经济手段粉碎敌人，如果可以，其有多大可能。在这方面，我们会发现虽然战时的老趋势与和平时期的商业政策密切相关，但它与普遍遵守的海战规则和方法的关系却远不一致。

## CHAPTER I

## 第一章

## COMMERCIAL POLICY

## 商业政策

To begin with, however, it seems expedient to trace in some detail the evolution of commercial policy during the century before the Continental System, with special reference to the development of that sphere of activity to which the great trade blockade was especially to be applied, namely, the commercial relations between Great Britain and France.

然而，首先似乎应该在大陆体系之前的一个世纪里，对商业政策的演变进行一些详细的追踪，特别是要提到大贸易封锁特别适用的那个活动领域的发展——英法之间的商业关系。

## Beginning of Anglo-French commercial war (1660-1786)

## 英法商业战争的开端（1660-1786）

England and France, as is well known, had been adversaries, with certain more or less lengthy intervals, from the early Middle Ages ; and after mercantilism had become Srmly established in both countries, it was inevitable that the commercial policy of both should come to be marked by the efforts and tendencies to which we have just referred. To go back no further than the middle of the seventeenth century, we find evidences of antagonism in the customs regulations at least from 1660 on ; and after 1618, when the two countries were on the verge of actual war, we may regard commercial war and mutual embargo simply as the normal state of relations between them. After the deposition of the House of Stuart and the outbreak of war between England and France in 1689, there was a further intensification of the antagonism; and with the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, in 1701, the commercial war may be said to have assumed its definitive form, In connexion with the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, a famous attempt was made to settle the commercial conflict, as well as the political differences, by means of a commercial treaty; and good-will was not wholly lacking either on the French side or on the side of the Tory government then established in Great Britain. But in other British circles, especially among merchants and manufacturers, the opposition was too strong, and the treaty was consequently deprived of the two clauses which gave it its importance, that is, the clause concerning mutual treatment as the most favoured nation and the clause concerning the mutual abolition of all prohibitions and customs restrictions introduced since 1664, or, in certain cases, since 1699. The result was that the embargo was maintained on both sides, without any noteworthy interruptions, throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century, or for a period of more than a hundred years.

众所周知，英国和法国从中世纪早期就一直是对手，或多或少都有一些间隔；在重商主义在两国都已确立之后，两国的商业政策不可避免地会出现我们刚才提到的努力和倾向。追溯到17世纪中叶，我们发现至少从1660年起，海关条例中就有对抗的证据；1618年后，当两国处于实际战争的边缘时，我们可以把商业战争和相互禁运视为两国之间关系的正常状态。在斯图亚特家族被废黜和1689年英法战争爆发后，这种对立进一步加剧； 随着1701年西班牙王位继承战争的爆发，商业战争可以说已经形成了它的最终形式。在1713年的乌得勒支和约中，有一个著名的尝试，即通过商业条约来解决商业冲突和政治分歧；无论是法国方面还是当时在英国建立的托利党政府方面都不完全缺乏善意。但在英国的其他圈子里，特别是在商人和制造商中，反对的声音太强烈了，因此，条约被剥夺了赋予其重要性的两个条款，即关于作为最惠国待遇的条款和关于相互废除自1664年，或在某些情况下自1699年以来实行的所有禁令和海关限制的条款。其结果是，在整个十八世纪的大部分时间里，或者说在一百多年的时间里，双方都保持着禁运，没有出现任何值得注意的中断情况。

An elucidation of the nature of this hundred years’ commercial war between France and Great Britain is essential to a correct understanding of the origin and development of the Continental System. In England, for instance, all importation of French wine, vinegar, brandy, linen, cloth, silk, salt, and paper, and also of all manufactures containing French silk, thread, wool, hair, gold, silver, or leather, was prohibited in 1678.The law itself condemned importation from France, in principle, as ‘ a common nuisance ’, and provided that the French goods were to be destroyed and not allowed to enter, even if they had been captured by English war-ships or privateers. After 1685, however, when this direct persecution of French goods was abandoned and replaced by the establishment of a large number of additional customs duties,a number of Severe measures followed on the part of France. Accordingly, when war actually broke out, in 1689, England returned to the principles of 1678. In due form she introduced a general prohibition on the importation of French goods and ordered that all liquid goods that were captured should be poured into the rivers or the sea, or be ‘ staved, spilt, and destroyed ’ at the place where they were stored ; also that all cloths, paper, salt, kc., should be publicly burned.

阐明法国和英国之间这一百年商业战争的性质，对于正确理解大陆体系的起源和发展至关重要。例如，在英国，1678年禁止进口所有法国葡萄酒、醋、白兰地、亚麻布、布、丝绸、盐和纸，以及含有法国丝绸、线、羊毛、毛发、金、银或皮革的所有制成品。法律本身谴责从法国进口，原则上是 "共同的滋扰"，并规定法国货物将被销毁，不允许进入，即使它们被英国战舰或私掠者捕获。然而，1685年后，当这种对法国货物的直接迫害被放弃，取而代之的是设立大量的额外关税时，法国方面又采取了一些严厉的措施。因此，当1689年战争实际爆发时，英国又回到了1678年的原则。她以适当的形式全面禁止进口法国货物，并下令将所有缴获的液体货物倒入河流或海洋，或在其储存地 "凝固、倾倒和销毁"；还下令将所有布匹、纸张、盐等公开焚烧。

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the protectionist nature of these measures, the main object of which was to prevent French products from competing with domestic products in the English market. Later on, France, which as a rule seems to have been somewhat slower to act, proceeded to adopt similar measures, especially after the outbreak of the new war in 1701. Thus when Adam Smith, who among other things was a Scottish commissioner of customs, entered into a detailed discussion of Anglo-French trade policy in the third edition of his famous work more than eighty years afterwards, he felt justified in stating that, quite apart from the multitude of import prohibitions, especially on all kinds of textiles, the majority of the French imports before the outbreak of the new war in 1778, were assessed by the British customs to the extent of at least 75 per cent. of the value,of the goods involved, and that, as a rule, this was equivalent to a formal prohibition.

没有必要赘述这些措施的保护主义性质，其主要目的是防止法国产品在英国市场与本国产品竞争。法国似乎有反应迟钝惯例，后来才开始采取类似的措施，特别是在1701年新战争爆发后。因此，当亚当-斯密（他曾是苏格兰海关专员）80多年后在其著名作品的第三版中详细讨论英法贸易政策时，他认为有理由指出，除了大量的进口禁令，特别是对各种纺织品的禁令之外，在1778年新战争爆发之前，大多数法国进口商品都被英国海关评估为至少占相关商品价值的75%。而且，作为一项规则，这相当于正式的禁令。

## Smuggling走私

Such, then, was the nature of commercial policy in the eighteenth century, in so far as it is revealed in the customs regulations of that time. But no idea of the economic conditions of former days could be more erroneous than that which is conveyed by the content of such prohibitions and restrictions. The regulations, as a matter of fact, constitute merely an expression of what the holders of power wished to see realized, and accordingly may be said to illustrate, primarily, nothing more than the economic views of the time. As regards the actual situation, we may safely assume that it was quite different from what the authorities had in view, since otherwise the regulations would not have been necessary ; and if we find them repeated at short intervals, as is usually the case, we may further assume that this was due to the fact that they were not complied with. In point of fact, the only exceptions to thisprinciple are certain codifications of an already established system of law. These often express a phase that has already passed, it is true, but they nevertheless always have something to correspond to them in the world of realities, which is by no means the case with the innumerable ordinances of the regulative or creative type

那么，这就是18世纪商业政策的性质，就其在当时的海关条例中所显示的性质而言。但是，对于以前的经济状况，没有什么比这种禁止和限制的内容所传达的想法更错误的了。事实上，这些规定只是表达了权力拥有者希望看到的结果，因此可以说，它们主要说明的是当时的经济观点。至于实际情况，我们可以有把握地认为，它与当局的想法有很大的不同，因为否则这些规定就没有必要；如果我们发现这些规定在很短的时间内重复出现，就像通常的情况一样，我们可以进一步认为，这是由于这些规定没有得到遵守。事实上，这一原则的唯一例外是已经建立的法律体系的某些编纂。诚然，这些法规往往表达了一个已经过去的阶段，但它们在现实世界中总是有与之相对应的东西，而无数的规范性或创造性的法令却绝非如此。

In the sphere of trade policy it is well known that smuggling played a very important role. We do not know, for obvious reasons, the exact extent to which it was carried on, but there can be no doubt that it was ,of frequent and widespread occurrence, According to contemporary opinion, indeed, it was almost as extensive as legitimate trade; and Adam Smith calculated that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and France, which was exceptionally hampered by the customs regulations, was even principally carried on by smugglers. Thus it hardly entered people’s minds that the prohibited foreign goods should be really unobtainable in the countries concerned. After the Peace of Versailles in 1783, for instance, everything English came into fashion in France, and prohibited goods were imported in great quantities, in spite of the fact that the French customs officials, according to the French economic historian, Emile Levasseur, carried their strictness so far as to seize the wearing apparel of travellers and hold it pending their departure from the country.

众所周知，在贸易政策领域，走私起到了非常重要的作用。显然我们不知道走私的确切程度，但毫无疑问，它是经常和广泛发生的，根据当代的观点，它几乎与合法贸易一样广泛；亚当-斯密计算过，英国和法国之间的商业往来，由于海关条例而特别受到阻碍，甚至主要是由走私者进行的。因此，人们几乎没有想到，被禁止的外国货物在有关国家确实无法获得。例如，在1783年凡尔赛和约之后，英国的一切都在法国流行起来，违禁品被大量进口，尽管根据法国经济史学家埃米尔-勒瓦瑟尔的说法，法国海关官员的严格程度甚至达到了扣押旅行者的服装并在他们离开该国之前一直保留着的程度。

## Licences许可证

But it was not due entirely to the demands of economic life that recourse was had to this very radical and illegal practice, which in many cases was not only tolerated, but actually facilitated by the authorities themselves. This was usually accomplished by means of a system of licences, which assumed larger or smaller dimensions, according to circumstances, but which were almost always of importance. This licence system, therefore, must almost always be taken into account as an everpresent means of circumventing the nominally valid ordinances. The licences undoubtedly often originated in favouritism,bribery, and similar forms of corruption ; but not infrequently their origin lay deeper. Partly they were intended to satisfy the insatiable demands of trade, which made themselves felt either within or in opposition to the law, and which, accordingly, it was often considered best to satisfy silently beforehand ; but partly also, and at least as often, they arose from the constant need of money on the part of the government. This latter consideration gave rise to what one might call fiscalism, that is, to the tendency to change a policy with a certain economic aim-whether rightly or wrongly conceived-under the pretext of bringing revenue into the coffers of the state. On this rock a great deal of the economic policy of the mercantilist period, to say nothing of that of earlier mediaeval times, had suffered shipwreck ; and this, too, was to be of fundamental importance in relation to the Continental System. As a characteristic example of the combined effect of smuggling and the licence system, it may be mentioned that in the last decade of the seventeenth century there were discovered in England traces of a great conspiracy organized to facilitate the importation of prohibited French silks under false or stolen labels of the kind prescribed to indicate the fact that the goods involved had either been imported under licence or else had been manufactured within the country.

但并非完全是由于经济生活的需要，才不得不采用这种非常激进的非法做法，在许多情况下，这种做法不仅得到了当局的容忍，而且实际上得到了当局的帮助。这通常是通过许可证制度来实现的。许可证制度的规模根据情况或大或小，但基本上总是很重要的。因此，这种许可证制度几乎总是必须被视为一种永远存在的规避名义上有效法令的手段。毫无疑问，这些许可证往往源于偏袒、贿赂和类似的腐败形式；但它们的根源往往更深。部分原因是为了满足贸易中永不满足的需求，这些需求在法律范围内或与法律相抵触，因此，人们往往认为最好事先默默地满足这些需求；但部分原因是，至少同样经常的是，它们产生于政府对金钱的持续需要。后一种考虑产生了人们所说的财政主义，即以将收入纳入国库为借口，改变具有某种经济目的的政策的倾向--无论其构想是正确还是错误的。在这块岩石上，重商主义时期的大量经济政策都遭遇了灭顶之灾，更不用说早期中世纪的经济政策了；而这一点，对于大陆体系来说，也是至关重要的。作为走私和许可证制度共同作用的一个典型例子，可以提及的是，在17世纪的最后十年，在英国发现了一个巨大的阴谋的痕迹，该阴谋是打着虚假或偷窃的幌子为进口违禁的法国丝绸提供便利，假装它们是根据许可证进口的，或者是在国内制造的。

The actual intercourse between two countries thus followed a course which diverged considerably from that laid out by their professed policies. But if this was always the case at times of more or less state interference in the economic domain, it was especially the case in the eighteenth century. During that period, in fact, the old policy was exposed to undermining currents flowing from two different quarters, namely, from the general transformation in all conditions of production which had received the nowise exaggerated name of Industrial Revolution, on the one side, and from the new social philosophy which was slowly paving the way for **economic liberalism**, on the other. Both of these factors were destined gradually to put an end to the old economic order ; but in the long run it was the change in the conditions of production that may be said to have exerted the greater influence. In spite of that, however, a dixect influence on commercial policy came from the new social philosophy. Curiously enough, this impulse originated in France, where the new ideas were very far from being common property, as the following development should show very clearly. But just as Turgot, in his capacity of minister of finance under the autocratic King Louis XVI, succeeded in 1776 in carrying through a quite revolutionary reform of internal industrial legislation-a reform which by no means had any favourable public opinion behind it-so one of his pupils, as foreign minister, succeeded ten years later in bringing about a change in external trade policy, just because there was no representative assembly to oppose his measures.

因此，两个国家之间的实际交往所遵循的路线与它们所宣称的政策所规定的路线相差甚远。但是国家总是会时不时干预经济，或多或少，在18世纪尤其如此。事实上，在这一时期，旧政策受到来自两个不同方面的破坏，即一方面来自所有生产条件的普遍转变，这种转变被毫不夸张地称为工业革命；另一方面来自新的社会哲学，这种哲学正在为**经济自由主义**慢慢铺平道路。这两个因素都注定要逐步结束旧的经济秩序；但从长远来看，尽管新的社会哲学对商业政策产生了一定的影响，但生产条件的变化发挥了更大的影响。奇怪的是，这种冲动起源于法国，而在那里，新思想远未被人们普遍掌握，正如下面的发展应该非常清楚地表明的那样。但是，正如杜尔哥在专制的路易十六国王手下担任财政部长时，于1776年成功地对国内工业法律进行了相当革命性的改革，一项背后绝没有任何有利的公众舆论支持的改革[[8]](#footnote-7)。因此他的一个担任外交部长的学生，在十年后成功地改变了对外贸易政策，只是因为没有代表大会来反对他的措施。[[9]](#footnote-8)

## ANGLO-FRENCH COMMERCIAL TREATY OF 1786 (EDEN TREATY)

## 1786年英法商业条约(伊登条约)

The author of this departure from the century-old commercial policy was the Comte de Vergennes. He was puelque peu disciple des philosophes, and it was especially because of the physiocratic views he shared with certain politically influential circles in France that he was able to accomplish his purpose. For as physiocracy attached foremost importance to agriculture, it was only natural that French statesmen were able to create substantial facilities for the importation of the industrial products which England was eager to sell, in return for facilities for the exportation of the agricultural products which she was no less eager to buy. Vergennes, undoubtedly of set purpose, neglected to find out the opinion of French industrial circles ; and there is no doubt that this was later on one of the startingpoints of the disapproval of his work. In England the efforts to establish better trade connexions between the two countries met with great sympathy, and that, too, precisely among those elements of the population which had brought to naught the commercial treaty of 1713. As was shown by a farreaching inquiry conducted in Great Britain, the representativesof almost all industries were eager for increased sales in the French market, especially because of their desire to make up for the loss which they believed themselves-incorrectly, as a matter of fact-to have sustained through the cutting off of the American market by the secession of the colonies ; and with very few exceptions they scoffed at the idea of danger arising from French competition in the home market. The British statesmen were naturally much impressed by this attitude, but at the same time they were by no means uninfluenced by the views of the economic theorists.

这一背离百年商业政策的作者是韦尔热纳伯爵。他是哲学家的门徒。特别是由于他与法国某些有政治影响力的圈子分享重农主义观点，他才得以实现自己的目的。因为重农主义最重视农业，所以非常自然的，法国政治家能够为英国急于出售的工业产品的进口创造大量便利，以换取英国同样急于购买的农产品的出口便利。韦尔热纳无疑是有目的的忽略了解法国工业界的意见；毫无疑问，这也是后来不赞成他的工作的出发点之一。在英国，正是在那些使1713年的商业条约化为乌有的人口中，在两国之间建立更好的贸易联系的努力得到了极大的同情。正如在英国进行的一项广泛调查所显示的那样，几乎所有行业的代表都渴望增加在法国市场的销售量，特别是因为他们希望弥补他们认为由于殖民地的分离切断了美国市场而遭受的损失——事实上并非如此。他们中除了极少数例外，都对法国在国内市场的竞争带来的危险的想法嗤之以鼻。英国的政治家们自然对这种态度印象深刻，但同时他们也不可能不受经济理论家们观点的影响。

It was in England that the new ideas, which had gradually gained more and more predominance in both countries in the course of the eighteenth century, received their for all time classical synthesis in Adam Smith’s The Wealth of Nations (1776), which riddled with criticism the unreasonableness and inconsistency of the old system that existed on paper, especially in the form it assumed in the commercial relations between Great Britain and France. Adam Smith’s thesis was that ‘ a nation that would enrich itself by foreign trade is certainly most likely to do so when its neighbours are all rich, industrious, and commercial nations ’, inasmuch as the international exchange of goods was thereby rendered all the more profitable. The applicability of this to France is apparent, and of special interest is the comparison drawn between the trade with the large and near-by French market, on the one hand, which permitted a turnover of business capital several times a year, and the boasted and until then in every way favoured trade with the thinly populated and remote North American colonies, on the other, where the return from invested capital was not made until after the lapse of several years. Through the American War of Independence this comparison received an appositeness which Adam Smith himself certainly did not foresee.

正是在英国，这些在18世纪逐渐在两国获得越来越多主导地位的新思想，在亚当斯密的《国富论》（1776年）中得到了永恒的经典综合，该书对存在于纸面上的旧制度的不合理性和不一致性进行了批评，特别是在大不列颠和法国之间的商业关系中的形式。亚当-斯密的论点是："当一个国家的邻国都是富裕、勤劳和商业国家时，最有可能使这个国家想通过对外贸易致富"，因为国际货物交换因此变得更加有利可图。这句话对法国的适用性是显而易见的，特别有意思的是，一方面是与庞大而近在咫尺的法国市场的贸易，它允许商业资本一年内周转几次，另一方面是与人口稀少而偏远的北美殖民地的贸易，在这种情况下，投资资本的回报要经过几年的时间才会产生。这种比较通过美国独立战争，获得了亚当-斯密本人肯定没有预见到的适用性。

There can be no doubt that Adam Smith’s book exerted great influence on William Pitt, who was the leading statesman of Great Britain from 1783. According to a famous anecdote, Smith once arrived at a dinner somewhat later than the other guests, who rose to receive him. He begged them to remain seated, whereupon Pitt remarked that it was only right I for them to rise, since they were all his pupils. While this anecdote is perhaps just as little deserving of unqualified belief as are other similar anecdotes, yet one may place implicit confidence in a statement which Pitt is authentically credited with having made in Parliament after the death of Adam Smith, namely, that he (Smith) had offered the world the best solution of all economic and commercial questions.

毫无疑问，亚当-斯密的书对威廉-皮特产生了巨大的影响，他从1783年起就是英国的主要政治家。根据一则著名的轶事，斯密有一次在晚宴上比其他客人晚到，他们起身迎接他。他恳求他们继续坐着，皮特说，他们起身是正确的，因为他们都是他的学生。虽然这段轶事也许和其他类似的轶事一样不值得无条件地相信，但人们可以对皮特在亚当-斯密死后在议会发表的一个声明给予隐含的信任，即他（斯密）已经为世界提供了所有经济和商业问题的最佳解决方案。

The result of these new forces was the Anglo-French commercial treaty of 1786 (often called the Eden Treaty, after the name of its English negotiator), which put an end to the hundred years' commercial war between the two western powers. During the negotiations Pitt had stood firmly on his ground, with the result that in the final settlement the British forced compliance with practically all their demands, while the French allowed nearly all theirs to drop. Customs duties were lowered t all along the line, usually down to 10 or 15 per cent, of the value t of the goods, and prohibitions on imports were abolished. On the other hand, almost the only British industry which was still uneasy about French competition, namely, the silk industry, had its demands respected to the extent of nothing less than a total prohibition on the importation of French silks into England.

这些新动力导致了1786年的英法商业条约（通常称为伊登条约，以其英国谈判者的名字命名），它结束了两个西方大国之间的百年商业战争。在谈判过程中，皮特坚定地坚持自己的立场，结果在最后的解决方案中，英国人的要求几乎所有都被强迫遵守，而法国人的要求几乎全部取消。两国之间所有的关税都被降低了，通常降至货物价值的10%或15%，并且取消了对进口的禁止。另一方面，几乎唯一对法国竞争仍感不安的英国工业，即丝绸工业，其要求得到了尊重，其程度不亚于完全禁止法国丝绸进口到英国。

But it was soon to prove that this somewhat belated breach with the century-old restrictive policy had no support in French public opinion, least of all in industrial circles. Indeed, one may go so far as to say that it was precisely this departure from the tradition of commercialwar that led to a renewal of the old policy after the French Revolution. The Eden Treaty, which wassigned less than three years before the convening of the French States General on May 5, 1789, in fact occupied almost from the very beginning a foremost place in the long list of sins imputable to the ancien rdgime. The French textile industries, especially the cotton industry, had as early as the 'eighties managed to benefit by the great technical revolution in England, mainly by attracting British foremen and machinery to French mills ; but, naturally enough, they were not yet anything like equal to their teacher. Besides this, it was alleged by the French that the value of British wares declared at the customs was so much understated that the duty fell from the nominal 10 or 15 per cent. to an actual 2 or 3 per cent.; and at the same time British manufacturers were said to increase the prices of raw materials in France through the making of extensive purchases there. The French calico, woollen, pottery, steel, and leather industries complained bitterly of British competition and of the general unemployment for which it was held responsible. Even the Lyons silk industry worked under great difficulties, which could not be attributed to any British competition, to be sure, but which at all events were in no manner lessened by the treaty with its retention of the British prohibitions. Bitterest of all were the complaints that emanated from the textile towns in the north of France-Amiens, Abbeville, Sedan, Rouen, Rheims, Chhlons-sur-Marne. Their protests were also embodied in the famous cahiers, in which the French people in 1789 gave expression to their feelings in all branches of activity. Moreover, it has been observed that Robespierre, one of the sworn enemies of Great Britain during the Revolution, was a representative of the province of Artois and in such capacity voiced the dislike that was there fostered against British competition. But the feeling against the Eden Treaty was by no means confined to these regions. It is really only with regard to the wine district that we meet with any attitude of satisfaction toward the new policy ; and it is highly significant that the cahiers of the city of Paris, for instance, contained a demand that the treaty should be submitted to the States General because of the revolutionary changes it had involvedand the vigorous protests it had evoked from all parts of the country. Public opinion, indeed, was unanimous in attributing the severe industrial crisis of 1788 to the Eden Treaty, which was called the death-warrant of French industry. An inspector of manufactures even went so far as to compare its detrimental effects with those that had followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which had played havoc with a great deal of the work done by Colbert and his predecessors.

但事实很快证明，这种有点迟来的对百年来限制性政策的破坏，在法国公众舆论中没有得到支持，尤其是在工业界。事实上，人们甚至可以说，正是这种对商战传统的背离，导致了法国大革命后旧政策的更新。在1789年5月5日法国议会召开前不到三年签署的《伊登条约》，实际上几乎从一开始就在归咎于旧政体的一长串罪状中占据了首要位置。法国的纺织工业，特别是棉花工业，早在八十年代就设法从英国的伟大技术革命中获益，主要是通过吸引英国工头和机器到法国工厂工作；但是，自然地，他们还不能与他们的老师相比。除此之外，据法国人称，英国货物在海关申报的价值被严重低估，以至于关税从名义上的10%或15%降至实际的2%或3%；同时，据说英国制造商通过在法国大量采购，提高了原材料的价格。法国的花布、毛织品、陶器、钢铁和皮革工业对英国的竞争和普遍的失业现象进行了激烈的抱怨，而英国则对此负有责任。甚至里昂的丝绸业也面对巨大的困难。尽管这些困难不能归咎于英国的竞争，但不管怎么说，这些困难并没有因为条约中保留了英国的禁令而有所缓解。最痛苦的是来自法国北部纺织城镇的抱怨——阿米安、阿贝维尔、色当、鲁昂、兰斯、马恩河畔赫隆斯。他们的抗议也体现在著名的cahiers（笔记本？）中，1789年法国人民在这些cahiers中表达了他们在所有活动部门的感受。此外，人们注意到，大革命期间英国的死敌之一罗伯斯庇尔是阿图瓦省的代表，并以这种身份表达了那里对英国竞争的厌恶。但是，反对《伊登条约》的情绪决不是局限于这些地区。实际上，只有在葡萄酒区，我们才会看到对新政策的任何满意态度；而且非常重要的是，例如，巴黎市的议事录中要求将该条约提交给总督，因为它涉及到革命性的变化，而且它在全国各地引起了强烈的抗议。事实上，公众舆论一致将1788年严重的工业危机归咎于《伊甸园条约》，该条约被称为法国工业的死刑执行令。一位制造业视察员甚至把它的不利影响与1685年撤销《南特敕令》后的影响相提并论，后者对科尔贝尔和他的前任所做的大量工作造成了破坏。

Thus there could be scarcely any doubt as to the political effects of this first departure from the policy of commercial war ; and it is this aspect of the matter which is of prime importance in this connexion. It is quite another question whether the Eden Treaty, even for the moment, was actually responsible for the placing of French economic life upon the low level where it was destined to remain, with a short interruption, during the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. Severe as was the crisis to which it gave rise, there can be little doubt that precisely the last years of the ancien regime were characterized by exceptional prosperity especially, but by no means exclusively, for French trade, and that during the following ten or fifteen years Frenchmen looked back to this period as the zenith of their country's economic development. Even as regards industry, it is a fact that not even the flourishing period of the Consulate (1799-1804) elevated it to anything like the same height that it had attained under the ancien regime.Moreover, the difficulties created by free intercourse consequently appear to have been exaggerated. There are positive evidences of certain wholesome effects on French industry which must be connected with the increased intercourse with Great Britain. Thus, in 1787, the year of the ratification of the treaty, there was set up in France (Orleans)—naturally by an Englishman——the fisrt steam-driven cotton spinning mill.Moreover, in the Constituent Assemblywe find a muslin manufacturer from Versailles (1190), as well as a silk manufacturer from Lyons (1791), stating that the development of French industry, after the difficulties of the first years,had increased apace under the stimulus of British competition, and that in many cases French manufacturers had succeeded in imitating and, by means of cheaper labour, in actually underselling their British competitors. This may or may not be a more faithful picture of the actual situation than that created by the innumerable complaints ; but at all events it seems only natural that a more lively intercourse with Great Britain should have facilitated the spread of new ideas and inventions. But to this, as to other things, there applies a truth which is far too often overlooked, namely, that the economic policy of a country is not determined by actual economic conditions but by the popular ideas concerning those conditions-which is manifestly quite another matter.

因此，无疑这一首次背离商业战争宗旨的政策产生了其政治影响，这是其最重要的一方面。另一个问题是，《伊登条约》，即使是暂时的，是否对法国的经济生活处于低水平负有责任。因为在革命和拿破仑时期经济的短暂中断，它注定要在低水平上停留。尽管《伊登条约》所引起的危机很严重，但毫无疑问的是，恰恰在旧制度的最后几年，法国的贸易虽然不是完全繁荣，但也称得上兴盛。而且在随后的10年或15年中，法国人把这一时期看作他们国家经济发展的顶峰。就工业而言，即使是执政府的繁荣时期（1799-1804年）也没有将其提升到与旧制度时同样的高度。此外，自由交往造成的困难似乎被夸大了。有积极的证据表明，增加与英国的交往一定对法国工业产生了某些有益的影响。例如，在1787年，即批准条约的那一年，在法国奥尔良，英国人建立了第一个蒸汽驱动的棉纺厂。此外，在制宪会议上，我们发现一位来自凡尔赛的薄纱制造商（1790年）和一位来自里昂的丝绸制造商（1791年）指出，在经历了最初几年的困难之后，法国工业在英国竞争的刺激下迅速发展，在许多情况下，法国制造商成功地模仿了英国的竞争对手，并通过更便宜的劳动力，以低于英国竞争对手的价格压价出售。这可能是比无数的抱怨更忠实的，对实际情况的描述，当然也可能不是。可无论如何，我们自然可以想到，与英国更活跃的交往应会促进新思想和发明的传播。但与其他事情一样，有一个经常被忽视的事实是：一个国家的经济政策不是由实际的经济条件决定的，而是由关于这些条件的流行观念决定的——这就是另一个问题了。

The commercial policy of the Revolution, therefore, very soon returned to the traditions established before 1786. Of recent investigators we may refer especially to M. Albert Sorel, who in his monumental work, L’Europe et la rbvolution frangaise (1885-1904), seeks with exhaustive, though somewhat exhausting, persistence to maintain and emphasize the consistency of French policy before and after the Revolution. In nearly all the departments of foreign policy he represents the French revolutionaries of different shades as unconscious successors of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV, and as equally unconscious predecessors of Napoleon, whose ideas and measures are therefore also represented as almost entirely in line with the traditional policy of France. Sorel has undoubtedly exaggerated the predestination of this development, as Professor Hjarne has pointed out in his noteworthy book, Revohtionen och Napoleon (Stockholm, 1911) ; and in general it is undoubtedly true that the deepest conception does not consist in representing the same dramatis personae as constantly reappearing in different costumes. But in the economic sphere-which does not stand out very much in Sorel’s work, with its marked bias in favour of foreign policy-the connexion with the past is very stronglyemphasized. As is well known, the men of the Revolution derived their strongest impressions from Rousseau, and, so far as one Can see, they were very little impressed either by physiocracy or by British liberalism. Consequently they stood, unconsciously, but almost entirely, under the all-pervading influence of the old economic conception. Thus it was almost in the nature of things that the Eden Treaty not only should be treated as an isolated episode, but should positively hasten a return to the old system-especially inasmuch as the commercial reconciliation with Great Britain was the work of none other than the discredited and despised ancien regime.

因此，大革命的商业政策很快就回到了1786年之前的传统。在最近的研究者中，我们可以特别提到阿尔伯特-索莱尔先生，他在他的巨著《欧洲与法国革命》（1885-1904）中，以详尽的、虽然有点令人疲惫的毅力，试图保持和强调法国大革命前后政策的一致性。在几乎所有的外交政策部门，他都把不同色调的法国革命者表现为黎塞留、马扎然和路易十四的无意识继承者，以及拿破仑的同样无意识的前任，因此拿破仑的思想和措施也被表现为几乎完全与法国的传统政策一致。索雷尔无疑夸大了这一发展的宿命，正如赫亚恩教授在其值得注意的书《拿破仑的故事》（斯德哥尔摩，1911年）中所指出的那样。而且一般来说，最深刻的概念无疑不是主要存在于表现同一戏剧人物不断以不同服装出现的情况。但在经济领域——这在索莱尔的作品中并不突出，因为它明显偏向于外交政策——与过去的联系得到了非常强烈的强调。众所周知，大革命时期的人们从卢梭那里得到了最深刻的印象，而且，就目前来看，他们很少受到重农主义或英国自由主义的影响。因此，他们不自觉地，但几乎完全是站在旧经济观念的全面影响之下。因此，鉴于与英国的商业和解不是别的，正是名誉扫地、受人鄙视的旧制度所为，《伊登条约》不仅应被视为一个孤立的事件，而且应被视为积极地加速恢复旧制度的制度。

Naturally enough, however, it was the general political situation which was chiefly responsible for the return to the policy of commercial war ; and consequently some few years elapsed before the change was made. In 1791 the Constituent Assembly adopted a new tariff, which, after great protectionist preparations, ultimately came to offer only a very moderate amount of actual protection. France and Great Britain were then at peace, and both were respecting the Eden Treaty. But the new tendency was even then asserting itself in France, not only in the form of recurring complaints against British Competition, but also in the form of an actual raising of the customs rates on woollens and other textile goods manufactured in the Duchy of Berg-the even then flourishing textile region on the eastern side of the Rhine, which was destined to play an important part in the history of the Continental System. In justification of these measures, whereby the importation of textiles into France from the east was cut off, there was asserted the need of ' alleviating the detrimental effects ' of the Anglo-French treaty of 1786.Great Britain, under Pitt's leadership, had as long as possible stood aloof from the struggle against the French Revolution. But toward the end of 1792 the relations between the two countries bwame very strained. Great Britain held up cargoes bound for French ports, whereupon France retaliated bydenouncing the Eden Treaty. This was shortly after the beginning of 1793 ; and on February 1 of that year, less than two weeks after the execution of Louis XVI, war actually broke out. This precipitated both countries into a policy of economic strangulation which was destined to last for more than twenty years and soon to leave all its predecessors far behind. Under the Revolution, and to a certain extent under Napoleon as well, this policy had two very closely interwoven sides, which, however, must be kept separate for the present. One side consists of the blockade measures and the generally rude treatment of maritime intercourse, in which Great Britain decidedly led the way, but was very closely followed by France ; and the other side consists of the compulsory measures that were adopted specifically in the sphere of commercial policy. The latter measures were of real importance only on the French side, as a matter of fact, since similar measures on the British side would have been meaningless for the reason that French goods could hardly have reached England without English cooperation. It is the latter policy which we will first consider.

然而，很自然的是，总体的政治形势是恢复商业战争政策的主要原因；因此，过了几年后政策才发生改变。1791年，制宪会议通过了一项新的关税，其经过巨大的保护主义的准备，最终只提供了非常适量的实际保护。当时法国和英国处于和平状态，双方都在遵守《伊登条约》。但是，在当时新的趋势就在法国显现出来，不仅表现为对英国竞争的反复抱怨，而且还表现为实际提高了对贝格公国生产的羊毛和其他纺织品的关税，当时的贝格公国是莱茵河东岸繁荣的纺织地区，注定要在大陆体系的历史上扮演一个重要角色。有人断言“有必要‘减轻1786年英法条约的不利影响’因此应该切断法国从东部进口纺织品的途径”来证明这些措施的合理性。在皮特的领导下，英国一直尽可能远离反对法国大革命的斗争。但在1792年底，两国的关系变得非常紧张。英国扣留了运往法国港口的货物，法国对此进行了报复，在1793年开始后不久宣布废除《伊登条约》。同年2月1日，在路易十六被处决后不到两个星期，战争实际爆发了。这使两国都陷入了经济紧缩政策，这种政策注定要持续20多年，而且很快就会把所有的前辈们远远甩在后面。在大革命时期，以及在某种程度上的拿破仑时期，这一政策有两个密切交织的方面，然而现在必须将它们分开。一面是封锁措施和对海上交往的普遍粗暴对待，在这方面，英国明显领先，但法国紧随其后；另一面是在商业政策领域专门采取的强制措施。事实上，后一种措施只在法国方面具有真正的重要性，因为在英国方面采取类似的措施是没有意义的——如果没有英国的合作，法国的货物很难到达英国。我们首先要考虑的是后一种政策。

## RENEWAL OF ANGLO-FRENCH COMMERCIAL WAR (1793-1799)

## 英法商业战争再起（1793-1799）

On March 1, 1793, only a month after the outbreak of war, the measures of prohibition began, and within a few months the Convention had passed almost all the laws that were possible along that line. The first law of this kind passed by the Convention, which also annulled all treaties previously entered into with enemy countries, prohibited indiscriminately the importation of a large number of textile, metal, and earthenware goods which were regarded as normally coming from England-it was, of course, the home manufacturers of these articles who had especially complained of British competition-but did not restrict the prohibition to goods coming from any specified country. With respect to all goods not expressly exempted, however, it was stipulated that evidence should be furnished that they did not come from an enemy country. This rendered necessary the use of certificates of origin for certain goods, eventhough they were indispensable to French consumers and could not be obtained from neutral countries (especially sugar). TWO or three months later (May 19), accordingly, such goods had to be exempted. But the whole of this first law was a mild warning in comparison with the outbreak of fury, harmonizing completely with the spirit of the Reign of Terror, which on October 9 of the same year (Vendkmiaire 18, year 11) appeared in the form of a law bearing the title : Loi qui proscrit du sol de la rkpublique toutes les marchandises fahipukes ou malzufacturkes dans les pays soumis au gouvernement britannique. Its express application to Great Britain, one of the enemies of France, is in itself significant, the whole law, as its title indicates, being a straightforward proposal to persecute all British goods in the most drastic manner. It imposed on every holder of British goods the obligation to declare them and hand them over to the authorities, and provided that any customs official who allowed such goods to enter the country would be liable to twenty years’ imprisonment in irons ; and the same punishment was assigned to any person who imported, sold, or bought them. But even this was not enough. The law further provided that anybody who wore or used British goods was to be regarded as I suspect and to be punished as such in accordance with the notorious loi des suspects ; that is to say, he might be arrested and imprisoned at any time. All posters or notices couched in English and referring to stocks of British goods or containing British trade marks or appellations, as also all newspapers announcing the sale of British goods, were ‘ proscribed ’ ; and the punishment in this case also was twenty years’ imprisonment in irons.

1793年3月1日，即战争爆发后仅一个月，禁运措施就开始了。在几个月内，国民公会就通过了几乎所有可能的禁运法律。第一部国民公会通过的禁运法律废除了以前与敌国签订的所有条约，并不加区别地禁止大量被认为通常来自英国的纺织品、金属和陶器货物的进口，而非对来自特定国家的货物的限制——显然这也有国内制造商对英国的竞争抱怨的影响。同时规定所有未明确豁免的货物应提供证据，证明它们不是来自敌国。这使得某些商品必须使用原产地证书，尽管这些商品对法国消费者来说是不可或缺的，而且无法从中立国获得（特别是糖）。因此，两三个月后（5月19日），这些货物必须被豁免。但是，这第一部法律只是一个温和的警告，相较起那带有恐怖统治的精神的爆发的狂怒——同年10月9日（第11年，Vendkmiaire 18）被称作"恐怖统治法"的法律出现： 该法的标题是："禁止在英国政府管辖下的所有国家进行非法或非法制造的商品交易"（Loi qui proscrit du sol de la rkpublique toutes les marchandises fahipukes ou malzufacturkes in les pays soumis au gouvernement britannique）。它明确适用于法国的敌人之一：英国，这本身就很重要，整个法律，如其标题所示，是一个以最严厉的方式迫害所有英国货物的直接建议。它规定每个持有英国货物的人都有义务申报这些货物并将其交给当局，并规定任何允许这些货物进入该国的海关官员都将被关在牢里监禁20年；任何进口、出售或购买这些货物的人都将受到同样的惩罚。但即使这样还不够，法律进一步规定，任何穿戴或使用英国商品的人都将被视为嫌疑人，并按照臭名昭著的嫌疑人法受到惩罚；也就是说，他可能在任何时候被逮捕和监禁。所有用英语表述的、提到英国商品库存或含有英国商标或称谓的海报或通知，以及所有宣布销售英国商品的报纸，都被 "禁止"；这种情况下的惩罚也是20年的监禁。

After the crisis of Thermidor and the fall of Robespierre early in 1795, the legislators again retraced their steps to some extent by shghtly lowering the duties on non-British goods. This did not last long, however, since they were raised again by the Directory at the close of the following year. On the whole it may be said that the rule of the Directory, from the autumn of 1795 to the autumn of 1799, marked a return to the policy of the Reign of Terror, though in a somewhat modified form,throughout the entire economic domain. As a sign of welcome to Lord Malmesbury, who visited Paris to negotiate peace, there was accordingly passed on October 31,1796 (Brumaire 10, year V), a law prohibiting the importation and sale of British , goods on an even larger scale than that established by the laws of 1793, inasmuch as the prohibition was extended to cover goods that were derived, not only from British industry, but also from British trade. And at the same time there was adopted-so far as is known for the &st time, but certainly not for the last time-the somewhat clumsy expedient of declaring certain groups of goods to be British, quite irrespective of their real origin. Even such goods as were brought into the country from captured or stranded vessels were not allowed to remain there, but had to be promptly re-exported. The resemblance between this and the above-mentioned regulations of the seventeenth century is unusually striking. Moreover, nearly all the regulations of the year 1793 were renewed in substance, although the provision concerning certificates of origin had again to be limited after a few months. Only in regard to penalties was there a very considerable modification. Among the goods which were always to be regarded as British was refined sugar ; but now again, as in 1793, its exclusion proved to be impossible, and the smuggling to which it gave rise finally resulted, in 1799, in the prohibition being replaced by a high customs duty. Evidence of the extent to which French legislators thought it possible to carry the persecution of everything British is furnished by the fact that the importation of Geneva watches was prohibited on the ground that they contained a small amount of steel presumed to be of British origin.

在1795年初的热月危机和罗伯斯庇尔下台后，立法者在某种程度上动身往回走了一段路，他们大幅降低了非英国商品的关税。然而，这种情况并没有持续多久，因为在第二年年底，督政府又将关税提高了。总的来说，可以说督政府从1795年秋到1799年秋的统治，标志着整个经济领域回归到恐怖统治时期的政策，尽管其形式有所改变。作为对访问巴黎进行和平谈判的马姆斯伯里勋爵的欢迎，1796年10月31日（第五年第10月）通过了一项法律，禁止进口和销售英国商品，其规模甚至超过了1793年的法律所规定的规模，因为该禁令不仅包括来自英国工业的商品，也包括来自英国贸易的商品。与此同时，还采用了有点笨拙的权宜之计——据我们所知，这是第一次，但肯定不是最后一次——即宣布某些类别的货物为英国货物，而不考虑其真正的来源。即使是那些从被俘或搁浅的船只上带入该国的货物也不允许留在那里，而是必须迅速地重新出口。这与上述十七世纪的法规之间的相似性异常惊人。此外，几乎所有1793年的法规在实质上都得到了更新，尽管关于原产地证书的规定在几个月后不得不再次受到限制。只有在刑罚方面有很大的修改。精制糖始终被视为英国货物；但与1793年一样，事实证明1796年的法国不可能将其排除在外，而禁令引起的走私行为最终导致法国在1799年以高额关税取代禁令。有证据可以表明法国立法者认为可以对英国的一切进行迫害的程度之深：日内瓦手表被禁止进口法国，理由仅是它们含有少量被认为是来自英国的钢。

Another link in the policy of commercial war was formed by the Navigation Act, which was brought forward with great oratorical fanfare and was passed by the Convention on September 21, 1793, the anniversary of the overthrow of the monarchy. In exact imitation of the famous corner-stone of English maritime policy, the Navigation Act of the Commonwealth of 1651, and also of earlier French ordinances, it forbade foreign vessels to import any products other than those of theirown country or to carry on coasting trade in France. Moreover, by a supplementary law of October 18 (Vendkmiaire 27, year 11), all foreign vessels were saddled with dues about ten times as high as those imposed on French vessels. There is a close analogy between these measures and those that were adopted during the seventeenth and early part of the'eighteenth centuries. The latter were directed chiefly against the principal carrying country of the time, the Netherlands ; and in the same manner the law of the Convention was directed against the new commercial nation, Great Britain. Perfidious Albion came to occupy the same position in the popular imagination as its predecessor, only it was regarded as still more dangerous owing to the great development of its industries and political power.

商业战争政策的另一个环节是《航海法》，该法案被大张旗鼓地提出来，并在1793年9月21日，即君主制被推翻的周年纪念日由国民公会通过。该法案完全模仿了英国海事政策的著名基石——1651年英联邦的《航海法》，以及法国早期的法令，禁止外国船只进口本国以外的任何产品，或在法国进行沿海贸易。此外，根据10月18日的一项补充法律（Vendkmiaire 27, year 11），所有外国船只都要缴纳比法国船只高十倍的费用。这些措施与17世纪和18世纪初采取的措施有密切的相似之处。后者主要是针对当时的主要运输国荷兰；同样，国民公会的法律也是针对新的商业国家英国的。“背信弃义的阿尔比恩”[[10]](#footnote-9)在人们的想象中占据了与其前身相同的地位，只是由于其工业和政治力量的巨大发展，它被视为更加危险。

All these trade laws of the Revolution manifestly had the same double character as their forerunners of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; that is to say, they were intended to injure Great Britain by excluding her goods and vessels, and at the same time to serve as an ultra-protectionist measure calculated to benefit French industries. According to the official statement, the Directory's law of 1796 was designed to 'give new life to trade, restore manufactures, and re-establish the workshops ', and, on the other hand, ' to deprive our enemies of their most important resource in waging war against us ' and compel them to make peace. In complete analogy with this, BarBre, the trumpeter in ordinary of the Convention, speaking in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, had justified the Navigation Act partly on the ground that ' Carthage would thereby be destroyed '——' let us decree a solemn Navigation Act,' he said, ' and the isle of shopkeepers will be ruined '"and partly on the ground that France would thereby multiply her industries, stimulate the consumption of domestic products, create her own ship-building yards, build up a flourishing mercantile marine, &c., &c. This, so to speak, dualistic character the Continental System was destined to retain but at the same time to lead to an irremediable self-contradiction.

大革命时期的所有这些贸易法显然都具有与它们在17和18世纪的前身相同的双重性质；也就是说，它们的目的是通过排斥英国的货物和船只来伤害英国，同时作为一种极端保护主义的措施，旨在使法国工业受益。根据官方声明，督政府于1796年制定的法律旨在 "给贸易带来新的活力，恢复制造业，重建工场"，另一方面，"剥夺我们的敌人对我们发动战争的最重要资源"，并迫使他们求得和平。与此完全相似的是，国民会议“一个普通的小号手”巴尔布雷以公共安全委员会的名义发言，为《航海法》辩护，部分理由是 "迦太基将因此被摧毁"，他说，"让我们颁布一项庄严的航海法，'商店主的岛屿将被毁灭'"，部分理由是法国将因此增加其工业，刺激国内产品的消费，创建自己的造船厂，建立一个繁荣的商船，等等。可以说，大陆体系注定要保留这种二元特征，但其同时也会导致一种无法补救的自相矛盾。

Naturally it is true of the commercial blockades of the Revolution, as of those of earlier times, that they were not evenapproximately maintained ; the result was that smuggling once more became one of the principal means of Anglo-French intercourse. Notwithstanding the law of 1796, the practice seems to have grown up of importing British and other prohibited goods on a large scale as captured goods. Disordered as every department of the public administration was, one can not doubt that the authorities merely winked at all this ; and besides they were often obliged to mitigate the laws, as we have already seen, in order to ensure some observance of them. An example of this was given by the Navigation Act, which was introduced with such high-sounding words and a month later repealed for the most part by a number of supplementary regulations providing that certain raw materials and enemy goods might be imported in time of war by neutral vessels ; shortly afterwards such vessels also received the right to carry on coasting trade.

自然，大革命时期的商业封锁和早期的商业封锁一样，都没有得到大致的维持；结果是，走私再次成为英法交往的主要手段之一。尽管有1796年的法律，但作为缴获物大规模进口英国和其他违禁品的做法似乎已经形成了。尽管公共管理的每一个部门都很混乱，但人们不会怀疑当局对这一切视而不见；此外，正如我们已经看到的那样，他们常常不得不减轻法律的规定，以确保法律得到一定的遵守。这方面的一个例子是《航海法》，该法以如此冠冕堂皇的措辞出台，一个月后大部分被一些补充条例所废除，这些条例规定在战时可以由中立船只进口某些原材料和敌方货物；不久之后，这些船只还获得了从事沿海贸易的权利。

## CHAPTER II

## 第二章

## MARITIME BLOCKADE

## 商业封锁

IT has already been intimated that, parallel with the commercial blockade, which came principally from the French side, there was taking place, mainly on the British side, a systematic persecution of trade with enemy countries, and that both of these lines of development came to be united in the Continental System. Seemingly and on paper these two lines of policy were not only separate, but also, in part, absolutely conflicting ; this, in fact, has led many observers astray. But if we consider the policy of the maritime blockade with reference to its actual application, as opposed to its outward form, we find that its character, in spite of all inconsistencies and lack of precision, easily reveals as merely an outcome of the mercantilist commercial policy. In this way, consequently, the aim of the commercial war of a hundred years ago was altogether unlike that pursued in the recent World War. On this point, however, scarcely any of the usual accounts give us clear information, The majority of them take the policy of blockade as a more or less self-evident matter without inquiring into its aims. The only writer who, so far as I know, has embarked on a deeper analysis is the foremost naval historian of our time, the late Admiral Mahan of the United States Navy, who has undoubtedly cast much light on the history of the Continental System in his books, The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution. and Empire (1893), and Sea Poze,er in its Relations to the War of 1812 (1905). In general, however, it may be said that Admiral Mahan is too much concerned with sea-power in itself to devote sufficient attention to its connexion with economic policy and economic activity, which after all have also a non-naval side.

前文已经提到，在主要来自法国方面的商业封锁实施的同时，在英国方面也发生了类似的对敌国贸易的系统性迫害，而且这两种发展路线在 "大陆体系 "中得到了统一。表面上和纸面上，这两种政策路线不仅是分开的，而且在一定程度上是绝对冲突的；事实上，这使许多观察家误入歧途。但是，如果我们参照海上封锁政策的实际应用，而不是它的外在形式来考虑，我们就会发现，尽管有种种不一致和不精确之处，但它的特点很容易显示出其只是重商主义商业政策的一个结果。用这个方法我们能得出的结论是，一百年前的商业战争的目的与最近的世界大战所追求的完全不同。然而，在这一点上，几乎没有任何一个通常的描述能给我们提供明确的信息，大多数描述都把封锁政策视为一个或多或少不言而喻的问题，而没有探究其目的。据我所知，唯一一位着手进行更深入分析的作家是我们这个时代最重要的海军历史学家，美国海军已故的马汉上将，他在《海权对法国革命和帝国的影响》（1893年）和《海权与1812年战争的关系》（1905年）等书中无疑对大陆体系的历史作了很多说明。然而，总的来说，可以说马汉上将过于关注海权本身，以至于不能对其与经济政策和经济活动的联系给予足够的关注，毕竟经济活动也有非海军的一面。

In the external system of the maritime blockade the actual blocking of the enemy’s ports and coasts unquestionably formsthe central point. Characteristic of the system, however, was the practice adopted by Great Britain of establishing a socalled ' paper blockade ', that is to say, of declaring in a state of blockade long stretches of coast which she could not or would not effectively blockade by means of sufficient naval forces, and on the strength of this declaration capturing neutral vessels bound for well-nigh any enemy port. This practice received its most extreme statement in an obiter dictum attributed to the British Admiralty Judge, Sir James Marriott, who in 1780, during the war with France and Spain, the European allies of the American colonies, declared that the ports of those countries were ipso facto blockaded by virtue of their geographic position. It was perhaps chiefly to this central point in the naval policy of Great Britain that the neutrals demurred. The demand that the blockade should be effectual, that is to say, that it should apply only to places which were so well guarded that vessels could not reach them without imminent danger of capture, consequently played an important role among the five celebrated points enunciated in 1778 by the Danish statesman, A. P. Bernstorff, and used as the foundation of the unusually successful Swedo-Dano-Russian Armed Neutrality of 1780.

在海上封锁的外部体系中，对敌方港口和海岸的实际封锁无疑是核心问题。然而，该系统的特点是英国采取的建立所谓的 "纸上封锁 "的做法，也就是说，她宣布无法或不会通过足够的海军力量使得漫长海岸线处于封锁状态，而是根据这一声明捕获前往几乎任何敌人港口的中立船只。这种做法在英国海军部法官詹姆斯万豪爵士的附带判词中得到了最极端的表述，他在1780年与美洲殖民地的欧洲盟友——法国和西班牙的战争中宣布，这些国家的港口因其地理位置而事实上被封锁。中立国的反对也许主要是针对英国海军政策的这一中心点。因此，这种对封锁应该有效的需求，具体来说，对封锁应该只适用于那些守卫森严的地方，以至于船只到达这些地方就会有被俘的危险的需求，在丹麦政治家A.P.Bernstorff于1778年阐述的五个知名观点中发挥了重要作用[[11]](#footnote-10)，并成功地作为1780年瑞典-丹麦-俄罗斯武装中立联盟的基础。[[12]](#footnote-11)

## MERCANTILIST IMPORT OF THE BLOCKADE

## 封锁时期的重商主义进口

The blockade undoubtedly had its root in the idea of siege, as the Swedish international jurist, Dr. Nils Soderqvist, has pointed out ; and like the siege, accordingly, it aimed in principle at a real cutting-off of the enemy's territory, especially as regards the exclusion of supplies. Here, therefore, the external contrast with the mercantilist commercial policy is very marked; for the latter, as we have seen, aimed to encourage the forcing of goods upon the enemy and would consequently have regarded a consistent application of the blockade principle as a direct advantage to the enemy country in so far as its supplies were crippled, and as an advantage to the home country only in so far as the blockade impeded the foreign sale of the enemy’s own goods. This peculiar and important but usually overlooked inconsistency can be explained only by the fact that the practice of blockade arose in the pre-mercantilist period. But with the development and spread of mercantilist ideas the practice necessarily had to reshape itself ; and this, in fact, was what actually happened.

正如瑞典国际法学家尼尔斯-索德奎斯特博士所指出的那样，封锁无疑植根于围困的思想；与围困一样，它的目的是在原则上真正切断敌人的领土，特别是在排除供应方面。此处与重商主义商业政策的外部对比是非常明显的；因为正如我们所看到的，重商主义的政策旨在把货物强加给敌人，因此一贯适用封锁原则将被视为对敌国的直接优势，因为它的供应被削弱了；而对本国的好处只是封锁阻碍了敌人货物的对外销售。这种特殊的、重要的但通常被忽视的不一致，只能通过“封锁的做法产生于前重商主义时期”这一事实来解释。但随着重商主义思想的发展和传播，这种做法必然要被重新塑造；事实上，这就是实际发生的情况。

The result was twofold. In the first place, blockade measures were employed to accomplish other purposes than those formally intended ; and, in the second place, the regulations existing on paper were annulled, either by exceptions or by deliberate laxity in their enforcement, to such an extent as to create an order of things quite different from that which was officially prescribed.

其结果是双重的。首先，封锁措施更常被用于实现其他目的，而非其被规划的正式意图；其次，要么是因为例外情况，要么是在执行时故意放任自流，以至于纸面上的规定形同虚设，形成了与官方规定完全不同的事情秩序。

## FUNCTION OF CAPTURE AT SEA

## 海上俘获的功能

First, then, we have to consider the employment of blockade measures for purposes other than those formerly intended. Here primary importance attaches to the fact that seizures or captures may be said to have been ends in themselves. To some extent this appears even in the relative importance of the paper blockade as compared with the effective blockade ; for the former gave much greater chances of capture but, at the same time, was a far less safe means of preventing intercourse with the enemy. Moreover, two of the most important methods of blockade are largely explained when we come to consider the importance of captures——namely, the arbitrary extension of the idea of contraband and the persistent refusal of Great Britain to acknowledge the proposition that ‘ free ships make free goods ’ or that ‘ the flag covers the cargo ’, which implies that enemy goods are immune from capture on neutral vessels.

那么，首先，我们必须考虑将封锁措施用于其他目的这一情况。有一点重要的是，查封或俘获是作为目的而非手段而存在的。某种程度上，这甚至体现在纸质封锁与有效封锁的相对重要性上：前者提供了更大的俘获机会，但同时就防止与敌人往来而言更不安全[[13]](#footnote-12)。此外，当我们考虑俘获的重要性时，很大程度上解释了两个最重要的封锁方法——即任意扩大违禁品的概念，以及英国坚持拒绝承认 "自由的船只产生自由的货物 "或 "旗帜覆盖货物 "这类保护中立船只上的敌方货物的主张。

The object of this encouragement of captures for their own sake was scarcely in any notable number of cases what one would nowadays be most inclined to expect, that is, the procurement of goods for one’s own use in this convenient manner. It is true that Pitt, according to a statement of the then Swedishenvoy in London, Lars von Engestrom——a statement, however, which is not confirmed by the brief parliamentary reports——referred in the House of Commons on November 3, 1795, to seizures of corn cargoes bound for French ports as a means of overcoming the exceptional shortage of foodstuffs in England ; and there is also a later utterance of Napoleon to the same effect. But these cases would seem to be almost unique, as one might expect beforehand in view of the fact that the object of the seizures was not, as a rule, to acquire goods, but rather to dispose of them. An explanation must be found elsewhere, namely, in the fact that captures were a means of encouragement to the captors themselves ; and to this point there was ascribed the greatest importance. To begin with, it applied to the great horde of privateers, who were regarded as forming a very important augmentation to the fighting forces of the country, but who manifestly could not embark on that career except with some prospect of profit. In a highly characteristic manner a well-known English international jurist, William Manning, towards the middle of the nineteenth century explained the benefit of these privateers on laissez-faire lines. ‘ They increase the naval force of a state,’ he said, ‘ by causing vessels to be equipped from private cupidity, which a minister might not be able to obtain by general taxation without much difficulty

在任何显而易见的情况下，今天人们都不倾向于期望这种鼓励为私人利益而俘获的目的，这种用便利的方法为自己采购货物的目的。的确，根据当时瑞典驻伦敦特使拉尔斯-冯-恩格斯特罗姆（Lars von Engestrom）的陈述——虽然这一陈述并没有得到简短的议会报告的证实——1795年11月3日，皮特在下议院提到了扣押运往法国港口的玉米货物，以此来克服英国食品的特殊短缺；拿破仑后来也说过同样的话。但正如人们事先可能预期的那样，这些案例似乎几乎是独一无二的，因为扣押的目的通常不是获取货物，而是处置货物。因此，对俘获是鼓励俘获者的手段这一事实的解释是重要的。首先，它适用于大量的私掠者，他们被认为是国家战斗力的一个非常重要的补充，但他们显然不可能在没有某种利润前景的情况下开始这一事业。十九世纪中叶，英国著名的国际法学家威廉·曼宁以一种非常有特色的方式，在自由放任主义的基础上阐述了这些私掠者的好处。他说："它们增加了一个国家的海军力量，"他说，"大臣历经千辛万苦才能用税收获得的装备，他们基于私人的贪婪就能船只配备上"

## EVIDENCE OF JAMES STEPHEN IN ‘ WAR IN DISGUISE ’

## 《被伪装的战争》

But this held good, not only of the privateering fleet, but also of the Royal Navy itself, in which captures formed a source of income to commanders and crew that was of the greatest importance in stimulating their willingness and zeal, How deeply rooted this opinion still was only a hundred years ago is best illustrated by a book of that time which perhaps, on the whole, gives a clearer notion of the pre-conditions of the policy of blockade than any other, namely, James Stephen’s War inDbguise ; or, the Frauds of the Neutral Flags, which was published the same day as the battle of Trafalgar (October 91, 1805) and within four months appeared in three British and two American editions.

但这不仅适用于私掠舰队，也适用于皇家海军本身，在皇家海军中，俘获物是指挥官和船员的收入来源，刺激着他们的意愿和热情。当时的一本书最能说明这种观点在一百年前仍然根深蒂固：詹姆斯-斯蒂芬的《被伪装的战争》；或者《中立国旗的欺诈》。这本书在整体上对封锁政策的前提条件给出了比其他任何书都更清晰的概念。该书在特拉法尔加战役的同一天（1805年10月91日）出版，并在四个月内出版了三个英国版本和两个美国版本。

The importance of this book-which, significantly enough, was republished during the recent World War as a contributory aid to the solution of its problems-will appear in several places later on, and a few words about its author, therefore, seem in order. James Stephen, father of Sir James Stephen (nicknamed ' Mr. Over-Secretary Stephen ') and grandfather of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen and Sir Leslie Stephen, was a barrister practising in the Prize Appeal Court of the Privy Council, the highest prize court in England. Both in this capacity and earlier as a lawyer in the West Indies, he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the conditions of trade during the long naval war, as well as of the application of the principles of law to them. Thus not only was he thoroughly familiar with matters in this department, but he was also far from representing any extreme jingo view. This is perhaps best shown by the fact that, like his brother-in-law, William Wilberforce, the great emancipator of the slaves, he was a decidedly religious person, belonging to the Clapham Sect, and devoted a large part of his life to the struggle for the abolition of negro slavery. This fact gives his utterances on captures their proper background. He dwells long on the injustice which would be inflicted on ' our gallant and meritorious fellow subjects, the naval captors,' when they were compelled to see valuable cargoes, ' their lawful game,' passing continually under their sterns. ' It is painful to reflect,' he says, ' that these brave men lose the ancient fruits of distant service, while enduring more than its ordinary hardships.' His account of the importance of capture as an inducement for seamen may be quoted in extenso :

*Let us give full credit to our gallant officers, for that disinterested patriotism, and that love of glory, which ought to be the main springs of military character, and which they certainly possess in a most eminent degree. But it would be romantic and absurd, to suppose thatthey do not feel the value of that additional encouragement, which his Majesty and the legislature hold out to them, in giving them the benefit of the captures they make. What else is to enable the veteran naval officer, to enjoy in the evening of his life, the comforts of an easy income ; the father to provide for his children ; or the husband for an affectionate wife, who, from the risques he runs in the service of his country, is peculiarly likely to survive him ? By what other means, can a victorious admiral, when raised, as a reward of his illustrious actions, to civil and hereditary honours, hope to support earned rank, and provide for an ennobled posterity ? . . . It is from the enemies of his country, therefore, that he hopes to wrest the means of comfortably sustaining those honours, which he has gained at their expence.*

从这本书在最近一次世界大战期间被重新出版，以作为对解决问题的帮助，可以看出其重要性。同时下文也有几处显现出这本书的重要性。因此，对其作者说几句话似乎是有必要的。本书作者詹姆斯·斯蒂芬是小詹姆斯·斯蒂芬爵士（绰号 "斯蒂芬先生"）的父亲，詹姆斯·菲茨杰姆斯·斯蒂芬爵士和莱斯利·斯蒂芬爵士的祖父。詹姆斯·斯蒂芬是一名大律师，在英国最高捕获法庭——枢密院有奖上诉法院执业。在这个职位上以及早些时候在西印度群岛担任律师时，他对长期海战期间的贸易状况以及对法律原则的应用都有了深刻的了解。他不仅对这个部门的事务非常熟悉，而且也没有任何沙文主义的观点。最能说明这一点的是，与他的姐夫、伟大的奴隶解放者威廉-威尔伯福斯一样，作为一个坚定的克拉珀姆派宗教人士，他将其一生中的大部分时间用于为废除黑人奴隶制而斗争。这一事实使他关于俘获的言论有了适当的背景。他长篇大论地论述了对 "我们英勇而有功劳的，从事俘获工作的海军同胞 "的不公正待遇。“当他们被迫看到宝贵的货物在他们的船尾下通过时”，他说：“单是想想就能让人觉得痛苦：这些勇士不仅失去了在遥远的地方长期工作的成果，同时又忍受着比一般人更多的艰辛。”他那被广泛引用的对俘获作为海员诱因的重要性的描述如下：

*让我们充分肯定，我们英勇的军官们的无私的爱国主义精神和对荣誉的热爱，这应该是军人品格的主要源泉，而且他们肯定在最突出的程度上拥有这种精神。但是，如果认为他们没有感受到国王陛下和立法机构为他们提供的额外鼓励的价值，让他们从他们的俘获中受益，那将是充满幻想且荒谬的。*

*还有什么能使老资格的海军军官在他生命的最后时刻享受轻松的收入；使父亲能供养他的孩子；或者使丈夫能得到一个深情的妻子，作为对他在为国家服务时冒着风险的嘉奖，并使他活下来的可能增加？一个胜利的海军将领，当他被国家赋予世袭的荣誉作为他杰出的奖励时，还能通过什么其他手段来支持他的地位，并供养一个高贵的后代？……因此他希望从他的国家的敌人那里夺取舒适地维持这些荣誉的手段，用这些夺来的俘获品作为换取荣誉的代价。*

As to the common seamen and mariners, the natural motives of dislike to the naval service, are in their breasts far more effectually combated by the hope of prize money, than by all the other inducements that are or can be proposed to them. The nautical character is peculiarly of a kind to be influenced by such dazzling, but precarious prospects.

对于普通海员和航海家来说，有望得到奖钱这一事实比任何事物都能激发他们内心中对海军活动的喜爱。航海员的特点就是特别容易受到这种令人眼花缭乱但又不稳定的前景的影响。

## ATTACKS ON ENEMY EXPORTS, NOT IMPORTS

## 进攻敌人的出口业，而非进口业

With this encouragement of captures for their own sake, however, there was undoubtedly coupled a desire to cut down the enemy’s trade. But this desire, too, has to be conceived in a strictly mercantilist spirit. To inflict military injury on the enemy, either directly or indirectly, was not-at least not to any notable extent-the object of the interference with his trade. On the contrary, the primary object was that of waging commercial war against him, i. e., of depriving him of a source of gain, or, in other words, beating him off the field ; and, parallel with this, it was aimed to extend a country’s own trade-which could be done, and was constantly attempted, at the expense, not only of the enemy country, but also of neutral countries. This brought it about that the establishment of a blockade dealt the latter a much harder blow than is the case at the present time. The intention was to prevent them from receiving any profit either from the enemy country or from other countries, and so far as possible to expel them, as well as the enemy, fromsources of gain which had previously been open to them. It is perhaps not altogether clear whether considerations of this nature influenced some of the measures of the recent blockade. But however that may be, it is true that such a policy has no connexion'whatsoever with the blockade of the enemy as such, but may be pursued, as actually happened a hundred years ago, purely as an end in itself. The objection to the proposition that 'free ships make free goods' was rooted in this object much more than in the inclination to encourage captures for their own sake ; for as goods belonging to subjects of enemy countries were liable to seizure on neutral vessels, the neutrals were prevented from taking over the traffic which the enemy himself had been able to carry on before he was driven from the sea, as the British historian Lecky has well observed.And this was still more the case with the fourth of the great disputed questions concerning the law of war at sea, namely, that of commerce nouveau, or, in British terminology, the rule of 1756, the wording of which, as elaborated by British jurists, was that ' a neutral has no right to deliver a belligerent from the pressure of his enemy's hostilities, by trading with his colonies in time of war in a way that was prohibited in time of peace.' "his principle prevented the neutrals from pushing their way either into the enemy's coasting trade or-and this was more importantinto what might be regarded as a special form of coasting trade, namely, trade with the enemy's colonies. In time of peace both of these were jealously guarded preserves of the trade and navigation of the home country ; but in time of war the belligerent power that was debarred from the sea willingly turned them over to neutrals with the double object of maintaining the traffic and of preventing it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

然而，在鼓励为俘获而俘获的同时，无疑也有一种削减敌人贸易的欲望。但是，这种欲望也必须以严格的重商主义精神来构想。干预其贸易的目的并不是——至少不是在任何明显的程度上——直接或间接地对敌人造成军事伤害。相反，主要目的是对敌人发动商业战争，即剥夺他的收益来源，或者换句话说，把他打出场外；与此同时，它的目的是扩大一个国家的贸易，通过不断尝试可以做到。这不仅牺牲敌国的利益，而且还有中立国家的利益。这就导致了封锁的建立给中立国家带来了比现在更严重的打击：尽可能地使他们遭遇和敌人一样的待遇，从以前对他们开放的收益来源中驱逐出去。从而防止他们从敌国或其他国家获得任何利润。这种性质的考虑是否影响了最近封锁（20世纪）的一些措施？谁知道呢。但无论如何，这种政策确实与封锁敌人本身没有任何联系，但可以像一百年前实际发生的那样，其是纯粹作为目的而非手段存在的。反对 "自由的船只带来自由的货物 "这一主张更多起源于此，而非起因于鼓励为了私利的俘获的趋势。因为属于敌国国民的货物有可能在中立船只上被扣押，中立国在敌人被赶出海洋前，禁止接管敌人一直利用的海洋运输，正如英国历史学家莱基所指出的那样。关于海上战争法的重大争议问题中的第四个问题更是如此，即新商业的问题，用英国的术语来说就是“1756年的规则”。英国法学家如此阐述战争法的内容，"中立国无权在战时与交战国的殖民地进行贸易——这一行为哪怕在和平时代也是被禁止的——从而摆脱敌人的敌对行动压力"。战争法的这个准则防止中立国强行进入敌人的沿海贸易，或者，与敌人的殖民地进行贸易，这可能被视为沿海贸易的一种特殊形式，后者更为重要。在和平时期，这两点都是国家贸易和航行的保护区；但在战争时期，被禁止出海的交战国愿意把它们交给中立国，以达到维持贸易和防止其落入敌手的双重目的。

The characteristic difference between the policy of that time and the policy of to-day is that, when the masters of the sea a century ago tried to prevent neutrals from carrying on a certain kind of trade, their object was not to kill that trade altogether, as is the case nowadays, but to seize it for themselves.It is therefore indisputable, as the neutrals complained and as Stephen himself admits, that British vessels were allowed to trade with France, while neutral vessels were overhauled and seized.In full accord with this and with mercantilist trade policy, it was sought fist and foremost to cut off all kinds of exports from the enemy to the neutrals, especially if they competed with those of the home country. In complete contrast with the efforts of the recent war, the endeavours of that time were aimed, on the one side, at getting rid of the excess of export goods in the home country and, on the other side, at preventing the enemy from selling his products. This was in part due to the fact that apprehensions were always felt of low prices on these goods in the home country and also of high prices in the enemy country. On the one side, therefore, the whole of Stephen’s account is permeated by anxiety lest the price of British colonial goods should decline as a result of their being kept out of the continental markets by French and Spanish colonial goods. In previous wars, according to his view, the British home market, ‘relieved by a copious exportation from temporary repletions,’ gave them (the colonies), ‘ in its large and ever-advancing prices, some indemnity for the evils of the war,’ while at that time, according to his statements, the prices were sinking on the Continent in consequence of the importation of goods from the enemy’s colonies. On the other hand, he is dominated by dislike of the idea that the same neutral trade should provide access to America of the textile and iron goods of the Continent in competition with those of Great Britain herself. What troubled him, therefore, was not that the Continent should get colonial goods, but that it should get them , from the enemy colonies, which, like the mother country itself, should be cut off from exports, he thought, but not from imports.

当时的政策与今天的政策的特点区别在于，当一个世纪前的海洋霸主试图阻止中立国进行某种贸易时，他们的目的不是像今天这样完全扼杀这种贸易，而是为自己夺取这种贸易。因此，正如中立国所抱怨的，也正如斯蒂芬自己所承认的，英国船只允许与法国进行贸易，而中立国的船只则被检修和扣押，这是无可争议的。与此完全一致的是重商主义的贸易政策，它首先要切断敌人对中立国的各种出口，如果它们与本国的出口是竞争关系的话尤其如此。与最近一次战争的努力完全不同，当时一方面努力摆脱母国过剩的出口商品，另一方面防止敌人销售其产品。这在一定程度上是由于人们总是担心这些货物在本国的价格过低，同时也担心在敌国的价格过高。因此，斯蒂芬的整个叙述一方面充满了焦虑，生怕英国殖民地商品的价格会因为法国和西班牙的殖民地商品被挡在大陆市场之外而下降。根据他的观点，在以前的战争中，英国本土市场"通过大量的出口来缓解暂时的不足"，对他们（殖民地）"在其庞大和不断增长的价格中，对战争的罪恶进行了一些补偿"，根据他的陈述，这一时期由于从敌人的殖民地进口货物，欧洲大陆的整体商品价格正在下降。另一方面，他不喜欢中立国的相同贸易使得欧洲大陆的纺织品和铁制品进入美国，与英国本身的产品竞争。因此，令他不安的不是欧洲大陆应该得到殖民地的货物，而是应该从敌人的殖民地得到这些货物，他认为，这些殖民地和母国本身一样，应该被切断出口，而不是进口。

Finally, therefore, all this implies that no cutting-off of imports to the enemy could come into the line of the policy pursued. It denotes merely an effort to place those imports under the control of the naval power itself, so that the countrymight thereby give preference, so far as possible, to its own products and those of its colonies, and also so that it might take over trade and navigation with the enemy mainland. The latter consideration, however, took a secondary place, as Great Britain often had need of neutral shipping to supplement her own overworked mercantile marine ; and it is especially noteworthy that the neutrals’ supply of the enemy’s (e. g., the French) market with the belligerent’s (e. g., Britain’s) own products was an all but self-evident matter, against which there was really no objection to raise from a British point of view. Manifestly, such a blockade policy diverged fundamentally from that of the recent World War.

因此，最后，所有这些都意味着在已推行的政策中，完全切断对敌人的进口是不可能实施的。它只是尽力将这些进口置于海军本身的控制之下，因此该国更可能优先考虑本国和殖民地的产品，同时也可以接管与敌国大陆的贸易和航运。然而，后一种考虑是次要的，因为英国经常需要中立国的船运来补充她自己过度劳累的商船。值得特别注意的是，中立国用交战国（如英国）自己的产品来供应敌人（如法国）的市场是一个不言而喻的事情，从英国的角度来看，确实没有什么可以反对。显而易见，这样的封锁政策与最近一次世界大战的封锁政策在精神上是有区别的。

The only substantial exception to this general tendencyand even that a very partial one-concerned import goods of purely military importance, that is too say, military supplies, naval stores, and sometimes, at least in principle, foodstuffs for the enemy’s fighting forces on land and sea. These items were emphasized by Pitt, for instance, in the great speech which he delivered before the House of Commons on February 2, 1801, immediately before his retirement, in defence of the policy of maritime blockade that he had introduced. In the actual execution of the policy, however, it is difficult to find any marked traces of this ; and, significantly enough, it was coolly stated in Parliament, in 1812, that the clothing of the French army came from Yorkshire, and that ‘ not only the accoutrements, but the ornaments of Marshal Soult and his army ’ came from Birmingham. The reservation was made, however, that they had not been ordered directly by the French government

这种普遍趋势的唯一实质性例外，甚至非常局部，是纯军事性的进口货物，也就是说，军需品、海军物资，有时还有供敌人的陆上和海上作战部队使用的食品，至少在原则上如此。例如，皮特在1801年2月2日，即在他退休前，在下议院发表的为他所推行的海上封锁政策辩护的伟大演讲中，就强调了这些项目。然而，在政策的实际执行中，很难找到任何明显的痕迹；而且，很重要的一点是，1812年在议会中冷静地指出，法国军队的服装来自约克郡，"不仅是装束 ，而且苏尔特元帅和他的军队的装饰品 "都来自伯明翰。但是，有人提出保留意见，即这些衣服不是由法国政府直接订购的。

It may be remarked in passing that Edward III, four and a half centuries earlier, had already given licences for the exportation of corn to the enemy, though the ruling thought at that time was that of procuring revenue for the Crown

顺带一提，早在四个半世纪前，爱德华三世就已经发放了向敌人出口玉米的许可证，尽管当时的主导思想是为王室争取收入。

## COLONIAL TRADE

## 殖民地贸易

The colonial trade, which at that time was conducted in all countries on the lines of the Old Colonial System, deserves special attention in this connexion. The fundamental idea of that system was that the mother country and the colonies should constitute an economic whole, with a strict division of labour between them, so that the mother country alone supplied the colonies with the industrial products and other things they needed, and in exchange received alone, or practically alone, the raw materials, precious metals, foodstuffs, and stimulants that the colonies produced, all with national vessels and through national merchants. In this case, therefore, not only were exports to the colonies regarded as economically profitable to the mother country, but the same also held good of imports from the colonies. Accordingly, it was considered a great triumph if a country succeeded, by means of the maritime blockade, in conveying the products of enemy colonies also to its own shores, and at the same time in preventing those products from competing with the products of their own colonies on the mainland of Europe, A great many, not to say the majority, of the controversies that arose in those days regarding the matter of the commercial blockade, especially in Great Britain and America, turned precisely on the question of colonial trade, which also quantitatively played a surprisingly great part in the total commercial intercourse of the sea-trading countries, especially through the re-exportation of colonial goods that arose out of it. Thus, according to the so-called ' official values ' in the statistics of trade, the British exports of foreign goods (which means substantially colonial goods) rose uninterruptedly in the course of the revolutionary wars from 21 per cent. of the total in 1792 to 36.25 per cent. in 1800. Likewise, the French re-exportation to Europe of goods from the West Indies immediately before the Revolution was greater than the whole of French exportation of domestic staple products of the textile and liquor industries, On the other hand, the transit trade of the United States in French, Spanish, andBritish West Indian products increased prodigiously during the same period, representing in 1806 a value of no less than $60,000,000, or one and a half times the value of the exports of the domestic goods of the United States

值得特别注意的是，当时殖民地贸易在所有国家进行，并按照旧殖民地制度的思路执行。该制度的基本思想是，母国和殖民地应构成一个经济整体，它们之间有严格的分工，因此，母国只向殖民地提供工业产品和它们需要的其他东西，作为交换，母国只接受或实际上只接受殖民地生产的原材料、贵金属、食品和兴奋剂，这种种都用本国船只并通过本国商人进行。因此，在这种情况下，不仅向殖民地的出口被视为对母国有利可图，而且从殖民地的进口也是如此。因此，如果一个国家通过海上封锁成功地将敌方殖民地的产品运到自己的海岸，同时阻止这些产品在欧洲大陆与本国殖民地的产品竞争，这被认为是一个巨大的胜利、在那些日子里，特别是在英国和美国，关于商业封锁问题的大量争议恰恰是围绕着殖民贸易问题展开的，而殖民贸易在海上贸易国的全部商业往来中，特别是通过由此产生的殖民货物的再出口，在数量上也起到了惊人的作用。因此，根据贸易统计中所谓的 "官方价值"，英国的外国货物出口（主要是指殖民地货物）在革命战争期间不间断地从1792年占总数的21%上升到1800年的36.25%。同样地，法国在大革命前从西印度群岛转口到欧洲的货物比法国国内纺织业和酒业的主要产品的全部出口量还要大。另一方面，美国对法国、西班牙和英国西印度产品的过境贸易在同一时期也有很大的增长，1806年的贸易额不少于6000万美元，等同于美国国内货物出口价值的一倍半。

## TRADING WITH THE ENEMY

## 对敌贸易

Such, then, were the purposes that the policy of blockade was intended to serve. But as has already been mentioned, the curious thing about its practical application did not lie exclusively in this alteration of its objects, but also in the fact that the policy actually pursued was in reality quite diKerent from that which held good on paper. To some extent this was true of the measures that pertained strictly to the law of war at sea, especially to blockades ; but to a still greater extent it was true of trading with the enemy. The prohibition of this was regarded, especially in Great Britain, as an indispensable principle of international law and was therefore rigorously maintained on paper ; and this notion was also strengthened by the desire of every country to mark the moral gulf that should separate its own subjects from the enemy, or, as the phrase ran, ‘ to prevent treasonable and improper intercourse ’.But there was not the slightest idea of carrying out this fundamental principle in practice. With almost grotesque force the contrast between theory and practice is brought out in one passage in Stephen’s book in which he discusses the objection that might be raised against his pleadings in favour of measures against neutral trade, namely, that they would plunge Great Britain into war with the then neutrals and thereby impede her exports. He goes on to say :

*Is it asked, ‘ Who would afterwards carry our manufactures to market ? ’ I answer, ‘ Our allies, our fellow subjects, our old and new enemies themselves.’ In the last war (1778-1788，when Spain and Great Britain were enemies) nothing prevented the supplying of Spanish America with British manufactures, in British bottoms, even when theywere liable to confiscation by both the belligerent parties for the act, but that the field of commerce was preoccupied, and the markets glutted by the importations under neutral flags.*

*But would I advise a toleration of these new ' modes of relieving the hostile colonies ' ? Its toleration would not be necessary. Even your own hostilities would not be able to overcome the expansive force of your own commerce, when delivered from the unnatural and ruinous competition, of its present privileged enemies. You might often capture the carriers of it and condemn their cargoes ; but the effect would chiefly be to raise the price upon the enemy, and the difference would go into the purses of your [prize-taking] seamen. The prize goods themselves, would find their way from your colonies into the hostile Territories*

那么，这就是封锁政策所要达到的目的。但是，正如已经提到的那样，关于其实际应用的奇怪之处并不在于其目标的转变，还在于实际上实际执行的政策与纸面上的政策完全不同。在某种程度上，与海上战争法严格相关的措施是表里不一的，尤其以封锁最为突出；但在更大程度上，与敌人的贸易也是如此。禁止与敌人贸易被视为国际法不可或缺的原则，在英国尤其如此，因此禁止与敌贸易在纸面上得到了严格执行。每个国家希望划清将本国国民与敌人分开的道德鸿沟也是加强这一观念的原因。或者正如一句话所说的，'防止叛国和不正当的交往'。但在实践中这种想法根本没有得到实施。斯蒂芬在书中用一段话几乎以怪异的力量揭示了理论与实践之间的反差，他在这段话中讨论了可能对他赞成反对中立国贸易的措施提出的反对意见，即这些措施将使英国陷入与当时的中立国的战争，从而阻碍其出口。他接着说：

*有人问：'以后谁会把我们的产品推向市场？'我回答：'我们的盟友，我们的同胞，还有我们的新旧敌人。在上一次战争中（1778-1788年，当西班牙和英国是敌人时），没有什么能阻止向西班牙美洲供应英国的产品的行为，即使它们有可能被交战双方没收，但商业领域被这一行为占据，市场被悬挂中立国旗的进口产品所充斥。*

*我是否会建议容忍这些新的 "解救敌对殖民地的方式"？答案是没有必要容忍。当摆脱了目前享有特权的敌人的非自然的和破坏性的竞争，即使你们自己的战争行动也不能克服你们自己的商业的扩张力，你们可能会经常捕获这些货物的携带者并谴责他们；但产生的效果主要是提高敌人的价格，使得你们这些得到奖励的海员把差额装进腰包。而奖品货物本身会从你们的殖民地进入敌对领土。*

It would be difficult to find a more typical example of the capacity to ' make the best of both worlds '. The legal principle of prohibiting trade with the enemy was constantly maintained, while at the same time full provision was made for exports above all to the enemy, which according to the deeply rooted ideas of the time was of vital interest to the country. The same combination of incompatible views is revealed in almost every utterance that has come down from that time ; and when the will existed, it was not difficult to find means for its realization. One of these means was the system of licences, of which Stephen says that ' papal dispensations were not more easily obtained in the days of Luther '. Another means was the system called ' neutralization,' whereby vessels and cargoes that in reality belonged to one or another of the belligerents were declared on sworn-that is to say, perjured-evidence, to belong to neutrals. These tactics-which, however, were sometimes turned against the belligerents themselves, and in such cases were combated both by the law courts and by the supporters of the official policy-were employed on a strictly business basis, commonly with a commission of 1-2 per cent. for the firm that handled the transaction. Especially Emden, in East Friesland, which belonged to Prussia and was consequently neutral, was a centre for transactions of this nature, and there were loud complaints against British marine insurance firms which bound themselves,against a special premium of 1 per cent., not to urge the legally valid plea against the enemy origin of the cargoes, which by law always involved the invalidity of the insurance. Besides this, moreover, there always remained the possibility of winking at an illegal practice which there was no intention of preventing ; and it is characteristic of the situation that in the year 1794 Swedish captains openly declared to the British customs officers that their vessels were bound for a French port.

很难找到一个更典型的“两全其美”的例子。禁止与敌人贸易的法律原则一直得到维护，但与此同时，又规定对敌人优先出口，这根据当时根深蒂固的观念是对国家至关重要的。这样将不相容的观点组合在一起的做法，在当时流传下来的言论中比比皆是。只要有心，不难找到法子。其中一个方法是许可证制度，斯蒂芬说，"在路德的时代，教皇的豁免权是最容易获得的"。另一种手段是被称为 "中立化 "的制度，根据这一制度，人们可以作伪证，发誓称船只和货物一定是中立国的，实际上它们属于某个交战国。然而，由于这些策略有时会对交战国本身不利，在这种情况下，法院和官方政策的支持者都会予以打击，因此这些策略是在严格的商业基础上采用的，通常会给处理交易的公司带来1-2%的佣金。东弗里斯兰的埃姆登是这种性质的交易的中心——它属于普鲁士，因此是中立的。人们对英国的海上保险公司大加抱怨，因为这些公司要收取1%的特别保险费，否则就不对货物的敌方来源提出法律上有效的抗辩，尽管根据法律，这种额外收费可能导致保险的无效性。此外，还有可能对无意阻止的非法行为视而不见：1794年，瑞典船长向英国海关官员公开宣布他们的船只将前往法国港口，这就是这种情况的典型例子。

Trading with the enemy also appears as a fairly self-evident practice in nearly all accounts of the commercial conditions then prevailing. This is revealed, for instance, by the British trade statistics themselves, which show that the share of the enemy countries, France and the Netherlands (northern and southern), in the total exports of Great Britain declined only from 15 to 13 per cent. in the years 1792-1800. This, too, is conclusive evidence in support of Stephen’s proposition as to the impossibility of war measures adopted by Great Britain to the end of overcoming the expansive force of her own trade

在几乎所有关于当时商业状况的描述中，与敌人进行贸易也是一种不言而喻的做法。例如，英国的贸易统计数字本身就表明了这一点，它表明在1792-1800年期间，敌国法国和荷兰（北部和南部）在英国总出口中的份额仅从15%下降到13%。这也是支持斯蒂芬主张的确凿证据，即英国不可能为了克服本国贸易的扩张力而采取战争措施。

Following this hasty sketch of the general character of the maritime blockade policy of that time, it seems expedient to show in a more concrete form the development of those measures during the years from the intervention of Great Britain in the revolutionary wars in 1793 down to the Peace of Amiens in 1803. It contains, indeed, a good deal which may be of value, not only in throwing light on the general situation at that time, but also in furnishing a background for what was to come later.

在对当时的海上封锁政策的总体特征进行了草率的概述之后，似乎应该以更具体的形式来说明从1793年英国干预革命战争到1803年亚眠和约这几年中这些措施的发展。事实上，它包含了许多可能有价值的内容，不仅阐明了当时的总体情况，而且还为后来的事情提供了背景。

## BRITISH MEASURES (1793-1802)

## 1793-1802的英国措施

The measures adopted at the beginning of the maritime blockade in 1793 exhibit marked resemblances to the corresponding measures adopted during the recent World War, and are therefore of especial interest and importance. As early as February 14, that is to say, a fortnight after the outbreak of the war, Great Britain authorized the capture of all vessels and goods belonging to France ; and in the following month she proceeded to work. On April 4 she proclaimed all her most advanced principles concerning the law of war at sea, and on June 8 she introduced the most famous of her measures, namely, the instructions of 1793, whereby fleet commanders and privateers mere authorized ‘ to stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France or any port occupied by the armies of France ’, with the understanding that the British government would purchase the cargo with the proper allowances for freight, called ‘pre-emption’. This measure took the formof a plan to starve out France. Count Axel von Fersen, the chivalrous young Swedish nobleman who, as is well known, was one of the most active allies of the French emigres, had emphasized this, as early as April 29, in a letter addressed to the Regent of Sweden, Charles Duke of Sodermanland ; and in a notification of the measure addressed to the Baltic powers, especially one to Denmark in July, Great Britain justified her June instructions in a manner very similar to that in which the policy of starving out Germany was justified during the recent war. The notification declared that the war was being conducted in a manner contrary to the principles of international law, that France had no recognized government, and that the corn trade had been taken over by the French authorities themselves, that is to say, had become an act of the enemy’s own government ; and, finally, the blockade against imports was represented purely as an important means of forcing the enemy to make peace. Lars von Ehgestrom hit the mark in describing the tendencies of that time-as also those of the World War-when he wrote that the struggle ‘ had passed into a kind of political war of religion ’.

1793年海上封锁开始时采取的措施与最近一次世界大战有明显的相似性，因此具有特别的意义和重要性。早在2月14日，也就是战争爆发后的两个星期，英国就授权扣押属于法国的所有船只和货物；在接下来的一个月里，她就开始行动了。4月4日，她宣布了她关于海上战争法的所有最激进的原则，6月8日，她推出了她最有名的措施，即1793年的指示，根据该指示，舰队指挥官和牧师被授权 "当有全部或部分装载玉米、面粉或膳食的船只前往任何法国拥有或占领的港口时，停止和扣留它们"，作为代价英国政府会"预购"它们，购买这些货物并给予适当的运费补贴。这项措施是为了让法国陷入饥饿。阿克塞尔-冯-费森伯爵，一位众所周知富有骑士精神的年轻瑞典贵族，法国流亡者最积极的盟友之一，早在4月29日给瑞典摄政王查尔斯-索德曼公爵的信中就强调了这一点。在给波罗的海国家的措施通知中，特别是在7月给丹麦的通知中，英国为她6月的指示辩护，与在最近英国使德国挨饿的政策辩护相似。该通知宣称，战争是因为法国违反国际法律：如今的法国政府没有得到承认，却自己接管了其玉米贸易，因此被视为敌对政府。最后，对进口的封锁被表示为纯粹是迫使敌人讲和的重要手段。拉斯-冯-埃格斯特罗姆（Lars von Ehgestrom）在描述当时的趋势时一针见血，他写道，这场斗争 "已经变成了一种宗教的政治战争"。

A genuine blockade of the importation of foodstuffs into France might therefore have been expected, that is, a ‘ starvingout scheme ’ similar to that of the World War. In a way such a plan might even have been made to harmonize fairly well with the continental economic policy of that time, at least until the French Revolution ; for as a matter of fact, the prevailing note on the subject of foodstuffs continued to be the pre-mercantilist tendency to prevent exports, rather than the mercantilist one to encourage domestic production by hampering imports and facilitating exports. As has been already mentioned, however, Pitt’s justification for the seizures was not based on this notion, but on Britain’s own quite temporary need of foodstuffsaccording to Lars von Engestrom’s statement ; and evidence of how deeply rooted the notion of the inexpediency of preventing imports to the enemy was is furnished by the fact that the ensuing developments did not at all follow along the lines which were indicated in the first measures. Only fourteen months afterwards, on August 18, 1794, the previously cited article in the June instructions of 1793 was repealed, and this meant that the importation of corn into France was again permitted. It is true that in the following April a new attempt was made to put the instructions of 1793 into force, but this was done chiefly with the object of forcing the United States into a ratification of the celebrated Jay Treaty of 1794. That, however, wound up the whole of this episode, so that throughout the entire period of the twenty years that still remained before Europe obtained a lasting peace, not a single attempt at starving out France was made, so far as we know, nor were there any further efforts to stop her imports on the part of the power that had the command of the sea. Against only one small country, Norway, did Great Britain occasionally make use of her ability to prevent the introduction of supplies, for reasons which will be discussed in due time.

因此不难想象对法国食品进口的真正封锁，也就是类似于世界大战时的 "饥饿 "计划。在某种程度上，这样的计划甚至可能与当时的大陆经济政策相当协调，至少在法国大革命之前如此；因为事实上，对食品的普遍注意仍然是前重商主义的倾向，即防止出口，而不是重商主义的倾向，即通过阻碍进口和促进出口来鼓励国内生产。然而，根据拉斯-冯-恩格斯特罗姆的说法，皮特扣押粮食的理由并不是基于这种观念，而是基于英国本身对粮食的临时需求，正如上文提到的那样。事实上，随后的事态发展根本没有遵循最初措施的方针，这证明了阻止在敌人那进口商品是不明智的这一观念是根植在人们心中。仅仅14个月后，即1794年8月18日，先前引用的1793年6月指示中的条款被废除，这意味着再次允许向法国进口玉米。诚然，在接下来的4月，有人试图使1793年的指示生效，但这主要是为了迫使美国批准著名的“1794杰伊条约”。"然而，这就是整个事件的结尾了，因此据我们所知，在欧洲获得持久和平之前的整个二十年里，英国没有一次试图饿死法国，拥有海洋指挥权的她也没有任何进一步的努力来阻止别国从法国进口。英国只偶尔利用她的能力来阻止一个小国（挪威）对物资的引进，其原因将在适当时候讨论。

In contrast with these sporadic attempts to prevent importation into France, the regulation of the trade with the French and Spanish colonies continued throughout the war, that is, until the Peace of Amiens in 1802; and this became the startingpoint of the events that were to take place during the period of the Continental System proper. Here, too, there was a certain amount of wavering on the part of Great Britain, but the general principles were maintained with a consistency wholly different from that shown in the other case. A beginning was made with the celebrated instructions of November 6, 1793, which aroused the particular animosity of the neutrals, especially the United States, for the reason that they prescribed the capture of all vessels carrying the products of the French colonies or conveying supplies to them. Shortly afterwards, however, these draconic orders were revoked as a concession to the United States, and their place was taken by the new instructions of January 8, 1794. These restricted the order concerning capture to vessels proceeding directly from the West Indian colonies of the enemy to a European port ; and this, in turn, opened up the possibility of a so-called ' circuitous voyage ' via some neutral extra-European port, that is to say, primarily an American port, but also possibly a Danish or Swedish colonial port. Nevertheless, it was provided that the products of enemy colonies should have become neutral property in order to be loaded, and that blockade-running vessels, as well as vessels conveying naval stores or munitions of war to the enemy colonies, would be liable to capture.

These regulations were further modified by the new instructions of January, 1798, which both abolished the requirement that the colonial goods should have become neutral property and also, and above all, permitted direct traffic to a European port, that is, a port belonging to the British Empire or to the home land of the neutral vessel. This stipulation in favour of a British port is of especial interest in that it furnishes evidence of the British design to attract to Great Britain the trade even in the products of enemy colonies. As Admiral Mahan has rightly remarked, it was an outcome of the effort characteristic of the old colonial system to create in the home country a staple or entrepot for colonial goods. In point of fact, the instructions of 1798 remained in force until the termination of the revolutionary wars in 1802.

与这些零星的阻止从法国进口的尝试不同，对与法国和西班牙殖民地的贸易的管制在整个战争期间都持续生效，直到1802年的《亚眠和约》——这个和约也是大陆封锁体系的开始。英国方面对贸易管制也有过一定程度的动摇，但总体来说是以完全不同于其他情况下的一致性来维持的。1793年11月6日的著名指示是一个开端，它引起了中立国的特别敌意，特别是其盟国美国，原因是它们规定要俘获所有运送法国殖民地产品或向其运送物资的船只。然而，不久之后，作为对美国的让步，这些恶毒的命令被撤销了，取而代之的是1794年1月8日的新指示。这些指令将有关俘获的命令限制在从敌人的西印度群岛直接前往欧洲港口的船只上；而这又为所谓的 "迂回航行 "提供了可能性，即通过一些欧洲以外的中立港口，也就是说，主要是美国港口，但也可能是丹麦或瑞典的殖民地港口。然而，规定敌方殖民地的产品为中立国所有才能装上船，而且在封锁区行驶的船只以及向敌方殖民地运送海军物资或军需品的船只都将有可能被俘获。1798年1月的新指示对这些规定作了进一步修改，既取消了殖民地货物应成为中立国财产的要求，又特别允许直接运往欧洲港口，即属于大英帝国的港口或中立国船只的本土。这项有利于英国港口的规定具有特别的意义，因为它表明英国有意吸引甚至是敌方殖民地产品的贸易到英国。正如马汉上将所言，这是旧殖民体系努力的结果，其特点是在母国为殖民产品创造一个主要港口或转运港口。事实上，1798年的指示直到1802年革命战争结束一直有效。

In comparison with the treatment of neutral shipping in the recent war, these orders do not present a very strict appearance ; for at the present time the belligerent that is dominant on the seas tries to cut off practically every sort of neutral intercourse with the enemy over such waters as it commands and even, to some extent, over other waters. But one must not overlook the fact that privateering, which it was in many ways almost impossible to distinguish from piracy pure and simple, and even the private interests of the crews of war-ships in effecting captures, brought about an arbitrariness and a brutality in the treatment of maritime commerce which is unknown to-day. This has been copiously illustrated by the recently deceased Danish historian, Professor Edvard Holm, whose account undeniably gives one the impression that the trials and troubles of neutral trade, even during the first years of the revolutionary wars, in practice exceeded even those of the present time, even though its chances of profit, as far as we can judge, were greater. Nevertheless, the acts of the belligerents during those first years were almost deeds of mercy in comparison with what was to come ; and the new departure was the work of the new French policy. Like most of the measures of the French revolutionary governments, the measures against maritime trade were marked by a combination of violence and impotence ; but they were so far explicable because the British application of the laws of war at sea rendered French navigation all but impossible. As usual, the principal sufferers in the end were the neutrals, and this time the measures of violence against them were carried to the most extreme limit that had yet been reached.

与最近的战争中对中立航运的处理相比，这些命令显得不是非常严格；因为如今在海上占主导地位的交战国试图在它所控制的水域，甚至在某种程度上在其他水域，切断与敌人与中立国的各种交往。但是，我们决不能忽视这样一个事实，即私掠在许多方面几乎无法与纯粹的海盗行为区分开来，甚至连军舰船员在实施俘获时的私人利益也几乎无法与海盗区分开来，这导致了对海上商业的任意性和残暴性，而这在今天不为人所熟知。最近去世的丹麦历史学家爱德华-霍尔姆教授已经大量说明了这一点，他的叙述无可否认地给人这样的印象：即使在革命战争的最初几年，中立国贸易的考验和麻烦实际上甚至超过了现在，尽管就我们的判断而言，其获利的机会更大。然而，与即将发生的事情相比，交战国在最初几年的行为几乎是仁慈的行为；而新的出发点是法国新政策的结果。与法国革命政府的大多数措施一样，针对海上贸易的措施的特点是暴力和无能的结合；但它们到目前为止是可以解释的，因为英国在海上实施的战争法使法国的航运几乎不可能。像往常一样，最终的主要受害者是中立国，而这一次，针对他们的暴力措施达到了迄今为止最极端的程度。

## **FRENCH MEASURES (1793-1799)**

## **1793-1799的法国措施**

At first the measures of France had been considerably milder than those of Great Britain ; and this was natural enough in view of the fact that France stood in great need of the help of neutrals. By a law passed on May 9, 1793-that is to say, before the British instructions of June 8, but after the declaration of April 4-the Convention ordered that all neutral vessels conveying foodstuffs to an enemy port or carrying goods belonging to the enemy should be captured and conducted into a French port. Such vessels were to be fair prizes, and their cargoes were to be purchased on behalf of France. But the French purchase regulations themselves were more favourable to the neutrals than the corresponding British ones ; and at the same time it was declared, in the same way as afterwards under Napoleon, that the orders would be abolished as soon as the enemy on his part granted the unrestricted importation of foodstuffs into France.

起初，法国的措施比英国的措施要温和得多；鉴于法国非常需要中立国的帮助，这是很自然的。根据1793年5月9日通过的一项法律——在英国6月8日的指示之前，但在4月4日的声明之后——公约命令，所有向敌方港口运送食品或向敌方运送货物的中立国船只，都应被俘获并被运到法国港口。这些船只将，其货物将以法国的名义被购买。但法国的购买规定本身比英国的相应规定更有利于中立国；同时，与后来拿破仑时期一样，宣布一旦敌人方面允许不受限制地将食品进口到法国，这些命令就会被废除。

At first the practice, too, was milder on the French side. Gradually, however, French policy turned completely around ; and it was not long before the new tendency acquired official form. On July 2, 1796 (Messidor 14, year IV), the Directory categorically declared in an ordinance of only a few lines that British methods were to be applied against the neutrals in every respect. The culmination, however, was reached in the notorious law of January 18, 1798 (Nivose 29, year VI), which laid down that the nationality of a vessel should be determined by its cargo, so that if any vessel was carrying goods of any kind coming from England or its possessions, no matter who was the owner, this fact alone should justify the confiscation, not only of these goods, but also of the vessel itself and its entire cargo, Moreover, any vessel that had touched at a British port was forbidden to put in at any French port ; and earlier it had already been made a practice to seize vessels bound for a British port.

然而，法国的政策逐渐完全转向；不久之后，这种新的趋势在法律上得到明确。在1796年7月2日（共和历第四年，获月十四[[14]](#footnote-13)），国民大会在一项只有几行字的法令中还明确宣布，法国将在所有方面对中立国适用英国的方法。但在1798年1月18日（共和历第六年，雪月二十九[[15]](#footnote-14)）的著名法律转向的趋势达到了高潮：该法律规定，船只的国籍应根据其货物来确定，因此，如果任何船只运载来自英国或其属地的任何种类的货物，无论谁是船主，仅这一事实就应成为没收的理由，而且没收的不仅是英国货物，还有船只本身及其全部货物；此外，任何在英国港口停靠的船只都被禁止在任何法国港口停靠；而且在这部法律颁布前，扣押驶往英国港口的船只已经成为法国的一种惯例了。

It would have been difficult to go farther ; and this time actions were not milder, but still more violent, than words.From the two years or so during which the law of Nivose was in force come all the wildest examples of high-handed procedure on the part of belhgerents on the seas. It was especially Scandinavian vessels that were exposed to this reign of terror, while the only important neutral power besides Sweden and Denmark and Norway, namely, the United States, began what was practically a privateering war against France without any formal declaration of war. The French law came into force without any preliminary warning, so that vessels which had sailed without knowledge of its provisions fell helplessly into the hands of captors ; and once seized, their chances of escape were very small indeed. With the importance that British industry had now acquired, in fact, it was almost impossible for a vessel to sail without having on board some article of British origin ; and it was not at all necessary that these articles should constitute its cargo, in the strict sense of the term, to seal its fate. A woollen blanket on the skipper’s berth, a few sacks of British coal for the ship’s stove, British earthenware used by the crew, the British metal buttons of the skipper’s coat, etc., were sufficient to lead to confiscation. Indeed, the old Hamburg economist Biisch gives us in one of his last works, that bearing the exquisite title of Ueber das Bestreben. der Volker neuerer Zeit, einader in ihrem Seehandel recht wehe zu thun [[16]](#footnote-15)(1800), such an example as this : Once when a French captor, quite exceptionally, did not succeed in finding anything British on board a captured vessel, two of the sailors were bribed to disclose the alleged fact that the skipper had had a pair of English boots which he had thrown overboard on the approach, of the captor ; and that, says Biisch, was enough to . bring about the confiscation of the carg0.l In a suit against five Danish East Indian vessels bearing rich products obviously of Danish origin, the captors succeeded in having the cargoes condemned on the ground that Lascars included in the crews were British subjects ; and in other cases vessels and cargoes were condemned on the ground that the former had been built in a British shipyard and had been bought after the outbreakof the war-in spite of the fact that the vessel was a French prize and had been sold to its then Danish owner by the French captor.

很难再找出比这更激进的用语，并且这次的措施甚至比纸面上的更激烈。在《雪月法令》生效的两年左右的时间里，所有统治者在海上采取高压手段的最疯狂的例子都出现了。斯堪的纳维亚半岛的海军船只受到这种恐怖统治的影响尤其严重，而除了瑞典、丹麦和挪威这三国之外的唯一重要的中立国，美国，在没有任何正式宣战的情况下开始了实际上是对法国的私掠战争。在没有任何预先警告的情况下，法国的封锁法律开始生效，因此，在不了解其规定的情况下出航的船只无助地落入了俘虏者的手中；而一旦被俘，他们逃跑的机会实际上非常小。事实上，随着英国工业现在获得的重要性，一艘船几乎不可能不在船上装载一些来自英国的物品；而且，从严格意义上说，这些物品甚至不需要是货物，就能导致被封锁的命运——船长铺位上的一条毛毯，船上炉子用的几袋英国煤，船员使用的英国陶器，船长外套上的英国金属纽扣等等，都足以导致没收。事实上，汉堡的老经济学家比希在他的最后一部作品中给我们举了这样一个例子，那部作品有着典雅的标题：《论近人舶于海相伤》（1800）：有一次，当一个法国俘虏没有成功地在一艘被俘的船上找到任何英国人的东西时，两名水手被贿赂，透露了所谓的船长有一双英国靴子，他在俘虏接近时将其扔到了海里；而这足以使货物被没收。在针对五艘载有明显来自丹麦的丰富产品的丹麦东印度船只的诉讼中，捕获人员成功地使货物被没收，理由是船员中的拉斯卡[[17]](#footnote-16)是英国国民；在其他案件中，船只和货物都被没收，理由是船只是在英国船厂建造的，是在战争爆发后购买的——尽管事实上该船是法国的战利品，由法国捕获者卖给当时的丹麦船主。

Justice was indeed a parody. Those who acted as judges were ordinarily the consuls in the most important haunts of the privateers, with whom they often acted in collusion; nay, some of them were themselves ex-privateers or even still cornmercially interested in the captures-an example which one of Napoleon’s governors was destined to follow in the fullness of time.The abuses increased to such an extent that they cornpletely outgrew the control of the weak government of the Directory. On one occasion, for example, Reubell, one of the members of the Directory, informed the Danish minister in Paris that a French prize court had condemned and caused to be sold for the benefit of the captor, a Swedish vessel with a cargo destined for the French government itself. Moreover, the privateers worked into each other’s hands in various ways. Thus one of them might rob a neutral vessel of its ship’s papers in order that another might seize it with impunity ; for without papers its condemnation was certain.

这些司法实在是荒诞得让人忍俊不禁：担任法官的人通常是私掠者最重要的居住地的执政官，他们经常与私掠者勾结；不仅如此，甚至有些人本身就是前私掠者，并且仍有从俘获中获利的兴趣。后继的拿破仑的一位总督也会充分模仿这些案例。滥用职权的情况越来越多，以至于完全超出了软弱的督政府的控制范围。例如，有次，督政府成员之一的鲁贝尔[[18]](#footnote-17)通知丹麦驻巴黎公使，法国的一个捕获法庭已将一艘载有运往法国政府的货物的瑞典船只定罪，并为捕获者的利益而将其出售。此外，私掠者们以各种方式互相合作：他们中的一个人可能会抢走一艘中立船只的船票，以便另一个人可以肆无忌惮地扣押它；因为没有船票，它肯定会被判刑。

What is peculiar in the policy of the Directory, and at the same time significant for the ensuing developments, is the fact that it had the effect of a French self-blockade. It is indeed manifest, as Admiral Mahan points out, that the power which was excluded from the sea was the one which really had need of the neutrals for the procurement of its supplies, and which, therefore, from a purely material point of view at least, had the most to lose by a course of violent action against them. ‘ Every blow against a neutral,’ he says, ‘ was really, even though not seemingly, a blow for Great Britain.’ During the period of scarcely two years in which the law of Nivose was in force, it practically did away with that neutral trade and navigation with France which was to some extent independent of Great Britain. Neutral vessels, in fact, did not venture there, so that even during the year 1798 their coasting trade in France declined bytwo-thirds and their foreign trade with the same country by one-fourth. Moreover, the obstacles that French captures placed in the way of free navigation brought it about that neutrals in general were pushed back ; and this, of course, was an advantage to Great Britain, which was enabled by her command of the sea to protect her trading vessels by means of convoys. The latter obstacle in the way of neutral shipping was of less importance than the former, however, because the two neutral Scandinavian states also fitted out convoys in common on the basis of the League of Armed Neutrality of 1794. This had excellent commercial results, at least for Denmark, but the French policy caused it to be of very little benefit to France. Nor did the latter country receive any compensations whatever for its own shipping, for according to the Directory's own declaration, in 1799, the British blockade had been maintained so strictly that not a single vessel was sailing the seas under a French flag.

督政府政策的特殊之处在于，它使得法国自我封锁，也对随后的发展具有重要意义。正如马汉上将所指出的那样，被排除在海洋之外的大国是真正需要中立国采购其物资的国家，因此，至少从纯粹的物质角度来看，对它们采取暴力行动的损失最大。他说："对一个中立国的每一次打击，'尽管似乎与英国无关，实际上都是对英国的打击。在《雪月法令》生效的短短两年时间里，实际上那些在某种程度上独立于英国，与法国的中立国贸易和航行就被取消了。事实上，中立国的船只不敢冒这样的风险，因此在《雪月法令》生效的第一年，他们在法国的沿海贸易就减少了三分之二，与法国的对外贸易也减少了四分之一。此外，法国的俘获者在自由航行的道路上设置了障碍，普遍逼退了中立国；当然，这对英国来说是一个优势，因为英国通过对海洋的控制，能够通过护航船队保护其贸易船只。然而，在中立国航运道路上，后一个障碍没有前一个障碍那么重要，因为两个中立的斯堪的纳维亚国家也在1794年武装中立联盟的基础上共同组建了护航队。这产生了很好的商业效果，至少对丹麦来说是这样，但法国的政策导致它对法国的好处很少。法国在自己的航运上也没占到便宜，因为根据督政府自己的声明，在1799年，英国严格的维持了封锁，以至于没有一艘船只挂着法国国旗在海上航行。

It was therefore quite natural that Napoleon, as early as December, 1799, that is, shortly after his accession to power, should repeal, or cause to be repealed, the law of Niviise and revive the more moderate regulations of 1778 (law of Frimaire 23 and ordinance of Frimaire 29, year VIII) ; and at the beginning of the following year he did away with some of the worst abuses in the administration of prize-court justice by instituting a Supreme Prize Court in Paris. In principle, however, his later policy was to be a faithful reflection of that of the Directory, as will be shown in due course

因此，拿破仑在1799年12月，也就是他上台后不久，就废除，或是促使废除了这部雪月颁布的法律，恢复了1778年的更温和的规定（共和历八年的霜月二十三法和霜月二十九法令[[19]](#footnote-18)），这是很自然的；第二年年初，他在巴黎建立了最高捕获法庭，消除了捕获法庭司法管理中的一些极为恶劣的滥用职权现象。然而，他后来的政策却是对督政府政策原则的忠实反映，这一点将在适当的时候显示出来。

## CHAPTER III 第三章

## CONTINENTAL BLOCKADE 大陆封锁

THE Continental System originated, therefore, on the one side, in a blockade that followed the general lines of mercantilist trade policy, especially on the part of France, and, on the ather side, in a maritime blockade dominated by the same ideas which proceeded from Great Britain but was imitated in still more intensified forms by France, where, owing to the British mastery of the seas, it acquired the character of a self-blockade. To complete the antecedent conditions of the Continental System, consequently, there is only one feature lacking; but it is the feature which has given the policy itself its name, that is, the combination of the European countries to the exclusion of Great Britain, which, supposing that the same conditions held good as before, means a common self-blockade of the Continent as against Great Britain.

因此，大陆体系一方面起源于遵循重商主义贸易政策的对一般路线的封锁，特别是法国方面的封锁，另一方面起源于由同样的重商主义思想支配的海上封锁，这种封锁来自英国，但法国以更强烈的形式模仿了这种封锁，由于英国对海洋的控制，它导致了法国的自我封锁。因此，要完成 "大陆体系 "，缺少了一个先决条件：欧洲国家联合起来，把英国排除在外；但这一条件使该政策本身得名，假设存在这样的先决条件，这意味着欧洲大陆对英国的共同自我封锁。

This feature did not become significant until the time of Napoleon, for until then the external means of exercising power, as well as the great political personality it demanded, were still lacking ; but recent Napoleonic research has taken great pains to demonstrate that it was significant even during the preceding period. From the beginning of history the cornmunity of nations has always looked upon commercial countries with a certain jealousy and suspicion ; and in this respect, as has already been said,lperJide Albion inherited the feeling which had once been fostered against its rival, the United Netherlands, This feeling was further intensified by theunpalatable experiences of both enemies and neutrals during the incessant wars, on account of Great Britain’s ruthlessly applied methods of naval warfare, There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact that plans were formed for the exclusion of Great Britain, What is remarkable, on the contrary, is the fact that nobody, so far as is known, has yet succeeded in showing the existence of anysuch plans other than those emanating directly or indirectly from French sources. Examples of this kind have a great interest of their own ; but they are too patent to call for any detailed investigation.

这个特点直到拿破仑时代才变得重要，因为在此之前都缺乏行使权力的外部手段，以及行使其所要求的伟大的政治人格；但最近关于拿破仑的研究不遗余力地证明，即使在之前的时期，它也是重要的。从历史上看，各国政府总是以某种嫉妒和怀疑的态度看待商业国家。在这方面，正如已经说过的那样，各国对其曾经竞争对手荷兰的负面态度转移到英国身上。由于英国采用了无情的海战方法、其敌人和中立国在不断的战争中遭受不愉快经历，使得这种感情进一步加剧，因此，为排挤英国而制定计划的事实并不令人惊讶，相反，值得注意的是，到目前为止，除了那些直接或间接来自法国的计划外，还没有人成功地证明存在任何此类计划。虽然这些来自法国的计划本身就有很大的意义；但它们太简单了，不需要任何详细的调查。

As early as 1747 we know that proposals were brought forward in the French Bureau de Commerce to unite France, the Hanse Towns, Prussia, and the Scandinavian powers for the purpose of crushing the maritime power of Great Britainprobably a mere incident in the long-standing Anglo-French duel. But it was not until after and in consequence of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France in 1793 that this tendency acquired any lasting significance. The attitude took one or another of two forms, according to circumstances : either all the continental countries were regarded as commercially dependent on England, and therefore as necessary objectives in the military and economic war waged by the French republic against its foremost enemy ; or else, contrariwise, they all had the same interest in crushing the power of England and were thus the natural allies of France.

早在1747年，我们就知道，法国商业局提出了联合法国、汉萨城、普鲁士和斯堪的纳维亚大国的方案，用于粉碎英国的海上力量 ，这可能只是长期以来英法决斗中的一个事件。但直到1793年英法战争爆发后，这种趋势才获得持久的意义。这种态度根据情况采取了两种形式中的一种：要么所有大陆国家都要在商业上依赖英国，这导致他们成为法兰西共和国发动军事和经济战争中的必要目标；要么与之相反，它们都对粉碎英国的力量有同样的兴趣，因此成为法国的天然盟友。

The attitude appears in the first of these two forms in a great speech which the Girondist naval officer, Kersaint, delivered in the Convention on January 1, 1793-that is to say, before the outbreak of war-and in which he exhorted his countrymen, with the usual revolutionary eloquence, to face the struggle with the whole world. In his opinion, France alone had her own industry and wealth, while Spain, Portugal, Holland, and the Italian republics worked largely with British capital and British goods. The New World and Asia, he said, were likewise economically dependent on Great Britain ; nay, even the trade of Denmark (Le., Norway), Sweden, and Russia in naval stores was made possible by the co-operation of British capitalists. ' One cannot find on the face of the globe,' he declared, ' any lucrative branch of trade which has not been exploited to the profit of that essentially shop-keeping people.' In consequence of this, he argued, the injuries inflicted on ,the states of the Continent fell finally on Great Britain, for whosebenefit that economic life was carried on, a view which Napoleon was afterwards destined to push to the extreme. Asia, Portugal, and Spain were regarded by Kersaint as the most important markets for British industry, and they were to be closed to Great Britain by being opened to the rest of the world ; Lisbon and Brazil were to be assailed ; support was to be given to the old adversary of the British in India, Tippoo Sahib, &c

第一种态度出现在吉伦特派海军军官克尔桑于1793年1月1日——也就是说，在战争爆发之前——在大会上发表的一篇伟大演讲中，他以一贯的革命口才劝说他的同胞面对与整个世界的斗争。在他看来，只有法国拥有自己的工业和财富，而西班牙、葡萄牙、荷兰和意大利共和国则主要利用英国的资本和英国的商品。他说，新世界和亚洲也同样在经济上依赖英国；不，甚至丹麦（挪威）、瑞典和俄国的海军物资贸易也是通过英国资本家的合作而实现的。他说："在全球范围内，我们找不到任何有利可图的贸易部门没有被利用，来为那些以商店为生的人谋利。"因此，他认为，对欧洲大陆各国造成的伤害最终归功于英国，因为英国的经济生活是以英国的利益为前提的，拿破仑后来注定要将这种观点推向极端。亚洲、葡萄牙和西班牙被克尔桑视为英国工业最重要的市场，但它们迟早将对英国关闭，并向世界其他国家开放；里斯本和巴西将受到攻击；英国在印度的老对手蒂普-萨希布[[20]](#footnote-19)将得到支持，等等。

Thus Kersaint not only passed over the United States, the undiminished importance of which for British trade does not appear to have been fully recognized in France, but also disregarded Germany and the European mainland proper, as distinguished from the coastal and peninsular fringes referred to above. As a rule, however, Germany was a factor of considerable importance in these efforts. To begin with, the prohibition of 1796 against British goods was extended in March, 1798, to the left shore of the Rhine, which was then united with the French republic ; and this prohibition was applied with a strictness which, in an account of the situation written in 1798 and ascribed to Napoleon, was alleged to presage (ébaucher) the Continental System.For the rest, it was mainly a matter of paper projects and pious wishes, not of effective measures, and the majority of them concerned the German North Sea littoral. Here, as a rule, it was the other side of the policy that was turned outwards, that is, the common interests of all the continental states against Great Britain. A writer of German birth, Ch. Théremin,who was later to serve Napoleon in various posts in Germany, published in Paris in the year III(1794-5) a pamphlet with the significant title Des Intérêts des puissances continentales relativement à l'Angleterre, in which the afterwards well-known doctrine of the natural and inevitable conflict between Great Britain and the Continent was developed at length, and the hostility of the other continental states to France was shown consequently to be contrary to theirown best interests. A year or two later, at the beginning of the Congress of Raskdt in 1797, plans were made to bar the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser to the British ;

apd at the same time it was proposed, in a paper now preserved in the archives of the French Foreign Office, that Hanover and Hamburg should be transformed into a republic allied with France, which afterwards was to be joined with the great North German rivers by an extensive system of canals. Aside from its strategical advantages, it was thought that this would establish a commercial combination which would lead to increased sales for French goods and to an embargo on British industrial products. In the same year (1797) this project called forth a refutation published by an anonymous German ' citizen of the world ', who turned out to be a true prophet in his exposition of the futility of all efforts to shut out the British. In his opinion, which subsequent experience was destined fully to confirm, the British, under the protection of Heligoland, would divert their trade to Tonning in Holstein and thereby ruin Hamburg and Bremen. He also reminded his readers that the prohibitory measures of the French republic against British goods had so far led to nothing more than an immense system of smuggling.

克尔桑不仅略过了美国——美国对英国贸易的重要性没有减弱，这一点在法国似乎没有得到充分的承认——而且还把德国和欧洲大陆本身，与上面提到的沿海和半岛边缘地区区别开来 。然而，通常来说德国在这些努力中是一个具有相当重要性的因素。首先，1796年对英国货物的禁令于1798年3月扩展到莱茵河左岸，当时莱茵河与法兰西共和国合并；这项实施严格的禁令，在1798年写的一篇关于拿破仑的文章中被认为预示着大陆体系的到来。其余大部分涉及德国北海沿岸地区的内容，主要都是纸上谈兵和求神拜佛，而不是什么有效的措施。这又展现出政策向外倾斜的另一面，即所有大陆国家反对英国的共同利益。一位出生在德国的作家，查尔斯·特雷明[[21]](#footnote-20)，后来在德国的各种岗位上为拿破仑服务，于共和历三年（1794-1795年）在巴黎出版了一本小册子，标题是“大陆列强与英国的利益关系”，其中详细阐述了后来著名的英国和大陆之间自然和不可避免的冲突的学说，并表明其他大陆国家对法国的敌意违背了它们的最佳利益。一两年后，在1797年拉斯克特会议开始时，有人计划针对英国人封锁易北河和威悉河的河口；与此同时，在法国外交部档案中保存的一份文件中，有人建议将汉诺威和汉堡变成一个与法国结盟的共和国，通过广泛的运河系统将其与北德意志大河相连。除了战略上的优势外，人们认为这将建立一个商业组合，增加法国商品的销售，并禁运英国工业产品。同年（1797年），这个计划引起了一位自称"世界公民 "的匿名德国人的反驳，他是一位真正的预言家，他阐述了所有将英国人拒之门外的努力都是徒劳的。在他看来，后来的经验注定要证实这一点，英国人在黑尔戈兰岛[[22]](#footnote-21)的保护下，会把他们的贸易转移到德国荷尔斯泰因州的滕宁港，从而毁掉汉堡和不来梅。他还提醒读者，迄今法兰西共和国对英国商品的禁止措施只导致了一个巨大的走私体系。

It was precisely Hamburg that was the central point of the early French efforts to exclude England. The French envoy there, Reinhard, the son of a Swabian clergyman, spoke as early as 1796 of the necessity of preventing the importation of British goods, the exclusion of which from the French market alone he considered at that time sufficient to ruin England. At the beginning of 1798, however, shortly before his removal to Tuscany, Reinhard-chiefly, it is true, in order to protect the Hanse Towns, the prosperity of which he had several reasons to promote-emphasized the necessity of combining all the continental states in such a policy of exclusion. That object would be attained through the active co-operation of Denmark and Prussia with the passive support of Russia ; but that would not be possible so long as only the Hanse Towns took part, for in that case the goods might come in acrossHolstein, that is to say, from the Danish side, through Altona, which was quite close to Hamburg.

恰恰是汉堡成为法国早期排挤英国的中心点。法国在汉堡的特使莱因哈德，一位斯瓦比亚牧师的儿子，早在1796年就谈到了防止英国商品进口的必要性，他认为当时仅从法国市场上排除这些商品就足以毁掉英国。然而，1798年初，在他搬到托斯卡纳前不久，莱因哈德——的确，主要是为了保护汉萨同盟，他有几个理由促进汉萨同盟的繁荣——强调了在这种排斥政策中联合所有大陆国家的必要性。通过丹麦和普鲁士的积极合作以及俄国的消极支持，这一目标将得以实现；但只要汉萨同盟参与进来，就不可能实现这个目标，因为在这种情况下，货物可能会穿过荷尔斯泰因，也就是说，从丹麦一侧通过阿尔托纳进入，而阿尔托纳离汉堡很近。

About the time of Reinhard's departure, in 1798, there arrived in Hamburg an emissary from the Directory's Minister of Police charged with the mission of combining the many French republicans there in the adoption of measures against British trade. This agitator, a well-known Jacobin named Leonard Bourdon, aroused the horror of the Hamburg city fathers by assembling his fellow countrymen and exhorting them to boycott British goods and also to act as spies upon the commercial activities of Great Britain. Moreover, the draconic French prohibitions on the importation of British goods, to which wehave alreadyreferred,lhad effect outside the boundaries of France. Thus Reinhard speaks of the consternation that the prohibitions of 1796 aroused in the Hanse Towns, which had been wont to supply France with those good

大约在莱因哈德离开的时候，也就是1798年，有一位来自总统府警察部长的使者来到汉堡，他的任务是联合那里的许多法国共和主义者，采取反对英国贸易的措施。这位煽动者是著名的雅各宾派，莱昂纳德·布尔登[[23]](#footnote-22)，他召集他的同胞，劝说他们抵制英国商品，并对英国的商业活动充当间谍，这引起了汉堡市父老的惊恐。此外，我们已经提到的法国对英国商品进口的苛刻禁令，在法国境外也有效果。因此，莱因哈德谈到了1796年的禁令在汉萨同盟引起的惊愕，这些城镇一直习惯于向法国提供这些好东西。

The importance, for the general policy of the French revolutionary governments, of all of these plans for the exclusion of Great Britain from the European Continent, forms, as one may easily surmise, a principal theme in Sorel's book.He seeks to show that the French programme of foreign policy-the ' natural frontiers ' (the Atlantic Ocean, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees)-necessarily involved a recognition of these conquests on the part of all other powers, and that the acquiescence of Great Britain could not be enforced except by attacks on her trade ; and that this, in its turn, could be effected only by a continental blockade, ' a formidable and hyperbolical measure, out of all proportion to the object that necessitates it, but nevertheless the only one that can be adopted '. One need not accept the logic of this argument as irrefutable-the point about the imperative necessity of British recognition of the new conquests seems particularly weak-to admit that such thoughts must have occupied the minds of the French politicians who, under various names, guided the destinies of fiance during the six or seven years that intervened between the outbreak of war in 1793 and Bonaparte's definitive accession to power in 1799. There can be no doubt, therefore, that notions of that character had lain at the foundation of the majority of the legislative measures previously treated. Thus Lecouteulx, the representative who in 1796 reported to the Conseil des Anciens upon the legislative proposal for the exclusion of British goods, justified the measure on the ground that the flags of France and her allies floated from Emden to Trieste, and that almost all the ports on the coasts of the European ocean were closed to Great Britain. Consequently, he concluded, ' we must put an end to the voluntary subsidies which consumers of British goods are paying to that country '.

正如人们很容易猜到的那样，所有这些将英国排除在欧洲大陆之外的计划对法国革命政府的总体政策的重要性，构成了索莱尔书中的一个主要主题。他试图表明，法国的外交政策方案--"自然边界"（大西洋、莱茵河、阿尔卑斯山和比利牛斯山）--必然涉及到所有其他大国对这些占领区的承认。除非进攻英国的贸易，否则英国不可能默许这点，因此只能实施大陆封锁，"这是一个可怕的、夸张的措施，与需要它的目标完全不相称，但却是唯一可以采用的措施。我们不需要接受这一论点的逻辑是无可辩驳的--关于英国必须承认新的征服的观点似乎特别薄弱，但我们必须承认，在1793年战争爆发和1799年波拿巴最终掌权之间的六、七年时间里，以各种名义指导法国命运的法国政治家们肯定有这样的想法。我们不必认为这个论点的逻辑是无可辩驳的，关于英国必须承认新的征服的观点似乎特别薄弱，但我们必须承认，在1793年战争爆发和1799年波拿巴最终掌权之间的六、七年时间里，以各种名义指导法国命运的法国政治家们肯定有这样的想法。毫无疑问，这种性质的观念是以前所讨论的大多数立法措施的基础。因此，在1796年，就排除英国货物的立法提案向五百人院报告的代表勒库图尔克斯为这一措施辩护，理由是从埃姆登到里雅斯特，法国及其盟友几乎所有在欧洲的沿海港口都对英国关闭。因此，他的结论是：“我们必须终止英国商品消费者向该国支付的自愿补贴”

With regard to foreign policy proper, Sorel has brought forward a multitude of examples bearing witness to the same tendency, some of the more significant of which may be mentioned here. Thus about 1794 Caillard, a French diplomatist, proposed that the Continent should be closed by a series of alliances. ' From the Tagus to the Elbe,' he declared, ' there is no point on the mainland where the British should be allowed to set foot.' In 1795 efforts were made to hand Portugal over to Spain, in order thereby ' to deprive England of one of her most valuable provinces ' ; and the closing of the continental ports was now to affect the whole coastline from Gibraltar to the island of Texel, outside the Zuider Zee. The same tendencies, moreover, determined French policy with regard to Naples and Belgium. In the early part of 1797 Haugwitz, the Prussian foreign minister, wrote in a memorandum intended for the Russian government that there could be no doubt as to the intention of the Directory to seize the coast of the North Sea as far as the mouth of the Elbe, as its plans were known to be to isolate England, separate her from the Continent and exclude her shipping from the ports of the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the North Sea. About the same time the American minister in London reported-incorrectly at the time, it is true, but evidently in accord with current rumours-that France had demanded the cessation of trade between the Hanse Towns and England and, its demand having been refused, had recalled its minister there. The Baltic Sea was also to be closed to the British in 1795 by playing Sweden and Denmark against Russia, which for the moment was on friendly terms with Great Britain. But the most characteristic example of all these forerunners to the policy of Napoleon can be found in the instructions (cited by Sorel) to the French envoy at The Hague, dated Fructidor 6 and 7, year I11 (August 234, 1795). This deserves to be cited verbatim :

*The alliance with Holland offers the most important result of all, namely, to exclude the British from the Continent, to shut them out in war time from Bayonne to north of Friesland and from access to the Baltic end North Seas. The trade with interior of Germany will then return to its natural channels. . . . Deprived ofthese immense markets, harassed by revolts and internal disturbances which will be the consequence, England will have great embarmsments with her colonial and Asiatic goods. These goods, being unsaleable, will fall to low prices, and the English will find themselves vanquished by excess (vuincus pur tubondunce), just as they had wished to vanquish the French by shortage.*

关于外交政策本身，索雷尔提出了许多例子，证明了同样的趋势，其中一些更重要的例子将会在本文中提到。因此，大约在1794年，法国外交官卡亚尔建议通过一系列的联盟来封闭欧洲大陆。他宣称："从塔古斯河到易北河，大陆上没有一个地方应该允许英国人踏足。"1795年，人们努力把葡萄牙交给西班牙，以便"剥夺英国最宝贵的省份之一"；现在，关闭大陆港口将影响到从直布罗陀到绥德河外的特克塞尔岛的整个海岸线。此外，同样的趋势也决定了法国对那不勒斯和比利时的政策。1797年初，普鲁士的豪格维茨外交部长在给俄国政府的一份备忘录中写道：“毫无疑问，督政府打算占领北海海岸，直至易北河口，因为众所周知，它的计划是孤立英国，将其与欧洲大陆分开，并将其航运从地中海、大西洋和北海的港口排除”。大约在同一时间，美国驻伦敦公使报告说，法国要求停止汉萨同盟与英国之间的贸易，在其要求被拒绝后，已召回其驻伦敦公使。由于瑞典与丹麦正在对抗俄国，而俄国目前正与英国保持友好关系，在1795年波罗的海也不再对英国开放。但是，所有这些拿破仑政策的先驱中最有特色的例子可以在给法国驻海牙特使的指示中找到（索莱尔引用），日期为共和历三年八月六日和八月七日日（1795年8月23到24日）。这值得逐字逐句地引用：

*与荷兰的联盟最重要的成果，就是把英国人排除在欧洲大陆之外，在战时，从巴约纳到弗里斯兰北部以及从波罗的海末端到北海，他们都被拒之门外。他们与德国内陆的贸易将回到其自然渠道……被剥夺了这些巨大的市场，自然而然导致他们被叛乱和内部动乱所困扰。英国将有大量的殖民地和亚洲的货物被封锁。这些货物由于无法出售，将降至低价，而英国人将发现自己被过剩所征服，就像他们希望通过短缺征服法国人一样。*

In this utterance the familiar policy of strangling exports finds clear expression, and its agreement with the whole of Napoleon’s motives for the Continental System is very striking.An excellent parallel, for instance, is exhibited by the boastful survey that was laid before the Corps legislatif in 1807.But this process of thought must also be examined in connexion with the views of the French revolutionaries, afterwards taken over by Napoleon, as to the implications and foundations of the economic strength of Great Britain ; and the instructions of 1795 thus form a convenient transition to that instructive chapter

在这段话中，人们所熟悉的扼杀出口的政策得到了明确的表达，它与拿破仑建立大陆体系的全部动机是非常一致的。比方说，1807年提交给立法机构的夸张的调查报告就显示出与之相似的思想。但这一思想过程还必须与法国革命者的观点联系起来加以研究，这些观点对英国经济实力的含义和基础的阐述，后来被拿破仑所接受；为了方便过渡，不妨来看看1795年的指示。

## **CHAPTER IV**

## **第四章**

## **ECONOMIC POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN**

## **英国的经济地位**

‘ THE Causes of the Rise and Decline of Cities, Countries, and Republics,’ Die Ursachen des Auf und Abnehmender Stadt, Länder und Republicken——to quote the title of a book by the German mercantilist, Johann Joachim Becher——have always formed, and still form, a very obscure chapter in economic history, and one which has been far from fully elucidated by economic inquiry. During the period with which we are now concerned the stability of the position of England as the leading maritime and colonial nation, after the relative decline of the Netherlands, formed a constant source of speculation and doubt, It was perhaps natural that this mistrust was most prevalent in French circles, and particularly among the French revolutionaries ; for to those who had been trained in the school of Rousseau it was necessarily quite obvious that an organization so completely detached from the land was unnatural and, therefore, not durable-all the more so for the reason that physiocracy, so far as its influence was to be taken into account at all, might also lead to the same conclusions. The hollowness of the English economic system is also the burden of the often quoted official speech in which Brissot, the leader of the Girondists, on January 12, 1793, laid before the National Convention the whole argument in favour of a war with England, in terms which were to be re-embodied in the final declaration of war. ‘ We must tear asunder,’ he declared, ‘ the veil that envelops the imposing colossus of England. . . . When the well-informed observer regards this imposing scaffold of English greatness, he is able to penetrate to its internal vacuity, . . . Say, then, if it will not be an easy matter to overturn a power whose colossal stature betrays its weakness and calls for its overthrow.

城市、国家和共和国兴衰的原因——引用德国重商主义者约翰·约阿希姆·贝歇尔的书名——在经济史上一直并仍然非常模糊，而且经济研究也远远没有完全阐明这一点。在我们现在所关注的时期，人们猜测和怀疑英国在荷兰相对衰落之后作为主要海洋和殖民地国家的地位是否稳定。这种不信任在法国圈子里，特别是在法国革命者中最普遍，也许是很自然的；因为对于那些在接受卢梭学派思想的人来说，如此完全脱离土地的国家明显是不持久的。更何况，就其影响而言，重农学派也可能导致同样的结论。在被多次引用的官方讲话中，英国经济体系的空洞性也是其负担之一。吉隆德派领导人布里索于1793年1月12日在国民大会的演说中，在其演讲最后提出了战争宣言，即提出了赞成与英国开战的全部论据，。他说："我们必须撕开'笼罩在英国这个庞大的巨人身上的面纱'。……当消息灵通的观察者看到这个雄伟的英国伟大的支架时，他能够洞悉其内部的空虚……。那么，请问，推翻一个有着巨大的组织体系，却暴露出能使其颠覆的弱点的政权是不是一件易事呢”

This representation of ‘ perfidious Albion ’ as a colossus with feet of clay is of frequent occurrence, whether it signifies merely what people wished or what they actually believed, orwhat is most likely-something betwixt and between. In Napoleon, too, it was based on a general economic conception, namely, that a country’s trade is of slight value in comparison with its industry and agriculture ; and this could not fail to react on his conception of the strength of the foremost commercial nation. The well-known French chemist, Jean Antoine Chaptal, Minister of the Interior under the Consulate, and afterwards closely connected with the industrial policy of the Empire, describes in his memoirs Napoleon’s dislike of merchants, who only exchanged goods, he said, while manufacturers produced them, and who with a turnover of a million gave employment to only two or three assistants, while manufacturers with the same turnover supported five or six hundred families, And that Chaptal is here correctly reporting Napoleon’s conception-which, in that case, would not greatly diverge from that which is still popular-seems all the more probable when one considers the perfect coolness with which the Emperor from the very first prophesied that the Continental System would ruin, under his direct or indirect rule, such commercial towns as Lyons, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam

这种将 "背信弃义的阿尔比恩 "描述为一个泥足巨人的做法经常发生，无论它仅仅意味着人们的美好愿望还是他们实际相信的东西，或者最可能的，介于两者之间的某种东西。在拿破仑身上，这也是基于一个普遍的经济概念，即一个国家的贸易与它的工业和农业相比价值不大；这影响了他对最重要的商业国家的实力的判断。著名的法国化学家让·安托万·夏普塔尔，同时也是领事馆下的内政部长，后来与帝国的工业政策密切相关，在回忆录中描述了拿破仑对商人的厌恶：拿破仑称商人只是交换货物，而制造商生产货物。商人的营业额达到一百万，只给两三个雇员提供就业机会，而同样营业额的制造商可以支持五、六百个家庭。如果考虑到皇帝从一开始就预言大陆体系将在他的直接或间接统治下毁掉里昂、阿姆斯特丹和鹿特丹等商业城市，那么夏普塔尔极有可能在这里正确地报告了拿破仑的观念：与现在仍然流行的观念没有多大区别。

## **BRITISH NATIONAL DEBT**

## **英国国债**

But the belief in the instability of the position of Great Britain arose not only from general economic conceptions of this nature, but also from numerous actual conditions and developments which could not but denote the beginnings of economic decay. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized how long people had believed they had seen signs of this. One of the most important of these signs was the rapid increase in the British national debt during the time with which we.are concerned-especially when considered in the light of the generally current notion that such a development must inevitably lead to national bankruptcy. The economic literature of England herself during the eighteenth century is full of Kassandra-like prophecies as to the impending ruin of the state owing to the augmentation of its liabilities. In fact, Lord Macaulay says in a well-known passage that, with the exception of Burke, no author since the founding of the English debt had perceived the security which the general economic development of the country provided against these dangers. Especially interesting in this connexion is Adam Smith’s gloomy representation of the state of affairs, the view of the European national debts presented in the Wealth of Notiom being throughout remarkably pessimistic for so optimistic a writer. In Adam Smith’s opinion, the funded debts ‘ will in the long run probably ruin all the great nations of Europe ’, as they had already steadily weakened them. And even though he believes that England, owing to her better system of taxation, is in a better position than most countries to stand the strain, he warns his readers ‘ not even to be too confident that she could support, without great distress, a burden a little greater than what has already been laid upon her ’.

但是，对英国地位不稳定的信念，不仅来自于这种性质的一般经济观念，而且来自于许多实际情况和进展。不得不承认，这些都可以看做经济衰败的开始。人们相信他们已经看到了这种迹象，这一点怎么强调都不为过。在我们所关注的时期，这些迹象中最重要的一个便是英国的国债迅速增加。特别是当考虑到目前普遍存在的观念，认为这种发展必然不可避免地导致国家破产。十八世纪英国的经济文献中充满了卡桑德拉式[[24]](#footnote-23)的预言，认为由于国家负债的增加，国家即将走向毁灭。事实上，麦考利勋爵在一个著名的段落中说，除了伯克之外，自英国债务成立以来，没有任何作者能够察觉到国家的总体经济发展对这些危险提供的保障。在这方面，特别有趣的是亚当·斯密对事态的悲观表述，即使是这样一位如此乐观的作家[[25]](#footnote-24)，写就的《国富论》中对欧洲国家债务的看法却始终是非常悲观的。在亚当·斯密看来，资金债务 "从长远来看可能会毁掉欧洲的所有大国"，因为债务已经在不断地削弱这些国家。尽管他认为英国由于其较好的税收制度，比大多数国家更能承受压力，但他警告他的读者，"甚至不要过于自信，认为她可以在没有巨大痛苦的情况下支持比已经加在她身上的负担稍大一点的东西"。

When this was written, in 1775, the funded British debt was £124,000,000, and the war with the American colonies, which intervened between the first and third editions of the Wealth of Nutions, served nearly to double that amount. When Great Britain plunged into the revolutionary wars at the beginning of 1793, in fact, her national debt amounted to £230,000,000. Afterwards the war was financed to such an extent by means of loans that the funded debt for Great Britain and Ireland at the time of the Peace of Amiens, in 1808, had risen.to what was, for the conditions of that time, the truly astounding sum of £507,000,000-a figure the significance of which is perhaps best made clear when one reflects that the funded debt of England at the outbreak of the World War in 1914 amounted to no more than £587,000,000. Under these circumstances Adam Smith’s warning could not fail to make an impression ; and indeed we find it employed as a main weapon against Great Britain ina pamphlet published in 1796 with the significant title, The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance. The author was the well-known republican and free-thinker, Thomas Paine, who had some years previously fled to France and become a member of the National Convention. In the French journalism of the period dealing with this subject, which has been sketched by an English woman historian, Miss Audrey Cunningham, an impending British state bankruptcy figures as a fairly self-evident prospect in the future. This is especially the case in a very measured paper, Des finances de l'Angleterre, written in 1803 by the French litterateur, Henri Lasalle, and reproduced by Miss Cunningham in extenso

当这本书写于1775年时，英国的债务为一亿两千五百万英镑，而在《国富论》第一版和第三版之间发生的与美国殖民地的战争，几乎使这个数额翻了一番。事实上，当英国在1793年初陷入革命战争时，她的国债达到了约两亿三千万镑。此后，战争的资金来源是贷款，以至于在1808年亚眠和约签订时，英国和爱尔兰的资金债务上升到了当时条件下真正令人震惊的五亿七百万镑——当人们想到1914年世界大战爆发时英国的资金债务不超过五亿八千七百万镑时，其意义也许就最清楚了。在这种情况下，亚当-斯密的警告不可能不给人留下印象；事实上，我们发现它在1796年出版的一本小册子中被用作反对英国的主要武器，值得注意的是其标题为《英国金融体系的衰落与崩溃》。作者是著名的共和主义者和自由思想家托马斯·潘恩，几年前他逃到法国，成为国民大会的成员[[26]](#footnote-25)。在英国历史学家奥黛丽·坎宁安小姐勾勒的那个时期涉及这一主题的法国新闻中，英国即将国家破产是不言而喻的。这点在法国文学家亨利·拉萨尔于1803年撰写的一篇非常有分寸的文章《英格兰的财政状况》中特别显现出来，坎宁安小姐引用乐这篇文章的全文。

It is true that we must beware of overestimating the importance of these views. It would be hard to discover, as a matter of fact, anything more hopelessly shattered than the finances of France herself during the Revolution ; and her capacity to develop a great military power, despite the most thorough-going national bankruptcy, might rather be expected to have implanted doubts as to far-reaching political consequences arising from financial difficulties. But the thoughts of leading French statesmen did not move in that direction. Whether because of sincere conviction or because of the effect on public opinion, therefore, it became in due time an axiom of Napoleon that his finances both in war and in peace must be managed as much as possible without loans ; and his ministers of finance, greatly against their will, had consequently to resort to the most dubious means of raising funds-not only increasing the annual deficits in the national budget, but also sanctioning measures of downright dishonesty against the purveyors to the state-rather than negotiate public loans. Thus the accumulation of debt represented to Napoleon, at least officially, the one great danger to a state's existence.From the pedestal of public financial virtue he could then condemn the heavily indebted Great Britain ; and he naturally did not neglect the opportunity to do so.

诚然，我们必须提防高估这些观点的重要性。事实上，很难发现有什么比法国在革命期间的财政状况更令人绝望的了。而且，尽管国家彻底地破产了，但她仍有能力发展出一个强大的军事力量，这反而会使人们对财政困难引起的深远的政治后果产生怀疑。但法国主要政治家的想法并没有朝这个方向发展。因此，不管是由于真诚的信念，还是由于对公众舆论的影响，结局就是拿破仑产生了这样一个观念：国家的财政在战争和和平时期都必须尽可能地在没有贷款的情况下进行管理；因此，他的财政部长们，不得不违心地采用最可疑的手段来筹集资金，不仅增加国家预算中的年度赤字，而且毫不留情地制裁在与国家交易中不诚实的供应商，而不是商定公共贷款。因此，对拿破仑来说，债务的积累至少在官方看来是一个对国家存在的巨大风险。同时他自然没有忽视从公共财政美德出发，谴责负债累累的英国的机会。

But the belief in the dangers of piling up debt were scarcely due to this contrast alone, the deceptiveness of which can hardly have escaped Napoleon's notice. It was also rooted, we may be sure, in a deeper conviction, namely, in the notion of the artificiality, the unnaturalness, of the economic system of Great Britain, in comparison with the well-grounded prosperity of France, Especially typical of the French view is a passage in Brissot's previously cited speech, in which he says that England had no security-' not a single hypothec '-to offer for her loans, while France, to begin with, had three milliards in properties recovered by the Crown, as well as in the riches of the land and of industry, ' the enormous resources which have long since been consumed by the claims of British ministers '. The fact that these ' hypothecs ', which formed the guaranty of the French paper currency (assignats), had already, at the time of Brissot's speech, allowed the currency to decline to onehalf of its nominal value, and did not prevent it from sinking to less than one three-hundredth thereof, did not serve to destroy the belief in their importance for the national credit. The intangibility of a credit system like that of Great Britain caused French observers quite honestly to doubt its staying power; and, as usual, this held good of Napoleon quite as much as of the revolutionary politicians. As a matter of fact, Napoleon's amateurishness in dealing with matters of credit is revealed in practically every line he wrote on that subject and is also confirmed by the evidence of the people around him.

但是，对堆积债务的危险的信念并不仅仅是由于这种对比，这种对比的欺骗性很难逃过拿破仑的眼睛。我们可以肯定的是，它还植根于一种更深的信念，即与法国基础良好的繁荣相比，英国经济体系带有人为性、非自然性。这一观点的典型例子是先前引用过的布里索的演讲中的一段话，他说，英国，"没有一个抵押品"，没有任何为她的贷款提供担保的东西。而法国一开始就有300万英镑由王室收回的财产。而谈到英国的土地和工业的财富时，"这些巨大的资源早已被英国部长们的要求所消耗"。虽然为法国纸币（指劵）担保的这些 "抵押品"，在布里索讲话时已经使货币下降到其名义价值的二分之一，并且没有阻止它一路下降到其名义价值的三百分之一以下，但这依然没有破坏人们对抵押物对国家信用重要性的信念。像英国那样的信用体系的无形性使法国的观察家们非常诚实地怀疑它的持久力。和平时一样，这对拿破仑和革命的政治家们都很有利。事实上，拿破仑在处理信贷问题上是个外行，这几乎体现在他写的关于信贷的文章中的每一行字，周围人的证据也证实了这一点。

## **BRITISH CREDIT SYSTEM**

## **英国的信贷体系**

To all this, however, must be added the fact that there were not lacking signs calculated to arouse genuine doubts, even in fairly penetrating observers, as to the durability of the British system of credit. The main cause of this was the Bank Restriction Act of 1797, whereby the Bank of England was released from the obligation to redeem its notes, an obligation which it did not resume for a period of twenty-two years. Thus Great Britain had a paper currency throughout the whole of the revolutionary and the Napoleonic periods. That this was a great and unexpected blow, especially for admirers of the British credit system, is fully substantiated by what Mollien, Napoleon’s future minister of finance, writes about the matter in his Mkmoires d’un ministre du trkscvp public. The fact is that Mollien, through impressions received partly from Turgot’s most faithful collaborator, Malesherbes, and partly from his father, a French manufacturer, was entirely dominated by economic liberalism, and that to a far greater extent in the English form, as embodied in Adam Smith, than in the French form as embodied in physiocracy. In his memoirs, which were begun in 1817, but which were founded, according to his own statement, on almost daily jottings, he refers to the strong impression which the British Bank Restriction Act had made on him when he was a man of forty and experienced both as a financial official and as a practical manufacturer. Inasmuch as the Bank of England was solvent, he believed that it was in a position to meet its liabilities without loss to its creditors ; but in that case, he says, its notes would decline in value, the British Exchequer would have to close, &c. ; and he adds : ‘ Those who have long prophesied disturbances and ruin for England have never had greater reasons for their gloomy forebodings.’ The remarkableness of the situation made such an impression on Mollien that at the close of the following year he went so far as to make a flying journey of observation to the enemy’s territory, zria Germany, with the Wealth of Nation as his only companion.

然而，除了这一切，还必须加上一个事实，那就是不乏一些迹象，足以引起人们真正的怀疑，甚至相当有洞察力的观察家也如此认为，英国的信贷体系是否持久。造成这种情况的主要原因是1797年的《银行限制法》，根据该法，英格兰银行被解除了赎回其票据的义务[[27]](#footnote-26)，在长达22年的时间里，它没有恢复这一义务。因此，英国在整个革命和拿破仑时期都只有一种货币：纸币。这是一个巨大而意外的打击，特别是对英国信用体系的崇拜者来说，拿破仑未来的财政部长莫利安在他的《公共事务部长的备忘录》中对此事的描述充分证实了这一点。事实是，莫利安完全被经济自由主义所支配，部分由于杜尔哥最忠实的合作者马莱斯·赫伯斯，部分由于他的父亲，一个法国制造商的影响。在很大程度上，这种经济自由主义是以亚当·斯密为代表的英国形式，而不是以重农学派为代表的法国形式。在他于1817年开始的回忆录中——根据他自己的说法，这些回忆录几乎是建立在每天的笔记上的——他提到了英国《银行限制法》给他留下的强烈印象。当时他已经40岁了，他兼有作为一名金融官员和一名实际的制造商的经验。只要英格兰银行有偿付能力，他就认为它有能力在不给债权人造成损失的情况下偿还债务；但他说，在这种情况下，它的票据会贬值，英国国库将不得不关闭，等等；他还说："没有比这更好的理由来证明那些长期预言英国将发生动乱和毁灭的人的阴郁预言了。”这种情况的显著性给莫利安留下了如此深刻的印象，以至于在第二年年底，他竟然带着《国富论》通过德国飞往敌人的领土，进行了一次观察之旅。

During the first decade of the British paper currency, that is, from 1797 to about 1808, the depreciation of the bank-notes, as measured by the price of bullion and the rates of foreign exchange, was only intermittently (principally in the years 1800-2) of any very great importance. During that period, therefore, there was no great danger to be seen in the irredeemability of the notes, and least of all any danger to the public finances of Great Britain or to her credit system in general. But ideas on this subject being as thoroughly misty as they were, it is perhaps almost natural that the situation should have been misunderstood. In Great Britain not only the politicians, but also the bankers and business men, obstinately refused to recognize any real depreciation of the notes, even when it became, in the course of time, very considerable. In France, on the other hand, the people, under the influence of the woful history and far-reaching injuries done by their own assignuts, saw a peril .overhanging England in the mere existence of an irredeemable paper currency. The contemporary literature previously cited laabounds with such views ; and during his reign , Napoleon never failed to boast it as absolutely inconceivable that a government so extremely well organized as his should ever have to fall back upon such a disastrous expedient as the use of 'paper money, 'the greatest foe to the social order (l'ordre social),' of which ' the history of all times confirms that its fatal experiences occur only under emasculated governments

值得注意的是，在英国纸币的第一个十年里，即从1797年到1808年左右，根据金银价格和外汇汇率来衡量，银行纸币的贬值只是间歇性的（主要是在1800-1802年）。因此，在这一时期，纸币的不可赎回性并没有什么大的危险，更没有对英国的公共财政或其一般的信用体系造成任何危险。但是因为在这个问题上的观念是如此的模糊不清，也许被误解是很自然的。在英国，不仅政治家如此，而且银行家和商人都顽固地拒绝承认纸币的任何实际贬值，即使它在一段时间内贬值得很严重。另一方面，在法国，人民在他们自己的统治者所造成的悲惨历史和深远伤害的影响下，看到了笼罩英国的危险，因为仅仅存在一种不可兑换的纸币。前面引用的当代文献中充斥着这样的观点；在拿破仑执政期间，他总是吹嘘称，难以想象一个

像法国一样组织严密的政府，会沦落到使用纸币这种灾难性的权宜之计。所有历史都证实了纸币是社会秩序的最大敌人，只有软弱无力的政府会使用纸币。

But all this could at the most show the weakness of the economic position of Great Britain, and thus inspire a general hope of success in the struggle against such an 'enemy. It had apparently no direct connexion with that special kind of tactics in commercial war which is called continental blockade. Such a connexion does not appear until we come to consider the importance that the trade of Great Britain, and especially her exports to the Continent, were regarded as having for her credit system, and in general the conception of the effect of the continental connexions on British currency.

但这一切最多只能说明英国经济地位的薄弱，从而激发人们对与这样一个 "敌人 "的斗争取得成功的普遍希望。这显然与商业战争中那种被称为大陆封锁的特殊战术没有直接联系。直到我们考虑到英国的贸易——特别是被认为对她的信用体系十分重要的对欧洲大陆的出口，以及一般来说，与欧洲大陆的联系对英国货币的影响的这一概念——这种联系才会出现。

## **EXPORTS AND WAR ON THE CONTINENT**

## **欧洲大陆的出口与战争**

In this respect, too, Kersaint’s previously cited speech of January 1, 1793, is significant, as was pointed out as far back as 1850 by the first historian of the Continental System, Kiesselbach, and has been emphasized in our own time by the English historian, Dr. J. Holland Rose. ‘ The credit of England ’, says Kersaint, ‘rests on fictitious riches. The real riches of that people are scattered everywhere and essentially mobile. On her own soil the national wealth of England is to be found almost exclusively in her Bank, and the whole of that structure is supported by the prodigious activity of her maritime commerce.’ With such an idea it was evidently easy to arrive at the thought of ruining the whole credit system of England by an attack on her trade.

The same line of thought-the dependence of the credit system on foreign trade-is followed more completely in several papers of French authorship referred to by Kiesselbach and made the subject of an interesting investigation by Miss Cunningham. The writer was a Chevalier De Guer (or Deguer), who had gone to England as a Royalist emigre and had there made a special study of the British system of finance. He is of especial interest in this connexion, for the reason that Napoleon, in a letter of 1803, expresses great satisfaction with his work, and desires from him a more detailed account of the position of British finances. On the whole, he regarded that system as well worthy of imitation, even as regards the circulation of bank-notes, but at the same time he believed that it had certain weak points. He brought out his results, for the enlightenment of his countrymen, especially in a paper entitled Essai sur le crddit commercial comme mqen de circulation, which was originally printed in Hamburg in 1801, but was afterwards reprinted in France, and also in other articles, one of which Napoleon caused to be inserted in his official organ, Le Moniteur, for 1803.

在这方面，先前引用的克尔桑在1793年1月1日的讲话也很重要，早在1850年，第一位研究大陆体系的历史学家基塞尔巴赫就指出了这一点，本时代英国历史学家约翰·霍兰德·罗斯博士也强调了这一点。克尔桑说："英国的信用建立在虚构的财富上。该民族的真正财富分散在各地，而且基本上是流动的。在她自己的土地上，英国的国家财富几乎只存在于她的银行，而这整个结构是由她大规模的海上贸易所支持的。”有了这样的想法，自然很容易产生这样的想法：通过攻击英国的贸易来毁掉英国的整个信贷系统。有关英国信用体系对对外贸易的依赖的同样思路，在基塞尔巴赫提到的几篇法国作者的论文中得到了更完整的遵循，坎宁安小姐也对其进行了有趣的调查。作者是德古尔骑士（或者称为德戈尔），他曾作为保皇党人流亡英国，并在那里对英国的金融体系进行了专门研究。他对这件事非常有兴趣，因为拿破仑在1803年的一封信中对他的工作表示非常满意，并希望他能对英国的财政状况作出更详细的说明。总的来说，他认为英国金融系统很值得模仿，甚至在纸币流通方面也是如此，但同时他认为它有某些弱点。他为了启发他的同胞，特别是在一篇题为 "关于商业流通体系的论文"的文章中提出了他的成果，这篇文章最初于1801年在汉堡印刷，后来在法国重印。同时他还发表了其他文章，其中一篇文章被拿破仑安排插入他1803年的官方机构《消息报》中。

The discussions in question were connected especially with the questions of the gold reserve of the Bank of England and the British rates of exchange ; and these connexions are of greatinterest here. As every one knows, Great Britain supported the struggle of the Continental powers against France by means of subsidies of varying magnitude. From the beginning of the revolutionary wars down to the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the sum total of these subsidies, according to the official statement, amounted to about £14,300,000, including one loan of £4,600,000 to the Roman Emperor in 1’795. The total amount of extraordinary payments on the Continent, however, was much larger than that, exceeding £41,000,000 for the three years 1794-6 alone. The ability of Great Britain to continue these subsidies during the later phase of the Napoleonic wars, supplemented by her ability to maintain her own troops on the mainland, was manifestly one of the points in the economic position of Great Britain which, politically speaking, was bound to take a foremost place in the eyes of the French statesmen. It was important, therefore, to see how strong the connexion of those subsidies was with the British system of credit.

这些讨论与英格兰银行的黄金储备和英国汇率问题特别有关系；而这些关系在这里是非常有趣的。众所周知，英国通过提供不同程度的补贴来支持大陆国家的反法斗争。从革命战争开始到1802年的《亚眠和约》，根据官方声明，这些补贴的总额约为1430万镑，包括1795年向神圣罗马帝国皇帝提供的一笔460万镑的贷款。然而，在欧洲大陆上的非常规支出比这要大得多，仅1794-1796三年就超过了4100万镑。英国在拿破仑战争后期继续提供这些补贴的能力，再加上她在大陆维持自己军队的能力，显然是英国经济地位中的一个要点，从政治上讲，它在法国政治家眼中必然占据首要地位。因此，重要的是，要看这些补贴与英国的信贷系统有多大的联系。

In this respect, also, Adam Smith’s representation of the case is highly illuminative. In his famous criticism of the mercantile system as he conceived it, he is led to discuss the question-which is also well known in connexion with the recent war-as to the importance of gold reserves for carrying on war and consequently also as to their necessity for British payments on the Continent. He thus gets an opportunity to show that the expenses of war are defrayed ‘ not with gold and silver, but with consumable goods ’, and that these goods may be acquired by exporting from the belligerent country somepart either of ' its accumulated gold and silver ', . or of ' the annual produce of its manufactures ', or of ' its annual rude produce '. After a clear discussion of the first of these alternatives, he lays it down that ' the enormous expense of the late war (Seven Years War) must have been chiefly defrayed, not by the exportation of gold and silver, but by that of British commodities of some kind or other ' ; and he makes the weighty observation that, as a consequence of this, the exports of Great Britain had been unusually great during the war, without yielding any corresponding imports in return. But in so far as payment for the continental war was effected by means of precious metals, ' the money of the great mercantile republic,' those metals must also have been purchased with British export goods, since neither the accumulated bullion reserves nor the annual production of gold and silver was anything like sufficient to cover the huge sums in question. In general, therefore, he concludes that it is the exports of England that enable her to wage war on the Continent, and chiefly the exports of finer and more fully manufactured industrial articles, which are able to bear high transportation charges. ' A country whose industry produces a great annual surplus of such manufactures, which are usually exported to foreign countries, may carry on for many years a very expensive foreign war, without exporting any considerable quantity of gold and silver, or even having any such quantity to export.' Adam Smith also describes how this works out in practice. The government arranges with a merchant to remit the necessary supplies to the theatre of war, and the merchant, in order to establish a claim there, sends out goods either to that country or to another country where he can buy a draft on the former

在这方面，亚当·斯密对这一情况的表述也很有启发。在他对他所设想的商业体系的著名批评中，他被引导去讨论这个问题，一个在最近的战争中众所周知的问题：关于黄金储备对进行战争的重要性，因此也关于它们对英国在欧洲大陆付款的必要性。因此，他有机会表明，战争费用的支付 "不是用金银，而是用消耗品"，而这些消耗品可以通过从交战国出口一部分 "其积累的金银"，或 "其制造业的年产量"，或 "其未加工产品的年产量 "来获得。在对这些选择中的第一个进行了清晰的讨论之后，他指出，"晚期战争（七年战争）的巨额开支肯定主要不是通过出口金银来支付的，而是通过出口英国的某种商品来支付的"；他还提出了一个重要的意见，即由于这个原因，英国的出口在战争期间异常地多，但却没有产生任何相应的进口回报。但是，就大陆战争的支付是通过贵金属（"伟大的商业共和国的货币"）来实现的而言，这些金属也必须用英国的出口货物来购买，因为无论是积累的金银储备还是金银的年产量，都不足以支付有关的巨额款项。因此，总的来说，他的结论是，使英国能够在欧洲大陆上发动战争的是英国的出口产品，而且主要是能够承受高额运输费用的更精细和更充分制造的工业品的出口。一个国家的工业每年都会生产大量过剩的此类制成品，这些制成品通常会出口到外国，它可以持续多年进行非常昂贵的对外战争，而不出口任何相当数量的金银，甚至不出口任何金银。亚当·斯密还描述了这种做法在实践中的效果。政府与商人达成安排，将必要的物资汇往战区，而商人为了在那里建立债权，要么将货物运往该国，要么运往另一个可以购买该国政府汇票的国家。

To what extent this in itself absolutely conclusive statement-the capacity of which to throw light on the Continental System has not, to my knowledge, been observed——rightly leads to the conclusion that the exports of Great Britain were a necessary pre-condition for her capacity to carry on a war against France on the mainland, is a question which must beentirely reserved for later discussion.The only thing it is necessary to point out here is- how very obvious such a consequence must have seemed. In De Guer’s writings, as summarized by Miss Cunningham, that conclusion is reached without reference to Adam Smith, it is true, perhaps without his being known and, in any case, .without any of his lucidity of thought. De Guer points out that, when war was waged in Westphalia or the Netherlands a hundred years earlier, as in Marlborough’s time, England had no difficulty either in providing her own troops with what they required or in paying subsidies, for she could send goods there and thereby obtain balances to her credit on the spot. But as the Belgian ports had now been closed, and the theatre of war had also been moved to the Upper Rhine and the Danube, great credit difficulties had arisen in the paying of subsidies. Thus De Guer’s way of putting things might inspire still greater hopes than that‘of Adam Smith as to the difficulty of maintaining the continental war if the exports of the subsidizing power were cut off from the Continent. Indeed, the French litterateur seems to have simplified the problem to the extent of having left out of account what is called ‘ triangular trade ’, which means that the exports to one country are used in order to buy drafts on, Le., to pay debts to, another country. With such a conception the mere closing of the Continent might seem sufficient for the purpose, even if British trade as a whole were left undisturbed.

这个对大陆体系下断言的陈述——尽管据我所知，其对大陆体系的见解明晰，但没有别人注意到这点——在多大程度上导致这样一个正确的结论，“英国的出口是她在大陆上对法国进行战争的能力的必要前提”呢？这是一个需要保留给以后讨论的问题。正如坎宁安小姐所总结的那样，在德古尔的著作中，这一结论是在没有提到亚当-斯密的情况下得出的，事实上也许是在不知道他的情况下得出的。无论怎么说，著作中都没有任何明确涉及亚当·斯密的思想。德古尔指出，当一百年前在威斯特伐利亚或荷兰发动战争时，就像在马尔堡时代一样，英国在为自己的军队提供所需物资或支付补贴方面都没有困难，因为她可以把货物送到那里，从而在现场获得信贷余额。但是，由于比利时的港口现在已经关闭，战区也被转移到了上莱茵河和多瑙河，在支付补贴方面出现了巨大的信贷困难。因此，德古尔的说法可能比亚当·斯密的说法更能激发人们的希望，即如果补贴国的出口被切断，就很难维持大陆战争。事实上，这位法国作家似乎已经把问题简化到不考虑所谓的 "三角贸易 "的程度，这意味着对一个国家的出口被用来购买另一个国家的汇票，以支付债务。在这样的概念下，即使英国的整体贸易不受影响，仅仅关闭欧洲大陆似乎也足以达到目的。

In his practical conclusions De Guer approaches the view that Adam Smith undertook to controvert. When England cannot pay subsidies by exporting goods abroad, the consequences, in De Guer’s opinion, will be one or the other of the following : either she must export gold ; and with the great circulation of paper currency within the country, as contrasted with the small increase of its supplies of metallic currency, this exposes all the note-issuing banks to the danger of collapse ; or, on the other hand, she must neglect to export precious metals ; and as she has not sufficiently large balances to her credit on the Continent to correspond with her payment ofsubsidies, the rates of exchange will then go against her to such an extent as to be ruinous to her trade.

As usual, external phenomena, more or less correctly conceived, here affected the train of thought. There had been a heavy decline in the metallic reserves of the Bank of England (almost down to £1,000,000) which had led to its suspending payments in February 1797 ; and the attention excited by this event seems to have overshadowed the fact that the reserves only the next year rose again to £6,500,000, or even £7,000,000, and that during the following years, despite considerable fluctuations, they never again went down to the point where they were at the time of the suspension of payments. The British rates of exchange, especially on Hamburg, had fluctuated violently, and had been particularly ' unfavourable ' to England, as has already been partially hinted,in the years 1794 and 1800-1801 ; and this was popularly connected with the great payments on the Continent, which undoubtedly coincided to some extent in time with these phenomena. De Guer's view was consequently very easily explained ; to what extent it was correct, is a question which does not appertain to this stage of our inquiry.

在他的实际结论中，德古尔接近了亚当·斯密观点的反面。在德古尔看来，当英国不能通过向国外出口商品来支付补贴时，其结果将是以下两种情况之一：要么她必须出口黄金；由于国内纸币的大量流通，与金属货币供应的少量增加形成对比，这使所有发钞银行面临崩溃的危险；或者，另一方面，她必须忽视出口贵金属；由于她在欧洲大陆的信用没有足够大的余额与她的补贴支付相对应，汇率将对她不利，以至于对她的贸易造成破坏。像往常一样，被或多或少正确地设想的外部现象，在这里影响了思想的发展。英格兰银行的金属储备严重下降（几乎降至1000万镑），导致其在1797年2月暂停支付；这一事件引起的关注似乎掩盖了这样一个事实：储备仅在第二年就回升到6500万镑，甚至是7000万镑，而且在随后的几年里，尽管有很大的波动，它们从未再下降到暂停支付时的水平。英国的汇率，特别是在汉堡的汇率剧烈波动，而且在1794年和1800-1801年，特别'不利于'英国，这一点德古尔已经部分地暗示过了。毫无疑问，这与在欧洲大陆的大量支出有普遍联系，因为在一定程度上其与这些现象的时间相吻合。因此，德古尔的观点很容易解释亚当·斯密的观点在多大程度上是正确的：这是一个不属于这个阶段的问题。

What does concern us here, on the other hand, is the excellent basis for an attack on British exports created by such a theory. On the one hand, the conception of the rates of exchange and the supplies of precious metals, as effects of the balance of payment abroad, and, on the other hand, the conception of the general solvency of Great Britain as dependent on the bullion reserves of the banks, had carried people forward (or back) to a justification of the old mercantilist trade policy on a much stronger basis than before. For the commercial policy of the mercantile system also built on the doctrine of the balance of trade, on the 'danger of ' insufficient weight in the scales of trade '; but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, unlike the Napoleonic period, there had been no system of note circulation with a metallic covering which might be assumed to be ruined by an unfavourable balance of payments.

另一方面，我们在这里关心的是，这种理论为进攻英国出口业创造了良好的基础。一方面，作为国外支付平衡的影响的汇率和贵金属供应的概念，另一方面，认为英国的普遍偿付能力取决于银行的金银储备的概念，使人们在更坚固的基础上，为旧的重商主义贸易政策进行了辩护（或退缩而不辩护）。重商主义制度的商业政策也建立在贸易平衡的理论上，建立在 "贸易天平上重量不足的危险 "上；但在十六和十七世纪，与拿破仑时期不同，当时还没有一种带有金属覆盖物的纸币流通系统，这种系统可能会被不利的国际收支所破坏。

## **EXPORTS OF GOLD**

## **黄金出口**

Such trains of thought were certainly not foreign to Napoleon, as will appear from his observations at a later period, to be treated in their proper place ; but in the main it may be said that he was dominated by simpler economic notions. Judging from his own utterances, as well as from the evidence of his assistants, indeed, we cannot easily doubt that, thanks to his contempt for the ideologues, he was still in the pre-mercantilist or bullionist stage, which saw something unfortunate for a country in the exportation of the precious metals and good fortune in the importation of gold as such. Thus, for instance, in a highly characteristic letter of Nay 29, 1810, to Gaudin, his Minister of Finance, Napoleon writes how smuggling with England is to be arranged. ‘My object’, he says, ‘is to favour the exportation of foodstuffs from France and the importation of foreign money.’ In another letter, of April 3, 1808, to his brother Louis of Holland, he gives instructions as to how to export gin to England by means of smugglers, ending in the bullying apostrophe : ‘ They must pay with money, never with goods, never, do you understand ? ’ In accordance with this idea licences were issued which authorized voyages to England against exports from there of gold and silver in specie and bullion, but nothing else ; and in a report to the Emperor dated November 25, 1811, Gaudin gives as the object of the licensing system ‘the extraction of metallic money from England, the exportation of French goods, and activity in our ports.’ His colleague, Mollien, also mentions as an explanation of an extremely curious business with enormous advances from the French treasury to the financiers, whose business,on thecontrary, would have been to advance the taxes(lesfaiseurs de service), that .a thing of that kind could never have taken place unless those gentlemen had undertaken to obtain precious metals from the Spanish colonies, which were regarded as being of incalculable value.With such a conception, the war against British exports justified itself as soon as it caused Great Britain to export gold,

这种思路对拿破仑来说当然不是陌生的，正如之后对他的观察所表明的那样，应该得到正确的对待。但主要可以说，他被更简单的经济观念所支配。从他自己的言论以及他的助手的证据来看，我们不难怀疑，由于他对思想家的蔑视，他仍然处于前霸权主义或金银主义阶段，认为出口贵金属对一个国家来说是不幸的，进口黄金则是幸运的。例如，在1810年5月29日写给他的财政部长高登的一封非常有特色的信中，拿破仑写道将如何安排与英国的走私活动。他说，"我的目标是有利于法国食品的出口和外国货币的进口"。在1808年4月3日写给他的荷兰兄弟路易的另一封信中，他就如何通过走私者向英国出口杜松子酒做出了指示，最后用了一个盛气凌人的省略符号："他们必须用钱支付，决不能用货物，决不能，你明白吗？'根据这一想法，法国颁发了许可证，授权航行到英国，从那里出口金银实物和金块，但除此之外再无他物。在1811年11月25日给皇帝的报告中，高定（Gaudin）将许可证制度的目标定为“从英国提取金属货币，出口法国货物，并且所有这些活动都将在我们的港口进行”。他的同事莫利安在解释法国国库向金融家提供巨额预付款这一极其奇怪的业务时也提到，正常来说，金融家的业务应该是预付税款，要不是这些绅士承诺从西班牙殖民地带回被认为具有不可估量的价值贵金属，这种事情是不可能发生的。在这样的观念下，只要反对英国出口的战争导致英国出口黄金，它就证明了自己的正确性。

One might be inclined, beforehand, to doubt Napoleon’s interest in these questions, but such a view would be an immense mistake. What was at once the strength and the weakness of Napoleon was that he wished himself to understand every detail of his government better than any of his assistants, and this is particularly true as regards finances. I do not know whether this is a characteristic trait of the French revolutionaries in general, but the same feature, as a matter of fact, is to be found in Bernadotte, concerning whom Trolle-Wachtmeister, an acute Swedish observer, tells us in his diary (1816) that the then Crown Prince did not at all dispute the possibility that Sweden had three hundred more efficient soldiers than he, but declared that with regard to high finance he would yield to nobody, as he had long made it a subject of special study. Possibly this was simply an imitation of Napoleon, with whose remarkable financial measures the later efforts of his old rival had many points in common. It is certain that Napoleon’s fantastic but immensely laborious summaries, often made in the field and always by his own hand, of the tables given him by his ministers of finance, reveal an almost inconceivable attention to precisely these questions, although the results bear no proportion to his toil or his ingenuity. A, study of his letters easily reveals this, especially when it is observed from where the writings date. Mollien’s memoirs are a running commentary on the same tendency. He says that ‘ two months of discussions in council and private conferences, which were almost daily repeated at Paris or Saint-Cloud after the return of the Emperor from the banks of the Niemen (in 1807), had not exhausted that curiosity, that passion for details, which he felt especially in questions of finance. His imagination created at every moment new combinations of figures, which he took for the creation of new resources. His errors of this kind were the more difficult to confute because the Qres in which he expressed them gave to the mistakes the appearance of mathematical verities.’Consequently, it is not at all unlikely that Napoleon ascribed to his notions on the credit system and the precious metals a decisive influence on his great policy against England

人们可能会事先倾向于怀疑拿破仑对这些问题的兴趣，但这种看法是一个巨大的错误。拿破仑的优点和缺点都在于，他希望自己比他的任何助手更了解政府的每一个细节，这一点在财政方面尤其如此。我不知道这是否是法国革命者的普遍特征，但事实上，在贝尔纳多特身上也可以找到同样的特征，关于他，敏锐的瑞典观察家特罗尔·瓦赫迈斯特在他的日记（1816年）中告诉我们，当时这一位王储对瑞典可能有三百名士兵比他更有效率的士兵毫无异议，但他宣布，在高级财政方面，他不会向任何人屈服，因为他早就把它作为专门研究的课题。这可能只是对拿破仑的模仿，他的老对手后来的努力与拿破仑的卓越财政措施有许多共同点。可以肯定的是，拿破仑对他的财政部长们给他的表格所作的奇妙而又费力的总结，往往是在实地进行的，而且总是由他亲手做的，显示出他对这些问题的关注几乎是难以想象的，尽管结果与他的辛劳和智慧不相称。对他的信件的研究很容易揭示这一点，特别是当我们观察到这些著作的来源时。莫利安的回忆录也是对这一倾向的评论。他说："皇帝从尼门河畔回来后（1807年），在议会和私人会议上进行了两个月的讨论，这些讨论几乎每天都在巴黎或圣克卢重复进行，但这并没有耗尽他的好奇心和对细节的热情，他在财政问题上尤其感到好奇。他的想象力每时每刻都在创造新的数字组合，他把这些组合当作新资源的创造。他的这种错误更难纠正，因为他表达这些错误的方式使这些错误看起来像数学上的真理。

## **ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS**

## **经济失调**

Probably, however, other matters also played a part. One of these was the rather self-evident idea which has already been incidentally mentioned, viz., that of causing dislocations in the economic life of England, especially in her industry. He caused one of his penmen, d'Hauterive, in a paper published in 1800, De l'état de la France, à la fin de l'an VIII, to dwell on the thorough division of labour, on which the economic life of England was built, as a specially detrimental circumstance in every ' sudden change in the channels of trade ', to use Ricardo's famous expression. As far as we can judge, it was especially unemployment, and consequent labour unrest, that Napoleon hoped to bring about in England through his policy of exclusion. At any rate, it is a fact that few matters in his own domestic policy occupied his thoughts to the extent that this did. The system of grants which he introduced for the benefit of industry in the crises of 1807 and 1810-11 he justified with his usual, and in this case very sensible, lack of sentimentality in a letter which he addressed on March 27,1807, to his Minister of the Interior, Champagny, on the ground that he was anxious not; to save certain business men from bankruptcy, but to prevent great numbers of workmen from being without work ; and for the opposite reason no help was to be obtained for handicraftsmen and petty manufacturers on whom only a few workmen were dependent. Mollien, who entertained an orthodox laisseg-faire dislike of this entire system of grants, also describes in detail how a large wool manufacturer, Richard Lenoir, who was in his opinion insolvent, succeeded in obtaining a loan of 1,500,000 francs owing to the fact that he was the owner of a large factory in one of the most populous suburbs of Paris, Faubourg St.Antoine. And Chaptal, whose views scarcely ever coincided with Mollien’s, tells us, in full accordance with this, that the Emperor said to him : ‘ I fear these disturbances based on lack of bread men ’. :

然而，可能还有其他因素也起到了一定作用。其中一个就是上文这些想法如此不言自明，以至于在英国的经济生活中造成混乱，尤其是在她的工业中。一位作者多德里夫在1800年发表的一篇论文《关于法国在共和八年年底的状况》中，详述了英国经济生活所依赖的彻底分工。文章称：用李嘉图的名言来说，分工是每次 "贸易渠道的突然变化"中特别有害的情况。据我们判断，拿破仑希望通过他的排外政策在英国造成的尤其是失业和随之而来的劳工骚乱。不管怎么说，在他自己的国内政策中，很少有事情能像这样占据他的思想。在1807年和1810-1811年的危机中，他为了工业的利益而实行补助制度。在1807年3月27日写给他的内政部长尚帕尼的信中，他以他一贯的，而且在这种情况下非常明智的，缺乏感情色彩的方式进行了辩护，理由是他所关心的不是挽救某些商人的破产，而是防止大量的工人没有工作；而由于相反的原因，对只有少数工人依赖的手工业者和小制造商没有帮助。莫利安对整个补助制度持正统的自由放任态度，他还详细描述了一个大的羊毛制造商理查德·勒诺尔如何成功地获得了150万法郎的贷款，这是因为他在巴黎人口最多的郊区之一的圣安托万拥有一家大工厂。夏普塔尔的观点与莫利安的观点几乎截然不同，但他告诉我们同样的事实，皇帝对他说："我担心这些骚乱是基于缺乏面包的人"：

How Napoleon pictured to himself the purely external workings of the Continental System appears perhaps most distinctly from the already cited Survey of the Position of the Empire on August 24, 1807, which the Minister of the Interior laid before the Corps legislatif. This purports to be a picture of the workings of the system ; but as the latter had scarcely yet been put into execution at that time, it is mainly useful as giving evidence concerning its purpose.

拿破仑是如何向自己描绘大陆体系的外部运作的，这一点也许可以从已经引用的1807年8月24日的《帝国位置调查》中得到最明确的答案，该调查由内政部长提交给立法部门。这份报告声称是对大陆体系运作情况的描述；但由于当时大陆体系几乎还没有投入使用，因此它主要用于证明其目的。

*England sees her merchandise repulsed from the whole of Europe, and her vessels laden with useless wealth wandering around the wide seas, where they claim to rule as sole masters, seeking in vain from the Sound to the Hellespont for a port to open and receive them.*

*英国看到她的商品被整个欧洲击退，她的船只满载着无用的财富在广阔的海洋上游荡，他们声称在那里作为唯一的主人进行统治，从海湾到希腊湾都在徒劳地寻找一个港口来开放和接受他们。*

It now remains to be seen how this policy was put into execution, and what effects it involved.

现在还有待观察这一政策是如何实施的，以及它所产生的影响。

# PART II第二部分

# ORIGIN AND EXTERNAL COURSE OF THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

# 大陆系统的起源和外部路线

## **CHAPTER I**

## **第一章**

## **COMMERCIAL WAR BEFORE THE BERLIN DECREE**

## **柏林法令前的商业战争**

## **MILITARY WAR (1799-1802)**

## **1799-1802的军事战争**

As everybody knows, the accession of Napoleon to power at the close of 1799 did not lead to general peace, certainly not to peace with Great Britain; and the tendencies which have been described above consequently continued on both sides. The principal novelty was an increased activity on the part of the neutrals, resulting in the organization of the League of Armed Neutrality in December, 1800, between Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, with Prussia as a somewhat reluctant fourth party. It was based on the same principles as the Armed Neutrality of 1780, but with further guaranties against capture under blockade, in the form of a provision for previous warning on the part of the war-ships on guard, and also of a prohibition against the searching of trading vessels under convoy.The impulse had been given by the fact that the Scandinavian convoys had been continued even after France had annulled the law of Nivose in December 1799, as has already been mentioned; and consequently it is apparent that the new League was directed mainly against Great Britain, The consequence of this was a succession of encounters with British war-ships ; and in September 1800 Great Britain was guilty of an act of unusually flagrant aggression, when British privateers just outside the port of Barcelona seized a Swedish vessel and, under the protection of its neutral flag, succeeded in capturing the Spanish ships lying there at anchor

众所周知，拿破仑在1799年年底上台后并没有导致全面和平，当然也没有导致与英国的和平；因此，上文所述的趋势在双方都继续存在。主要的新情况是中立国的活动增加了，结果在1800年12月，瑞典、丹麦和俄国之间组织了武装中立国联盟，普鲁士有点不情愿加入其中，成为第四位成员。1800年的联盟与1780年武装中立国联盟的原则相同，但进一步保证在封锁情况下不被捕获，其形式是规定守卫的军舰要事先发出警告，以及禁止搜查护航的商船，这是对斯堪的纳维亚护航队的推动，甚至在法国于1799年12月废除雪月法令后仍在继续；因此，很明显，新的联盟主要是针对英国的，而其结果是与英国军舰的连续遭遇：1800年9月，英国做出了一个异常公然的侵略行为。当时英国私掠者在巴塞罗那港外扣押了一艘瑞典船只，并在其中立国旗帜的保护下，成功捕获了停泊在那里的西班牙船只。

The League of the Neutrals thus became an extremely welcome moral and political support for Napoleon against Great Britain ; and some of his earlier utterances concerning the cutting-off of the Continent from England are due to its short career. For instance, we have his pronouncement to his assistant, Roederer (December 1800), as to the necessity of ' blockading the English on their island ' and ' turning to their confusion that insular position which causes their insolence, their wealth, and their supremacy '.l Napoleon already posed as a champion of the freedom of the seas, and in a treaty with the United States, signed in 1800 and ratified in 1801, he laid down the same principles as had been championed by the Armed Neutrality. But, as is well known, the Armed Neutrality came to an end after some few months with the murder of the Czar Paul I and the Battle of the Baltic, in March and April 1801 ; and the only result of the action of the neutrals was an Anglo-Russian navigation convention (June 5/17 of the same year), with the belated and somewhat reluctant adhesion of Denmark and Sweden. By this convention Great Britain succeeded in establishing the principle that free ships should not make free goods, and that war-ships, but not privateers, should be allowed to search convoyed trading vessels, in return for the abandonment, in theory, of the paper blockade and for restrictions in the definition of contraband, which was further limited by an agreement with Sweden in 1803. Napoleon, however, followed up his plans of cutting off England in other quarters by means of what the English historian, Dr. Rose, making use of an expression of Napoleon himself, has called his ' coast system ', that is to say, the adoption of the French policy of the 'nineties of excluding Great Britain from access to the mainland by making himself master of its coasts in some form or other. After Austria had concluded formal peace at Lun&ville, in February 1801, therefore, first Naples and the Papal States, and later on in the year Great Britain's own ally, Portugal, had to acquiesce in the closing of their ports to the British.

因此成，中立国联盟为拿破仑反对英国的一个极其受欢迎的道德和政治支持；他早期关于切断欧洲大陆与英国联系的一些言论都与只有短暂生涯的联盟有关。例如，在1800年12月，他对他的助手罗埃德勒说，有必要 "封锁英国人的岛屿"，"让他们对自己的岛屿位置是否能带来傲慢的资本、大量的财富以及至高无上的地位这一问题感到困惑”。拿破仑已经摆出了海洋自由的捍卫者的姿态，在与美国于1800年签署、1801年批准的条约中，他规定了与武装中立国联盟所倡导的相同的原则。但是，众所周知，随着1801年3月和4月沙皇保罗一世被谋杀和波罗的海战役的发生，武装中立国联盟在几个月后就结束了；中立国行动的唯一结果是英俄航行公约（同年6月5/17日）。而迟来的丹麦和瑞典有点不情愿的加入了公约。通过这项公约，英国成功地确立了“自由的船只不一定等于自由的货物”的原则，以及允许军舰而非私掠船搜查护航商船的原则，作为回报，英国在理论上放弃了纸面封锁，并对违禁品的定义进行了限制，1803年与瑞典达成的协议进一步限制了违禁品。然而，拿破仑采用了所谓的“海岸体系”，英国历史学家罗斯是这么称呼的，虽然拿破仑本人也用这个名字称呼它。也就是说，采用法国90年代的政策，通过使自己以某种形式掌握英国的海岸来排除英国进入大陆的可能性。因此，在奥地利于1801年2月在卢恩维尔达成正式和平后，首先是那不勒斯和教皇国，后来是英国自己的盟友葡萄牙，不得不默许关闭他们向英国开放的港口。

This phase of the blockade policy came to an end fairly soon, however, owing to the fact that peace was at length concluded between Great Britain and France, namely, the preliminaries of London, in October 1801, and the formal Peace of Amiens, in March 1802.

然而，这一阶段的封锁政策很快就结束了，原因是英国和法国之间终于缔结了和平，即1801年10月的伦敦预演和1802年3月的正式亚眠和约。

## **PEACE OF AMIENS (1802)**

## **1802年的亚眠和约**

But the Peace of Amiens turned out to be merely a brief and feverish pause in the world struggle ; and all modern investigators would seem to agree that a principal cause, not to say the principal cause, of its short duration was the continuation of the commercial war after the close of the military war, which, we may remark in passing, is a significant experience for those who wish to form a picture of the future of Europe after the recent great trial of strength. Napoleon, on the whole, adhered to his old policy of prohibitions, acting under the pressure of the French industrialists, who, according to Mollien, had never been as bent on protection as then. Confiscations continued under the old prohibitory laws of the Revolution ; and these tendencies were the more unwelcome to Great Britain because Napoleon, during the short period of peace, extended or maintained his power over great nonFrench regions, including Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont. The efforts made by Great Britain to bring about a renewal of the Eden Treaty were doomed beforehand to fail, since nothing was further from Napoleon’s thoughts. In 1806, when peace with Great Britain was again under discussion, he is said to have declared in the Conseil d’Etat that within forty-eight hours after its conclusion he intended ‘ to proscribe foreign goods and promulgate a French navigation act which should close the ports for all non-French vessels. . . . Even coal and English milords would be compelled to land under the French flag.’

但是，亚眠和约最终被证明只是欧洲世界斗争中的一个短暂的、狂热的停顿；所有现代调查者似乎都同意，导致其短暂生命的一个主要原因——如果不说是唯一原因——是军事战争结束后商业战争的持续。顺带一提，对于那些希望在最近的力量大考验后描绘出欧洲未来的人来说，这是一个重要经验。

总的来说，拿破仑在法国工业家的压力下，坚持他的旧的禁止政策。据莫利安说，这些工业家从来没有像当时那样一心一意地寻求保护。此时的法国根据大革命时期的旧的禁止性法律，继续实行没收政策。与此同时，法国变得更不欢迎英国，因为在短暂的和平时期，拿破仑成功扩大或维持其对非法国大区的权力，包括荷兰、瑞士和皮埃蒙特。在这一基础上，英国为续签《伊登条约》所做的努力事先就注定要失败，因为没有什么比拿破仑的想法更为重要。据说当1806年再次讨论与英国的和平时，拿破仑在行政会议上宣布，在条约缔结后的48小时内，他打算 "禁止外国货物，并颁布一项法国航行法案，对所有非法国船只关闭港口……即使是煤炭和英国老爷也将被迫在法国国旗下登陆'。

As regards the question of the influence of Rench policy on the economic position of Great Britain during the peace interval, the idea has spread, on the great authority of Dr. Rose, that the peace meant a change for the worse ; but this, as far as one can judge, is a mistake. During the year1809 the export figures show a rise on all points, especially for the value of domestic goods and for the re-exports of foreign and colonial goods, which rose by 15 and 23 per cent., respectively, as compared with the year before ; and at the same time a lively, though somewhat speculative, trade with North and South America began. But in 1803 a great relapse occurred all along the line, the figures for which fall not only below those for 1802, .but also below those for the last years of the war ; and it is conceivable that one might have seen in this an effect of the French restrictions and the increased possibilit.y of competition from other countries, which in certain quarters had been expected to be a consequence of the restored freedom of the seas.

关于伦奇政策在和平时期对英国经济状况的影响问题，像罗斯博士这样的权威人士认为和平意味着情况的恶化；但是，就人们的判断而言，这个观点是错误的。在1809年期间，各方面的出口数字都有增长，特别是国内商品的价值以及外国和殖民地商品的再出口，与前一年相比，分别增长了15%和23% ；同时尽管有些投机的成分，英国与北美和南美的贸易开始活跃起来。但在1803年，整个贸易业出现了巨大的倒退，其数字不仅低于1802年的数字，而且也低于战争最后几年的数字；可以想象，人们可能从这一点上看到法国的限制和来自其他国家竞争的可能性增加的影响，在某些方面，这被认为是恢复海洋自由的一个结果。

In any case the result of the politico-economic strainas of various purely political matters which have nothing to do with our problem-was the outbreak of war as early as May 1803 ; the trial of strength between Great Britain and France was now to proceed without interruption until Napoleon's fall, and in its course to give rise to the most unlimited development of the ideas which we have previously traced

无论如何，政治经济的压力，以及与我们的问题无关的各种纯政治问题，导致战争早在1803年5月就爆发了。英法之间的力量较量从这一刻一直持续到拿破仑倒台，并在这一过程中，上文中我们所追踪到的思想发生了最无限的发展。

## **BLOCKADE (1803-1806)**

## **1803-1806年的封锁**

At first the commercial war continued on both sides, in the main, under its old forms ; and to certain details of it we shall have occasion to return later on. Immediately after the outbreak of the war (May 17, 1803) England seized all French and Dutch vessels lying in 'British ports. A month later (June 24) the neutral trade with enemy colonies was regulated on lines half-way between those of 1794 and 1798 ; and shortly afterwards (June 28 and July 26) there was taken what was at least for the moment the most effective of all the British measures, namely, the declaration that the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser were in state of blockade, whereby the entire trade of Hamburg and Bremen was cut off. Again in the following year (August 9, 1804) all French ports on the Channel and the North Sea were declared under blockade. The British measures of the next two years are distinctly more difficult to summarize, not only because of the varying conditions of war, but also because of the different tendencies among the leading English statesmen. On the whole, they applied partly to the colonial trade, particularly the trade of the Americans with the European mainland, and partly to the trade with the North Sea coast in general. The colonial trade with the Americans was made the object of sweeping restrictions in 1805, not, however, through new ordinances, but through a new interpretation of the law on the part of British courts. The North Sea coast was again treated in a greatly varying manner, inasmuch as the blockade of 1803 was annulled in the autumn of 1805 and was renewed in an extended form in April 1806, when it was applied also to the mouths of the Ems and Trave. On May 16 of the same year a double blockade was proclaimed, including, in the first place, a strict blockade of the coast between the mouth of the Seine and Ostend, and, in the second place, a less strict blockade of the rest of the coast between the Elbe and Brest. Neutral vessels, however, were allowed, under certain conditions, to put in at ports on the less strictly blockaded section. Finally, the blockadebetween the Elbe and the Ems was annulled on September 25, 1806. Of course, these wobbling measures could not fail to hit the towns of North Germany especially very hard ; and their paper-blockade nature kept alive the unpopularity of British policy in naval warfare.

起初，双方的商业战争主要以其旧有的形式继续进行；关于其中的某些细节，我们以后会有机会再谈。战争爆发后（1803年5月17日），英国立即扣押了所有停在英国港口的法国和荷兰船只。一个月后（6月24日），在1794年和1798年之间与敌方殖民地往来的中立国贸易被管制；不久后（6月28日和7月26日），英国采取了至少是目前最有效的措施，即宣布易北河和威悉河的河口处于封锁状态，从而切断了汉堡和不来梅的全部贸易。次年（1804年8月9日），英国宣布封锁法国在英吉利海峡和北海的所有港口。接下来两年英国的措施难以总结，这不仅是因为战争情况的不同，而且还因为英国主要政治家们有着不同的倾向。总的来说，它们部分适用于殖民地贸易，特别是美国人与欧洲大陆的贸易，部分适用于与北海沿岸的一般贸易。1805年，与美国人的殖民贸易被全面限制，但不是通过新的法令，而是通过英国法院对法律的新解释。北海沿岸的待遇又有了很大的变化，因为1803年的封锁在1805年秋天被取消，但1806年4月重新开始封锁并扩大了规模：如今封锁在埃姆斯河和特拉维河口也适用。同年5月16日，英国宣布了双重封锁，首先是对塞纳河口和奥斯坦德之间的海岸进行严格封锁，其次是对易北河和布雷斯特之间的其他海岸进行不太严格的封锁。然而，在某些条件下，中立船只被允许在封锁较不严格的部分的港口停靠。最后，易北河和埃姆斯河之间的封锁于1806年9月25日被取消。当然，这些摇摆不定的措施不可能不对北德的城镇造成很大的冲击；而它们的纸面封锁性质使英国在海战中的政策不受欢迎。

Napoleon, on his part, had caused many thousands of Englishmen travelling in France to be arrested immediately after the outbreak of war, and shortly afterwards had extended this method of belligerency to Holland as well ; and he now proceeded to more comprehensive measures in two different directions. The first WBS the exclusion of England from all connexion with the mainland, especially with the North Sea coast. For this purpose he occupied Hanover, which, as is well known, belonged to the British royal house, and from there he extended his repressive measures to the great centres of maritime trade, Hamburg and Bremen. His general, Mortier, received orders to seize all British ships, goods, and sailors that were to be found there. And although this measure failed, the French largely made themselves masters of British trade to these points, both in general by the occupation of Hanover, and in particular by the seizure of the little Hamburg district of Ritzebuttel, which included its outport, Cuxhaven, at the mouth of the Elbe. The first of the above-mentioned British declarations of blockade formed the answer to this ; and the independence of the Hanse Towns was consequently subjected to new blows from both antagonists. In October 1804, for instance, Napoleon simply kidnapped the British envoy from Hamburg, that is to say, from neutral soil. Moreover, in the beginning of 1804 a double action was taken against the influx of British goods farther south. The imports through Emden, in Prussian East Friesland, up the Ems to the great market of Frankfurt-am-Main were barred by the occupation of the town of Meppen on the Ems ; and at the same time large quantities of British goods were confiscated in the vassal state of Holland. In May 1805, Napoleon resolved to intervene against British goods in Holland by causing French patrols to confiscate them along the Dutch side of the frontier. This led the Dutch legislature, in order to prevent such high-handed procedure in the future, to pass a law prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain, to order the confiscation of all vessels that came from there, to prohibit the importation of British goods, and also to declare certain kinds of goods to be ipso facto British, and finally to lay down a line of demarption within ,which the storing of goods was forbidden. These measures undeniably in many respects presage the events of the following year

在战争爆发后，拿破仑政府立即逮捕了数千名在法国旅行的英国人，并在不久之后将这种方法扩展到荷兰。现在他在两个不同的方向上采取了更全面的措施。第一个方向是排除英国与大陆的一切联系，特别是与北海沿岸的联系。为此，他占领了汉诺威——众所周知，汉诺威属于英国王室——并从那里将他的镇压措施扩展到海上贸易的主要中心，汉堡和不来梅。他的将军莫蒂尔接到命令，要扣押在那里发现的所有英国船只、货物和水手。尽管这一措施失败了，但很大程度上使法国人掌握了英国对这些地方的贸易。总的来说，法国占领了汉诺威，特别是夺取了汉堡的小地区里茨布特尔，其中包括易北河口的港口库克沙文。为了回击法国，英国发布了上述第一份封锁声明。因此，汉萨同盟的独立受到了来自两个对手的新打击。例如，1804年10月，拿破仑在汉堡，也就是在中立国的土地上绑架了英国特使。此外，在1804年初，法国对进一步向南涌入的英国商品采取了双重行动。由于法军占领了埃姆斯河上的梅彭（Meppen）镇，那些进口，通过普鲁士东弗里斯兰的埃姆登，沿着埃姆斯河向上到美因河畔的法兰克福的大市场，被禁止了。与此同时，在荷兰这个附庸国，大量的英国货物被没收。1805年5月，拿破仑决定对英国在荷兰的货物进行干预，让法国巡逻队在边境的荷兰一侧没收货物。这导致荷兰立法机构为了防止将来出现这种高压程序，通过了一项法律，禁止与英国的一切交往，命令没收所有来自那里的船只，禁止进口英国货物，并宣布某些种类的货物——当然是英国的，最后还规定了一条封锁线，禁止在该线内储存货物。不可否认，这些措施在许多方面都预示着下一年的事件。

Nevertheless, in the matter of the Continental blockade all these things bore the mark of mere skirmishes. Meanwhile, however, Napoleen had also taken up a second line, which demands greater attention, because this side of his policy was pursued to its final goal during the first years after the outbreak of war. The second line was confined, in the main, within the limits of French jurisdiction ; and its object was, to close the French market to British industrial products, and at times to colonial goods of British origin

然而，在大陆封锁的问题上，所有这些事情都只是小打小闹而已。然而，与此同时，拿破仑还采取了第二条路线，这需要更多的关注，因为在战争结束后的最初几年里，他的这一方政策一直在追求其最终目标 。第二条路线主要局限于法国的管辖范围内；其目的是对英国的工业产品关闭法国市场，有时也对原产于英国的殖民地货物关闭法国市场。

## **FRENCH CUSTOMS POLICY**

## **法国海关政策**

As a link in his general colonial pdicy, which in the main, Napoleon had already in 1802, during the year of peace, fixed a a customs tariff on colonial goods in such a way that the duties were 50 per cent higher for almost all specified goods, and 100 per cent higher for unspecified goods, imported from scrupulously followed the lines of the Old Colonial System, foreign colonies than on goods imported from French colonies (Thermidor 3, year X-July 22, 1802). In the new customs statute, which became a law immediately before the outbreak of war in 1803, this arrangement was kept practically unchanged; but a high duty (8 francs per kg.) was estabiished on cotton goods, which, of course, was aimed at the British textile industry (Floreal 8, year XI-April 28, 1803). The outbreak of war immediately revived the old line of pure prohibition, well known from the days of the Convention and the Directory, against everything British (Messidor 1-June 20). Colonial goods and industrial products coming directly or indirectly from Great Britain or its colonies were to be confiscated, and neutral vessels had to furnish detailed French consular certificates showing that the goods were of innocent origin. Nevertheless, the characteristic concession was made that the master of a ship who, ‘through forgetfulness of forms or in consequence of change of destination ’, failed to provide himself with such certificates, might nevertheless be allowed to discharge his cargo on condition that he took French goods of corresponding value in return freight-an idea which Napoleon was destined to develop strongly in his later policy. In the new customs statute of the following year, the principle of prohibition was retained. On the one side, it is true, it was made milder, among other things by conceding the right to import certain classes of goods in vessels clearing from ports that had no French commercial representative ; but, on the other hand, it was made more strict by a further prohibition with a very wide range, namely, that vessels which had cleared from, or had unnecessarily put in at, a British port should not be admitted to French ports (Ventose 22, year XII-March 13, 1804). This last regulation anticipated the great Berlin decree, which may be looked upon as the origin of the Continental System proper.

作为其总体殖民政策的一个环节，拿破仑在保持和平的1802年期间已经确定了殖民地货物的关税，相较起从法国殖民地进口的货物，从严格遵循旧殖民制度的外国殖民地进口的货物的关税高50%，未指定的货物高100%。（确定时间为1802年7月22日，即共和十年热月三日）。在1803年战争爆发前立即成为法律的新海关法规中，这一安排几乎没有改变；但对棉花制品征收高额关税（每公斤8法郎），这当然是针对英国纺织业的（时间为1803年4月28日，即共和十一年花月八日）。而战争的爆发，完全恢复了旧制度下的针对英国人的完全禁止法令，那些在国民大会和督政府时代就已经被众人熟知的法令（恢复时间为6月20日，即获月一日）。直接或间接来自英国或其殖民地的殖民地货物和工业产品将被没收，而中立船只必须提供详细的法国领事证明，证明货物的来源是无辜的。然而，法国作出了一项特殊的让步，即如果船主 "由于忘记填写表格或由于目的地的改变"，未能提供此类证书，仍可获准从船上卸货，条件是他要在回程中携带相应价值的法国货物——后来拿破仑的政策中大力发展了这一想法。在第二年的新海关法规中，禁止的原则被保留下来。诚然，一方面，它变得更温和，其中包括允许从没有法国商业代表的港口结关[[28]](#footnote-27)的船只进口某些类别的货物；但另一方面，它变得更加严格，进一步禁止范围非常广泛，即从英国港口结关或不必要地在英国港口停靠的船只不得进入法国港口（规定时间为1804年3月13日，共和十二年风月二十二）。这最后一条规定预示着伟大的柏林法令，它可以被看作是大陆制度的起源。

Nevertheless one may safely assume that the whole of this system of differentiation, with special prohibitions against British goods and vessels coming from Great Britain, was calculated to prove as impracticable at this time as it had in the preceding decade. Napoleon, therefore, quietly fell back on a policy of general prohibition which was not directed specifically against Great Britain, but struck at all non-French goods alike. In reality those measures which affected industrial products were felt most severely, not by Great Britain, but by her continental competitors, especially those in the then Duchy of Berg, or what is now the Ruhr district east of the Rhine. This was not the intended result, it is true, but itfurther strengthened the protection of French industry. The foundation was laid in the Customs Tariff of 1805, which substantially raised the duties on colonial goods and cotton goods (PluviGse 17, year XIII-February 6, 1805), and the culmination was reached in two decrees issued in the early part of 1806 (February 22 and March 4). These decrees, which were incorporated in the great protectionist codification of the customs laws of the Empire on April 30 of the same year, developed tendencies in two directions. On the one side, there was an enormous increase in the customs rates on colonial goods, with substantially less distinction-in certain cases none at all-between French goods and foreign goods. This was manifestly connected with the fact that Napoleon, after the battle of Trafalgar, largely lost the power of communication with his colonies and had to take into account the fact that the colonial trade would fall more and more into the hands of the British. By way of example, we may observe that, while the customs rates on both brown sugar and coffee, as well as on cocoa, in 1802 and 1803 had been 50 and 75 francs per 100 kilograms for French and foreign goods, respectively, they now increased to 80 and 100 francs, respectively, for sugar, and to 75 and 100 francs, respectively, at first, and to 125 and 150 francs, respectively, later on, for coffee; for cocoa they increased at first to 95 and 120 francs and afterwards to 175 and 200 francs, respectively. Thus the rates amounted to three and a half times as much as they had been three years before. But all this was a trifle compared with the most striking rise of all in the customs rates, namely, on an industrial raw material of such fundamental importance as cotton, Having previously paid 1 to 3 francs per 100 kilograms, it was burdened in 1806 with a duty of no less than 60 francs, which, at a low estimate, was 10 per cent, of the value, though it is true that 50 francs were allowed as a drawback on exports of cotton manufactures. Most revolutionary of all seemed the simultaneous prohibition of the importation of cotton cloths, , calicoes, and muslins in February 1806 ; and the, prohibition was extended in April to certain other kinds of cotton clothas well. Yet at this time cotton had already become an absolute necessity.. In later years, at St. Helena, Napoleon made out that the Conseil d’lhzt had shrunk from this project, but that he had forced his will through by quoting the authority of Oberkampf, the leading man in the French textile industry. Naturally, Napoleon had no difficulty in getting his support of a policy that protected his own particular industry. At the same time the importation of cotton twist (files pour meches) was forbidden ; the customs duty on yarn was raised, especially for the lower numbers, i. e., the coarser qualities ; and it was publicly stated that this article also would have been prohibited altogether if it had been thought possible to spin sufficiently high numbers in France

然而，人们可以有把握地认为，这种对英国货物和来自英国的船只实行特别禁令的整个区分制度，在此时被证明与前十年一样不可行。因此，拿破仑悄悄地回到了普遍禁止的政策上，这种政策不是专门针对英国的，而是同样针对所有非法国商品。实际上，对那些影响工业产品的措施感受最深的不是英国，而是她在欧洲大陆的竞争对手，特别是当时的伯格公国，即现在莱茵河以东的鲁尔区的竞争对手。诚然，这不是预期的结果，但它进一步加强了对法国工业的保护。1805年，大幅提高了殖民地商品和棉花商品的关税的《海关关税法》（1805年2月6日，即共和十三年雨月十七）为其奠定了基础，而在1806年初颁布的两项法令（2月22日和3月4日）达到了顶峰。这些法令于同年4月30日被纳入重要的帝国贸易保护主义法典的海关法部分，并向两个方向发展。一方面，殖民地商品的关税税率大幅提高，法国[[29]](#footnote-28)商品和外国商品之间的区别大大减少——在某些情况下根本就没有区别。这显然与以下事实有关：拿破仑在特拉法尔加战役之后，基本上失去了与殖民地的沟通能力，并且不得不考虑到殖民地贸易将越来越多地落入英国人手中的事实。举例来说，我们可以看到，在1802年和1803年，法国和外国货物的红糖和咖啡以及可可的关税税率分别为每100公斤50和75法郎，现在糖的税率分别增加到80和100法郎，咖啡的税率最初分别为75和100法郎，后来分别为125和150法郎；可可的税率最初分别增加到95和120法郎，后来增加到175和200法郎。因此，费率达到了三年前的三倍半。以前，每100公斤棉花只需支付1至3法郎，到了1806年，棉花被征收不少于60法郎的关税，往低了估计，这也相当于其价值的10%，尽管确实有50法郎被允许作为出口棉花制品的退税。最具革命性的似乎是1806年2月同时禁止进口棉布、花布和薄纱；这一禁令在4月扩大到某些其他种类的棉布。然而，此时的棉花已经成为一种绝对的必需品。后来，在圣赫勒拿岛，拿破仑宣称，委员会对这一计划有所保留，但他利用了法国纺织业领袖奥伯坎普夫的权威，强行通过了他的意愿。自然，拿破仑不难得到他对保护自己特定行业的政策的支持。同时，禁止进口棉捻；提高了纱线的关税，特别是那些数量较低，即欠缺质量的；并且公开表示，如果有可能在法国纺出足够多的数量的纱线，进口这些也会被完全禁止。

Southern Europe came under the same r6gime as early as 1806. In Italy, during that year, Napoleon pursued a policy which was intermediate between the earlier and the later French method. Thus in the Kingdom of Italy (North Italy), of which Napoleon was king, a number of articles, especially textile goods, were declared, in accordance with earlier examples, to be eo ipso British, and were consequently prohibited when they did not come from France-a declaration which in reality was directed principally against the continental rivals of France. On the other hand, in the Kingdom of Naples, which was ruled by Joseph Bonaparte, only really British goods were prohibited ; but in addition all British property was seized. In the same year Switzerland was suddenly obliged to pass a law which, under severe penalties, prohibited all importation of British manufactures except cotton yarn. This was an act of retribution because Swiss merchants, in the weeks just prior to the transfer of the principality of Neuchfitel to France, had been importing colonial goods and manufactures there and afterwards had been daring enough to complain when they were all confiscated by Napoleon.

早在1806年，南欧就处于同一制度之下。这一年，拿破仑在意大利推行了一项介于早期和后期法国方法之间的政策。因此，在拿破仑担任国王的意大利王国（北意大利），根据以前的例子，一些物品，特别是纺织品，被宣布为一定是英国的，因此，如果它们不是来自法国，就会被禁止——这一声明实际上主要是针对法国的大陆对手的。另一方面，在约瑟夫·波拿巴统治的那不勒斯王国，只有真正的英国商品被禁止；但此外，所有英国财产都被没收。同年，瑞士突然被迫通过一项法律，以严厉的惩罚措施禁止进口除棉纱以外的所有英国产品。这是一种报复行为，因为在诺伊菲特尔公国移交给法国之前的几周，瑞士商人一直在那里进口殖民地货物和制成品，后来当这些货物被拿破仑没收时，他们还敢于抱怨。

By these measures Napoleon felt that he had effectively closed the French, Italian, and Swiss markets to British industry and trade ; but it now remained to close the rest of the continental markets in the same way. In doing this he fell back, in reality, on the old policy of prohibition directed especially against England, though without giving up the French customs policy, which was prohibitive against all; on the contrary, the latter policy went hand in hand with the former throughout his period of rule. But it was to the measures directed exclusively against Great Britain that Napoleon himself gave the name of the Continental System.

通过这些措施，拿破仑认为，他已经有效地将封闭了法国、意大利和瑞士对英国工业和贸易的市场；但现在还需要以同样的方式封闭其他的大陆市场。在这样做的时候，他实际上又回到了旧的特别针对英国的禁止政策上，尽管没有放弃法国的海关政策——后者是对所有国家的禁止；而是与之相反，在他的整个统治时期，后者的政策与前者是并行不悖的。但正是由于其专门针对英国的措施，拿破仑本人才将其命名为大陆体系。

## **CHAPTER II 第二章**

## **THE BERLIN DECREE 柏林法令**

THE years 1803-6 were notoriously full of world-overturning events : Napoleon’s preparation for a descent on England (1803-5) ; the foundation of the French Empire (May-December 1804) ; the formation of the Third Coalition against France and its defeat at Ulm and Austerlitz (October and December 1805) ; as an immediate sequel to this, the Peace of Pressburg, with the extension of the ‘ coast system ’ to the eastern shore of the Adriatic, but also the definitive overthrow of the French fleet at Trafalgar (October 21,1805) ; and finally the formation of the Fourth Coalition and the crushing of Prussia at Jena and Auerstadt (October 14, 1806).

众所周知，1803-1806年充满了颠覆世界的事件：拿破仑准备进攻英国（1803-1805年）；法兰西帝国的建立（1804年5月至12月）；反法第三联盟的形成及其在乌尔姆和奥斯特利茨的失败（1805年10月和12月）；紧接着，普雷斯堡和约将"海岸体系"扩展到亚得里亚海东岸，但也在特拉法尔加彻底击溃了法国舰队（1805年10月21日）；最后，第四联盟的形成以及在耶拿和奥尔斯塔特击溃普鲁士（1806年10月14日）。

In the autumn of 1806, therefore, Napoleon’s victory on the Continent was as complete as his defeat at sea. Consequently he was so far perfectly right when in later years he pointed to the battle of Jena as the natural antecedent to the execution of the Continental System, inasmuch as that battle placed into his hands the control of the Weser, Elbe, Trave, Oder, and all the coastline as far as the Vistula, although, naturally enough, he omitted to point to the battle of Trafalgar as a negatively operating factor.The great manifestation consisted in the Berlin decree, issued November 21,1806, from the capital of the power that had been last and most thoroughly vanquished. The external occasion was Great Britain’s recently mentioned blockade declaration’of May 16 of the same year ; but that was nothing more than a pretext. Sorel has brought to light some documents of July 1805, and February 1806, written by a certain Montgaillard, in which the Berlin decree is portended. In these documents there is the usual talk of how England is lost if it is only possible to enforce a prohibition of her industrial products in Europe, for to destroy her trade is to deal her a blowin the heart and to attack her alliances at the same time as her continental intrigues. But the idea that peace with the different powers would have as a necessary pre-condition the closing of all the ports of the mainland to the British was evidently very widespread, as can be seen from a contemporary utterance of French industrialists. And, indeed, even before the issue of the decree we find Napoleon, both in one of his army bulletins (October 23) and in a letter to his brother Joseph (November 16), speaking of the continental blockade as a matter of course. At the same time as this last letter, another letter was addressed to the commander of North Germany, Marshal Mortier, instructing him to close the Elbe ' hermetically ', to confiscate all English goods, and even to arrest the English and Russian consuls at Hamburg.In every respect, therefore, the Berlin decree stands out as a culmination of earlier thoughts and measures, dthough, despite all this, it had the effect of a bomb, thanks to Napoleon's masterly capacity as a stage manager.

因此，在1806年秋天，拿破仑在大陆的胜利与他在海上的失败一样彻底。而在后来的几年里，当他指出耶拿战役是大陆体系实施的自然前提时，他是完全正确的，因为那场战役使他控制了威悉河、易北河、特拉维河、奥得河以及远至维斯瓦河的所有海岸线，尽管很自然地，他没有指出特拉法加战役是一个不利的因素。最大的表现是1806年11月21日从最近且最彻底被征服的大国的首都发布的柏林法令。其发布的背景是同年5月16日英国提出的封锁声明；但这不过是一个借口。索雷尔发现了一些1805年7月和1806年2月的文件，这些文件是由一个叫蒙盖拉德的人写的，其中预示着柏林法令的颁布。在这些文件中，人们通常谈论的是，如果可能仅在欧洲实施对英国工业产品的禁止，那么英国就会迷失方向，因为破坏她的贸易相当于打击她的心脏，破坏她的联盟和大陆阴谋。但是，与不同大国的和平将有一个必要的前提条件，即对英国人关闭大陆的所有港口，这种想法显然是非常普遍的，从法国工业家的一个当代言论中可以看出。事实上，甚至在法令发布之前，我们就发现拿破仑在他的一份军队公报（10月23日）和给他弟弟约瑟夫的一封信（11月16日）中都谈到了大陆封锁是理所当然的事情。在这最后一封信的同时，另一封信是写给北德指挥官莫迪埃元帅的，指示他 "密封式"地关闭易北河，没收所有英国货物，甚至逮捕英国和俄国驻汉堡的领事。因此，在各个方面，柏林法令都是早期思想和措施的结晶，尽管如此，由于拿破仑作为舞台管理者的高超能力，它具有炸弹般的效果。

## **PREAMBLE**

## **开场白**

Like most of the measures of both parties, the Berlin decree purported to be a measure of reprisal rendered necessary by numerous aggressions of the adversary ; but its regulations were nevertheless solemnly proclaimed as embodying ' the fundamental principles of the Empire ', until England disavowed her false pretensions. In content the regulations, as is usual in French ordinances, are very clear, at least at first sight, although they were gradually to prove, intentionally or unintentionally, rather ambiguous. The preamble states : (1) that England does not acknowledge international law ; (2) that she treats all enemy subjects as enemies (this is directed against her legislation against alien enemies); (3) that she extends the right of capture to merchant vessels and merchandise and private property; (4) that she extends the blockade tounfortified places (a reproach which forms a reminiscence of the siege character of a blockade) and to places where she has not a single ship of war ; (5) that she uses the right of blockade with no other object than that of hampering intercourse between peoples and building up her own trade and industry on the ruin6 of the trade and industry of the Continent; (6) that trade ih English goods involves complicity in her plans ; (7) that her proceedings have benefited her at the expense of everybody else ; (8) and, consequently, that retaliation is justifiable. It is further stated, therefore, that the Emperor intends to use her methods against her, and accordingly that the regulations will remain permanently in force until England has acknowledged that the law of war is the same by land and by sea and cannot be extended to private property and unarmed individuals, and that blockade shall be restricted to fortified places guarded by sufficient forces.

像双方的大多数措施一样，柏林法令声称是由于对手的多次侵略而必须采取的报复措施；但它的条例还是被庄严地宣布为体现了'帝国的基本原则'，直到英国放弃了她的错误主张。在内容上，正如法国法令的惯例一样，条例非常明确，至少乍一看是这样，尽管它们逐渐被证明是有意或无意的有着相当的模糊性。法令的序言部分指出：(1)英国不承认国际法；(2)她把所有敌人的臣民都当作敌人(这是针对她对抗外敌的立法)；(3)她把捕获权扩大到商船和商品以及私人财产；(4)她把封锁扩大到设防地(这是一种使人想起封锁的围困性质的指责)和没有一艘她的战船的地方；(5) 她使用封锁权的目的不外乎是阻碍各国人民之间的交往，并在欧洲大陆贸易和工业的废墟上建立自己的贸易和工业；(6) 英国货物的贸易涉及她计划中的同谋；(7) 她的行动使她受益，却牺牲了其他人的利益；(8) 因此，报复是正当的。因此，进一步指出，皇帝打算用她的方法来对付她，因此，在英国承认战争法在陆地和海上都是一样的，不能扩大到私人财产和非武装的个人之前，这些规定将永久有效，而且封锁应限于有足够力量守卫的坚固地点。

## **REGULATIONS**

## **规例**

The fundamental regulations laid down on this basis fall into four categories. First, the British Isles are formally declared in a state of blockade, and all trade or communication with them is prohibited (Articles 1 and 2). Secondly, the decree turns against all British subjects in territories occupied by the French ; they are declared to be prisoners of war, and all property belonging to them to be fair prize (Articles 3 and 4). Thirdly, war is,;tnade on all British goods ; all trade in them is prohibited and all goods belonging to England or coming from her factories or her colonies are declared to be fair prize, half of their value to be used to indemnify merchants for British captures (Articles 5 and 6). Fourthly and lastly, every vessel coming direct from ports of Great Britain or her colonies, or calling at them after the proclamation of the decree, is refused access to any port on the Continent (Article 7).

在此基础上制定的基本法规分为四类。首先，正式宣布英伦三岛处于封锁状态，禁止与之进行一切贸易或交流（第1和第2条）。第二，该法令针对被法国人占领的领土上的所有英国臣民：他们被宣布为战俘，属于他们的所有财产都是公平的奖品（第3和第4条）。第三，对所有英国货物开战：禁止所有货物贸易，所有属于英国或来自其工厂或其殖民地的货物被宣布为公平战利品，其价值的一半将用于赔偿英国俘虏的商人（第5和6条）。第四，也是最后一点，凡是直接来自英国港口或其殖民地的船只，或在法令公布后停靠这些港口的船只，都被拒绝进入大陆的任何港口（第7条）。

What was left undecided was the question of procedure at sea. In later years (1810) Napoleon himself declared on two or three different occasions that the Berlin decree implied only ' continental blockade and not maritime blockade ', and thatit was not to be applied to the sea, that is, to lead to captures ; but this only bears witness to that capacity of forgetfulness of which Napoleon was master on occasion. It is true that his naval minister, Admiral Decrhs, in answer to a question from the American envoy, gave it as his opinion that a vessel could not be captured simply and solely because it was on its way to an English port. It is also true that captures or condemnations of captured or stranded vessels on the basis of the Berlin decree did not occur in 1806 or in the first seven months of 1807 ; and this caused shipping premiums to drop to 4 per cent. and in England formed the basis of the regular standing argument of the opposition against the government’s measures of reprisal. But it is equally true that this state of affairs came to an end with a declaration made by Napoleon himself, after his return from Poland, and communicated to the Law Courts in September 1807 ; in point of fact, the practice had already been altered in August and consequently not, as Napoleon later gave out, by the new Milan decree of December 1807. The Emperor’s exposition of the law states that English goods on board neutral vessels should be confiscated ; and in practice the decree was interpreted in such a way that an enemy destination was sufficient ground for the condemnation of a vessel. For that matter, this was in full accord both with the principles of blockade and with the practice of the period of the Directory.’

悬而未决的是海上程序的问题。在后来的几年里（1810年），拿破仑本人在两三个不同的场合宣称，柏林法令只意味着 "大陆封锁，而不是海上封锁"，它不能应用于海上，也就是说，不能导致捕获；但这只能证明拿破仑有时健忘。诚然，他的海军大臣德克尔斯上将在回答美国特使的问题时，认为不能仅仅因为一艘船正在前往英国港口的途中就将其俘获。同样，在1806年或1807年前7个月，根据柏林法令对被捕获或搁浅的船只进行捕获或谴责的情况没有发生；这导致航运费下降到4%，这成为英国反对派反对其政府报复措施的论据。但同样正确的是，这种状况随着拿破仑本人从波兰回来后发表的声明而结束，并在1807年9月由法院声明；事实上，这种做法在8月就已经改变了，因此并不像拿破仑后来所说的那样，是由1807年12月的米兰新法令改变的。皇帝对法律的阐述指出，中立船只上的英国货物应该被没收；而在实践中，该法令被解释为，前往敌人的目的地是谴责船只的充分理由。就这一点而言，这与封锁的原则和督政府时期的做法都是完全一致的。

Even after this interpretation, however, the Berlin decree was so much milder than the NivSse law of 1798 that the occurrence of British goods at least did not occasion the condemnation of the vessel itself and the rest of its cargo.

然而，即使在这种解释之后，柏林法令也比1798年的雪月法令要温和得多，至少英国货物的出现没有引起对该船本身及其其余货物的谴责。

## **SIGNIFICANCE**

## **重要性**

From a formal point of view there are at the most two novelties in the regulations of the Berlin decree. The one is the declaration of blockade against the British Isles, which couldscarcely have occurred to anybody except Napoleon at a time t when not a single war-ship held the sea against the British. Its principal object, indeed, was to form an effective and grandiose gesture ; and not without reason the famous British lawyer, Lord Erskine, could later (February 15, 1808) say in the House of Lords that Napoleon might just as well have I declared the moon in a state of blockade.Presumably, however, Napoleon aimed not only at the theatrical effect, but also at reducing the British principle of a paper blockade to an absurdity. The second novelty was the treatment of British subjects and their property on the Continent. Like the former regulation, this came about as a continental parallel to the British system of capture at sea. Its practical effect, as far as one can judge, was restricted to the moment of proclamation, as the law took by surprise many Englishmen and their enterprises, especially in the German territories governed by Napoleon.

从形式上看，柏林法令的规定中最多的是两个新的内容。一个是对英伦三岛进行封锁的声明，除了拿破仑之外，几乎没有人想到这一点，因为此时法国没有一艘战舰在海上与英国人对抗的时候，事实上，它的主要目的是形成一种有效的、宏大的姿态。后来（1808年2月15日）英国著名的律师厄斯金勋爵在上议院说，拿破仑完全可以宣布月球处于封锁状态。据推测，拿破仑此举不仅很有节目效果，而且还使得对英国的纸质封锁变得近乎荒谬。第二项创新是对英国国民及其在欧洲大陆的财产的处理。与前一项规定一样，这也是作为英国海上抓捕制度的大陆平行措施而出现的。据我们判断，它的实际效果仅限于宣布的那一刻，因为这项法律令许多英国人及其企业感到惊讶，尤其是在拿破仑统治的德国领土上。

The epoch-making character of the Berlin decree, therefore, is scarcely due to either of these formally new regulations. What is important is the wide range which from the time of the Berlin decree was given to a whole series of measures which for a long time had been applied more or less sporadically. It was only now that it had become possible to elaborate the different methods of reprisal into a truly ' continental ' system, that is, one embracing the whole, or nearly the whole, of the European mainland. And it was only now, too, that they were 1 made the central point in the entire internal and external policy of France, around which everything else had to turn in an ever-increasing degree. It was only now that the idea was seriously taken up by a ruler and statesman who had the unique capacity and ruthless consistency which were the necessary prerequisites for transforming the plan from a mere visionary programme into a political reality. The interest surroundq the development of the Continental System, therefore, is connected with the fact that its idea now came to be followed up in deadly earnest, and that the entire content of the ideaswas thereby given an opportunity to affect the life of Europe for better or for worse.

因此，柏林法令的划时代性质，基本上不是由于这些新的正式规定。重要的是，从柏林法令颁布之时起，那些在很长一段时间内或多或少地被实施的措施，现在被正式确定下来。而只有到了现在，才有可能将不同的报复方法细化为一个真正的"大陆"系统，即一个涵盖整个或几乎整个欧洲大陆的系统。也是到了现在，它们才成为法国整个内外政策的中心点，其他一切政策都必须越来越多地围绕着它进行。也是直到现在，这个想法才被一位统治者和政治家认真对待，他具有独特的能力和无情的前后一致，这是将计划从单纯的愿景方案转变为政治现实的必要前提。因此，围绕着 "大陆体系 "的发展而产生的兴趣是与以下事实有关的：它的想法现在得到了认真的贯彻，而且这些想法的全部内容因此有机会影响欧洲的生活，无论好坏。

The content of this system should be sufficiently clear from what has already been said, but it may nevertheless be set forth ' here, when we are entering upon the further development of external events. As a declaration of blockade against Great Britain was little more than a theatrical gesture, and as Napoleon was almost entirely destitute of means to assert his will on the sea, the blockade had to be applied by land. This means that it was, and aimed at being, a self-blockade on the part of the Continent, just as had already been the case with the Directory's Niv6se law of 1798. With the object of preventing Great Britain from disposing of her goods on the Continent and thereby bringing her to her knees, the Continent itself was to renounce all importation of British goods and colonial wares, so far as the latter came from British colonies and British trade. The whole thing not only was, but was intended to be, a ' self-denying ordinance '.The privations to which the Continent was afterwards subjected were thus a designed effect of Napoleon's measures, and not at all the work of his enemy, who, on the contrary, devoted himself to relieving them, for the most part in principle and almost entirely in practice. Unless this starting-point, which to our way of thinking seems very paradoxical, is firmly grasped at the outset, the following development will appear inexplicable. To what extent Napoleon realized all the consequences of his measure, we have, it is true, no means of knowing ; but evidence is not lacking that he was conscious of their main features. Even when he issued the decree concerning the closing of the Hanse Towns (December 3, 1806), he wrote to his brother Louis of Holland that the serious obstacles in the way of intercourse with England would ' undoubtedly injure Holland and France ', but that they weIv necessary; and in a letter 1 addressed to the same correspondent a few days later he says that the system would ruin the great commercial towns. Moreover, in connexion with the intensification of the system by the second Milan decreehe wrote a year later (December 17, 1807) to the minister of the interior, Cretet, and ordered him to encourage capturing as ' the only means by which the requirements of the country could be supplied '. On the same 'occasion, also, his minister of finance, Gaudin, in a report written in connexion with the Milan decree, pointed out the injury inflicted by the system on the French industries, which had already found it difficult to obtain colonial raw materials ; but he considered that the injury to England was yet greater owing to her greater dependence on industry and foreign trade.

这一制度的内容从前面已经说过的内容中应该是很清楚的，但在这里，当我们进入外在的事件的进一步发展时，还是要把它说出来。由于对英国的封锁宣言不过是一种戏剧性的姿态，而且拿破仑几乎完全没有办法在海上宣示他的意志，所以封锁必须通过陆地来实施。这意味着，它旨在并且成功完成了欧洲大陆的自我封锁，就像1798年督政府的雪月法令已经发生的那样。为了阻止英国在欧洲大陆处置其货物，从而使其屈服，欧洲大陆本身将放弃所有英国货物和殖民地物品的进口，那些来自英国殖民地和英国贸易的进口。整个事件计划是，并且确实是一个 "自我否定的法令"。因此，欧洲大陆后来遭受的贫困是拿破仑措施的设计效果，而不是他的敌人的工作，相反，敌人在原则上和几乎完全实践上都致力于缓解贫困。所以说欧洲大陆后来遭受的贫困是拿破仑的措施的结果，而根本不是他的敌人所为，相反，敌人在原则上和几乎完全实践上都致力于缓解贫困。除非一开始就牢牢抓住这个对我们的思维方式来说似乎非常矛盾的出发点，否则下面的发展就会显得莫名其妙。我们确实没法知道拿破仑在多大程度上意识到了他的措施的所有后果；但并不缺乏证据表明他意识到了这些措施的主要特点。甚至在他发布关于关闭汉萨同盟的法令时（1806年12月3日），他还写信给他的荷兰兄弟路易，说与英国交往的严重障碍 "无疑会损害荷兰和法国"，但它们是必要的；在几天后写给同一个通讯员的信中，他说这个制度会毁掉伟大的商业城镇。此外，关于米兰第二号法令对该制度的强化，他在一年后（1807年12月17日）写信给内政部长克雷特，命令他鼓励俘获，因为 "这是可以满足国家需求的唯一手段"。在同一场合，他的财政部长高登也在一份与米兰法令有关的报告中指出了该制度对法国工业造成的伤害，这些工业已经发现很难获得殖民地原料；但他认为，由于英国对工业和外贸的依赖性更强，因此对英国的伤害更大。

Admiral Mahan, in his somewhat harsh criticism of Napoleon's policy, condemns the Continental System on the ground that it injuriously affected the neutrals, who were especially indispensable to France because she herself was excluded from the sea. ' The neutral carrier,' he says, ' was the key of the position. He was, while the war lasted, essentially the enemy of Great Britain, who needed him little, and a friend of France, who needed him much.' This statement appears to involve the ignoring of all the motives behind this mode of warfare, the object of which was to conquer Great Britain economically ; for that object Napoleon could never have attained by allowing neutral trade to continue. That Napoleon had to expect greater 'injury to Great Britain than to his own countries from the selfblockade of the Continent was a necessary consequence of the views which, as we have already seen, were common to him and his adversary; and from his standpoint, accordingly, the policy was sufficiently justified. Whether he and his opponents conceived the economic connexions aright, is quite another question, which belongs to a later chapter. It is a question, moreover, which can by no means be disposed of by a mere reference to his need of the help of the neutrals for supplies which he thought he could do without or replace from other sources.

马汉上将在他对拿破仑的政策进行的有些严厉的批评中，谴责大陆系统，理由是它对中立国造成了伤害性影响，而中立国对法国来说是特别不可或缺的，因为她自己被排除在海上。他说："中立国的承运人是保持法国地位的关键。在战争持续期间，承运人基本上是英国的敌人，英国很少需要他，而法国则是他的朋友，因为法国非常需要他。”这种说法似乎是忽略了这种战争方式背后的所有动机，其目的是为了在经济上征服英国；因为拿破仑不可能通过允许中立贸易继续进行而达到这一目的。拿破仑不得不预期，由于对欧洲大陆的自我封锁，对英国的伤害比对他自己国家的伤害更大，这是一个必然的结果，正如我们已经看到的，他和他的对手的观点是一致的；因此，从他的立场来看，这个政策是充分合理的。他和他的对手是否正确地理解了经济上的联系，是另一个问题，这属于后面的章节。此外，这个问题绝不是仅仅提到他需要中立国的帮助以获得他认为可以不需要或从其他来源替代的物资就能解决的。

## **EXECUTION**

## **执行阶段**

Napoleon immediately proceeded to carry the Berlin decree into execution over as large a part of the Continent as possible. With significant openness one article incorporated in the decree itself (Article 10) instructed the French foreign- minister to communicate it to the governments of Spain, Naples, Holland, and Etruria-all vassal states-and to the other allies of France ; and a letter of the same day from the Emperor to Talleyrand prescribes practically the same course. But the decree was to have its first political effects in the Hanse Towns, where, as we know, the foundation had been laid long beforehand, and where what were really executive measures had been ordered before the publication of the decree

拿破仑立即着手在欧洲大陆上尽可能多的地方执行柏林法令。法令中的一条规定（第10条）非常有开放性，它指示法国外交部长将其传达给西班牙、那不勒斯、荷兰和伊特鲁里亚政府——所有的附庸国——以及法国的其他盟国；同一天，皇帝给塔列朗的一封信也规定了几乎相同的做法。但是，该法令在汉萨同盟产生了最初的政治效果，正如我们所知，在那里基础早已打好，而且在法令公布之前，就已经下令采取真正的行政措施了。

The Hanse Towns, and especially Hamburg, were perhaps of all places in Europe the most decisive points for the success or failure of thecontinental System. During the last years of thir ancien riggime the flourishing French trade in goods from the French West Indies hhd chiefly gone to the Hanse Towns, where the French colonial goods had largely squeezed out their competitors, so’that the Hanse Towns during these years absolutely came first among all European countries in the export trade of France. But the revolutionary wars put a sudden stop to all this, and that, too, not only for France, but also for Holland, which was occupied by the French. This was undoubtedly due in part to the fact that the policy of the Directory against the neutrals prevented them fro& ma.intaining the trade relations now that France could no longer maintain them herself. It was now that Great Britain came to the fore as by far the most important purveyor of colonial goods and industrial products to the Hanse Towns, and through them not only to the whole of Germany, but also to great parts of the rest of the Continent. At the same time Great Britain, on her part, had good use for the corn and other agricultural produce which were foremost among North German exports through Bremen. It is true that the statistics of the period must be used with great caution, and the figures from different sources, even official ones, areoften irreconcilable. In this case, however, the general tendency is unmistakable, and some data may therefore be given. In 1789 only 49 vessels of 7,250 tons in all went to England from Hamburg and Bremen ; but in 1800 there were 500 vessels of 72,900 tons in all. That is to say, the traffic increased ten times over. The value of British exports there is said to have risen between 1792 and 1800 from £2,200,000 to £13,500,000 ; in fact, the British minister at Hamburg stated in 1807 that during the twelve preceding years the exports of colonial produce, East India goods, and British manufactures to the Hanse Towns amounted to an average of £10,000,000—a figure the significance of which is shown by the fact that the entire British exports in 1807 were estimated at only a little more than £50,000,000.

汉萨同盟，尤其是汉堡，也许是欧洲所有地方中对大陆体系的成败最具决定性的地方。在旧政权的最后几年里，来自法属西印度群岛的法国贸易蓬勃发展，主要流向汉萨城镇，在那里，法国殖民商品基本上排挤了他们的竞争对手，因此，汉萨城镇在这些年里绝对是法国对欧洲各国出口贸易的第一名。但是，革命战争使这一切戛然而止，而且不仅是法国，还有被法国占领的荷兰。这无疑部分是由于督政府对中立国的政策阻止了他们保持贸易关系，因为法国自己不能再保持这种关系了。现在，英国成为汉萨同盟迄今为止最重要的殖民地商品和工业产品的供应者，并通过它们不仅向整个德国，而且向欧洲大陆其他大部分地区供应。同时，英国方面对玉米和其他农产品也有很好的利用价值，这些农产品是北德通过不来梅出口的首要产品。诚然，在使用这一时期的统计数字时必须非常谨慎，来自不同来源的数字，甚至是官方的数字，往往是不可调和的。然而，在这种情况下，总体趋势是明确无误的，因此可以提供一些数据。1789年，从汉堡和不来梅前往英国的船只只有49艘，总吨位为7250吨；但在1800年，共有500艘，总吨位为72900吨。这就是说，交通量增加了10倍。据说在1792年至1800年期间，英国在那里的出口价值从220万镑上升到1350万镑；事实上，英国驻汉堡公使在1807年表示，在之前的12年中，向汉斯同盟出口的殖民地产品、东印度货物和英国制造业平均达到了1亿镑，这一数字的意义在于，1807年英国的全部出口估计仅略高于5亿镑，也就是说对汉斯同盟的出口额就占据了其中的五分之一。

Alongside this trade with Great Britain, however, there arose in the 'nineties an extremely lively, sometimes highly speculative, commercial intercourse between the Hanse Towns and the United States, which during that period sold more goods to Germany than to the entire British Empire. So long as the trade could be carried on without any great amount of British interference, it must have been far more favourable for France and her allies than the British trade, inasmuch as the American trade consisted, on the one side, of the importation of the products of the French and Spanish West Indies, and, on the other, in the exportation of German industrial products, which even managed to compete successfully with British goods in the United States. But it was one of Napoleon's deeply-rooted ideas, and one which was soon to assume the solemn form of the decrees, that nearly all textile goods and some sorts of colonial goods were in reality English, howsoever they might be disguised, and that all goods of maritime trade were at least ' suspect '. Consequently, he felt that almost the entire maritime trade of the Hanse Towns was a vital English interest ; and this was certainly the case, at least to a large, if not to a predominant, extent.

然而，除了与英国的这种贸易外，在90年代，汉萨同盟与美国之间出现了极为活跃的、有时是高度投机的商业往来，在这一时期，美国向德国出售的货物比向整个大英帝国出售的货物还要多。只要这种贸易能够在没有任何英国干预的情况下进行，它对法国及其盟国就一定比英国的贸易有利得多，因为美国的贸易一方面包括进口法国和西班牙西印度群岛的产品，另一方面包括出口德国的工业产品，这些产品甚至能够在美国与英国货物成功竞争。但是，拿破仑有着一个根深蒂固的想法，而且这个想法很快就变成了法令的庄严形式，即几乎所有的纺织品和一些种类的殖民地货物实际上都是英国的，不管它们如何伪装，所有的海上贸易货物至少是 "可疑的"。因此，他认为几乎所有汉萨同盟的海上贸易都是对英国的重要利益；情况确实如此，即使其不是占主导地位，至少也有很大作用。

As early as November 19, 1806, two days before the issue of the Berlin decree, therefore, Marshal Mortier seized Hamburg without further ado ; and two days later (November 21) Frenchtroops likewise occupied Bremen and the Weser down to its mouth. Meanwhile, Lubeck had been taken by force as early as November 6, after Blucher had thrown himself into the town with his Prussian troops. Acting in accordance with his instructions, Mortier immediately ordered in Hamburg a statement to be made out of all money and goods arising from trade connexions with England. And in a magniloquent diplomatic note to the, Senate of Hamburg, Napoleon’s notorious exsecretary and then minister there, Bourrienne, a few days later (November 24) gave as a motive of the measure the Emperor’s feeling of obligation ‘ to seek to safeguard the Continent against themisfortunes withwhich it is threatened’ through the machinations of England, inasmuch as a large number of the inhabitants of Hamburg were notoriously devoted to England ; and at the same time he emphasized the regulations of the Berlin decree. By an ordinance of December 2, and by letter after letter, Napoleon laid down, modified and intensified the customs cordon which was to be created along the entire North Sea coast and the river Elbe as far as Travemunde by a large military force operating in conjunction with the customs staff.

因此，早在1806年11月19日，即柏林法令发布的前两天，莫蒂尔元帅就毫不犹豫地占领了汉堡；两天后（11月21日），法国军队也同样占领了不来梅和威悉河的河口。与此同时，早在11月6日，布卢赫带着他的普鲁士部队进入该镇后，就已经用武力占领了卢贝克。莫迪埃按照布卢赫的指示行事，立即下令在汉堡对与英国贸易联系产生的所有金钱和货物作出声明。几天后（11月24日），拿破仑臭名昭著的前秘书和当时的汉堡部长布瑞纳在给汉堡参议院的一份华丽的外交照会中，皇帝的义务感是采取这一措施的动机，即有义务“寻求保护欧洲大陆免受遭到英国阴谋威胁的命运”，因为众所周知，汉堡的大量居民都对英国忠心耿耿。同时，他还强调了柏林法令的规定。通过12月2日的一项法令和一封又一封的信件，拿破仑规定修改并加强了海关警戒线，该警戒线将由一支与海关工作人员共同行动的大型军队沿整个北海海岸和易北河建立，一直到特拉维蒙德。

## **CHAPTER III**

## **第三章**

## **BRITISH COUNTER-MEASURES AND FRENCH RETORT**

## **英国的反制措施和法国的回击**

## **POSSIBLE LINES OF BRITISH POLICY**

## **英国政策的可能方针**

THE immediate question, after the bomb which Napoleon had exploded, was what attitude Great Britain would assume toward the new blow directed against the very foundation of her trade and industry. We are confronted here with one of the points in the history of the Continental System which both at that time and later have been most often misunderstood

在拿破仑引爆炸弹之后，眼前的问题是，英国将对针对其贸易和工业基础的新打击采取什么态度。我们在这里遇到了大陆体系的历史的一个问题，这个问题在当时和后来都常常被误解。

Napoleon’s intention was to strangle British trade with the Continent. The most natural counterblow of Great Britain in resisting this attempt at strangulation, and one in strict accord with the conceptions of those times, was to maintain the connexion with the Continent in every conceivable way. Nor is there any doubt that this was in reality the main line of action pursued by her, that is to say, chiefly by the British merchants and manufacturers. Consequently, the main economic conflict lay between the French measures of self-blockade and the British endeavours to break through that blockade. But the efforts of the British public authorities along this positive line, which was in reality the decisive one, were very much restricted by natural causes, over and above the extremely important fundamental condition created by the supremacy of the British fleet at sea. And with the usual inclination of mankind in the sphere of economics to attach too great importance to state’ measures and very little importance to the work of economic machinery itself, the main stress has been laid on obvious but in reality subordinate matters. It is by no means intended to. follow the same cour6e in this book ; but what, from a deeper point of view, were the decisive matters on the British side do not belong-for reasons at which we have just hinted-to the external course of the Continental System and must therefore be left over for a later treatment.

拿破仑的意图是要扼杀英国与欧洲大陆的贸易。英国在抵制这种扼杀的企图时，最自然的反击，也是与那个时代的观念完全一致的反击，就是以一切可以想象的方式保持与大陆的联系。毫无疑问，这实际上是她所追求的主要行动路线，换言之，主要是英国商人和制造商所追求的。因此，主要的经济冲突在于法国的自我封锁措施和英国为突破这一封锁所做的努力。但是，英国政府当局沿着这条实际上有着决定性作用的积极路线所做的努力，在很大程度上受到了自然原因的限制，这种限制甚至超过了英国舰队在海上的霸权所创造的重要的基本条件。由于人们在经济领域通常倾向于过于重视国家措施，而不重视经济机制本身的工作，所以主要强调的是显而易见但实际上是次要的事项。我们绝不打算在本书中采用同样的方法；但是，从更深的角度来看，英国方面的决定性事项不属于我们刚刚暗示过的大陆体系的外部进程，因此必须留待以后处理。

It is true that one might regard one British measure as a positive counterblow, that is, an effort to compel the enemy,by economic or other pressure, to revoke his self-blockade decree. In form, indeed, this is what was attempted, inasmuch as all measures on both sides were represented as acts of reprisal, that is to say, as being caused by the aggressions of the enemy and as being intended to lead him into better ways. In the English official language the declared object was ‘to restrain the violence of the enemy and to retort upon him the evils ofi his own injustice ’, as it was expressed in the Order in Council) of January 7, 1807. And undoubtedly these declarations were in many cases seriously meant. But if such pressure was to be exerted in the sphere of economics, it almost necessarily had to take the opposite form to penetrating into the continental market: it had to be an effectual (;.e., import-preventing) blockade of the Continent. And this, as we well know, was just what people would not think of doing, for it would have implied, as was indeed said in Parliament, ‘ that France had shut the door against our commerce and that we had bolted it.’ AIthough this idea came up time and again, everything else contributed to put these positive counter-measures aside : Napoleon’s obstinacy, which held out small hopes of any change in his tactics ; the slight prospects of giving any appreciable strength to such pressure; and the direct disadvantages thereof for Great Britain’s own industrial life. As before, therefore, nothing more was possible than a mere gesture, which was contradicted by every detail of actual trade life

诚然，人们可以把英国的一项措施看作是积极的反击，也就是说，通过经济或其他压力迫使敌人撤销其自我封锁的法令。从形式上看，这确实是一种回击的尝试，因为双方的所有措施都被说成是报复行为，也就是说，是由敌人的侵略造成的，措施的目的是为了引导敌人采取更好的方式。正如1807年1月7日的枢密院令所表述的那样，在英国官方语言中，宣布的目标是 "抑制敌人的暴力，并对其不公正的行为进行报复"。毫无疑问，这些声明在许多情况下是认真的。但是，如果要在经济领域施加这种压力，它几乎必须采取与渗透到大陆市场相反的形式：它必须是对大陆的有效（即阻止进口）封锁。而这，正如我们所知道的，这正是人们不会想到的，因为正如在议会中所说的那样，这将意味着“法国已经对我们的商业关上了门，而我们已经闩上了门”。虽然这个想法一再出现，但其他一切都促使人们把这些积极的反措施放在一边：拿破仑的顽固不化，使他的战术发生任何改变的希望渺茫；从这种压力中获得任何优势的前景微弱；以及它对英国自己的工业生活的直接不利因素。因此，和以前一样，这只可能是一个简单的姿态，而这一姿态与实际贸易生活的每一个细节都是相矛盾的。

But by the side not only of attempting to break through the blockade, but also of placing obstacles in the way of imports with the object of bringing economic pressure to bear, there was a third, a negative line, namely, to try to injure the trade of France and her allies in the same way as Napoleon had sought to injure that of Great Britain. In other words, it was intended to cut off their exports, and in that way, according to the then prevailing view, to undermine the possibility of their’ economic prosperity, just as Napoleon intended to do as regards England. It was ‘ the policy of commercial rivalry ’, as distinct from the policy of retaliation, to use Canning’s expression.This could not create direct pressure, such as would compel the annulling of a self-blockade ; but its purpose, here as on the opposite side, would have been a slow weakening of the enemy financially and economically. This third line, however, clearly led to measures quite different from those of the second line, that is to say, not to a cutting-off of the supplies of the Continent, but to an attack on the trade of the Continent, and especially on its exports.

但是，英国不仅试图突破封锁，而且还在进口的道路上设置障碍，目的是施加经济压力。同时还有第三条，即消极的路线，即试图以拿破仑意图损害英国贸易的同样方式损害法国及其盟国的贸易。换句话说，它的目的是切断他们的出口，并以这种方式，根据当时流行的观点，破坏他们经济繁荣的可能性，就像拿破仑打算对英国做的那样。用坎宁的话说，这是 "商业竞争政策"，有别于报复政策。这不可能产生直接的压力，如迫使取消自我封锁；但它的目的，在这里和在对面一样，会在财政和经济上慢慢削弱敌人。然而，这第三条路线显然导致了与第二条路线完全不同的措施，也就是说，不是切断欧洲大陆的供应，而是攻击欧洲大陆的贸易，特别是攻击其出口。

This third line was, of course, quite in accordance with the general tendency we know, and to that extent had possibilities quite different from those of the second line. But the actual conditions strictly limited this third line too, in a way even more strictly than the former, simply because England’s . fourteen-year-old supremacy on the sea had not left much of the independent maritime trade with the Continent ; and even during peace time, moreover, that trade had had nothing like the same importance for the continental states as British trade had for Great Britain. With these three lines, however, the possibilities of state counter-measures were all but exhausted. From this it follows that the political measures of Great Britain against Napoleon’s Continental decree were not, as a whole, of primary importance for the issue of the economic trial of strength. In order to make the connexion clear, however, we must enter into a somewhat detailed study of the nature of British policy ; and this is in every respect so peculiar and casts so much light on the driving forces, that such an investigation well repays itself, even apart from the international consequences of the British measures and reaction of these consequences on the economic conflict itself.

当然，这第三条路线完全符合我们所知道的一般趋势，而且在这个程度上，它的可能性与第二条路线的可能性完全不同。但实际情况也严格限制了这第三条路线，甚至比前一条路线更严格。原因很简单：英国十四年来的海上霸主地位没有给大陆留下多少独立的海上贸易；而且，即使在和平时期，这种贸易对大陆国家的重要性也不像英国贸易对英国的重要性那样。然而，这三条线几乎耗尽了国家反制措施的可能性。由此可见，英国针对拿破仑的大陆法令所采取的政治措施，从整体上看，对经济实力的考验问题并不重要。然而，为了明确两者之间的联系，我们必须对英国政策的性质进行某种程度的详细研究；其在各个方面都是如此独特，并深刻反映出当时的驱动力。因此即使不考虑英国措施的国际后果以及这些后果对经济冲突本身的反应，这样的研究也是值得的。

What was possible and remained to be done by means of state measures on the part of Great Britain had chiefly to do with colonial trade, and especially with the part played by the neutrals in that trade. In order that this may be comprehensible, however, it is necessary to turn back a little and glance at the connexion between the mainland of Europe and the colonies, especially the West Indies, during the war period down to 1807

英国通过国家措施所能做的和有待做的，主要是与殖民地贸易有关，特别是与中立国在这种贸易中所扮演的角色有关。然而，为了使这一点能够被理解 ，有必要回过头来看一下欧洲大陆和殖民地，特别是西印度群岛之间在战争期间直至1807年的关系

## **COLONIAL CARRYING TRADE**

## **殖民地承运贸易**

The central point in the colonial trade at this time was formed by the West Indies, especially in their capacity as sugar producers ; and among these the French and Spanish islands, especially Haiti and Cuba, were distinctly superior to the British islands, Jamaica, and the rest. The trade to the West Indian possessions of Napoleon and his Spanish ally, therefore, was regarded almost as the great prize of maritime commerce, which was sought after by the neutrals with the eager support of the European mother countries so long as they were powerless on the sea, while Great Britain wished to make ‘use of her power to win this prize for herself. It is true that the foremost colony of all, Haiti, or, more correctly, its western or French third, St. Domingue, had suffered immensely from the many negro insurrections ever since the first years of the revolutionary wars ; but sufficient was left to arouse the desire for gain. Furthermore, the remaining French coloniesGuadeloupe and Martinique in the West Indies, Guiana on the South American continent, Isle-de-France (now known as Mauritius) and Rkunion and Senegal in Africa-were somewhat less damaged by the course of events during the war, while the Spanish possessions seem, on the evidence of outside witnesses, not to have suffered seriously. The country which lay handy to seize the trade with all these territories-which trade was jealously guarded in peace time-was clearly the United States. The latter had just begun its independent political existence and was seeking ways which might lead them away from the exclusive economic connexion with Great Britain that had been created and maintained during the colonial period. In this way there arose a triangular trade which was highly important for the Atlantic states of the American Union. Vessels proceeded with corn and timber to the French and Spanish West Indies, took on colonial goods there, especially sugar and coffee, which they conveyed to the European Continent, after which they returned, principally in ballast, but partly also with European industrial products. The balance of assets which the American merchants thus obtained on the Continent was used to liquidate the country's balance of liabilities to Great Britain for its textiles and iron goods, which continued to dominate the American market ; but a considerable part of it was also re-exported to the rest of America, chiefly the French and Spanish West Indies themselves.

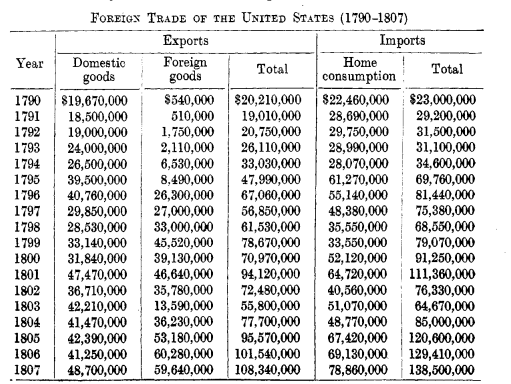
此时殖民地贸易的核心是西印度群岛，特别是因为它们具有生产糖的能力；在这些岛屿中，法国和西班牙的岛屿，特别是海地和古巴，明显优于英国的岛屿，牙买加和其他国家。因此，拿破仑和他的西班牙盟友对西印度群岛的贸易几乎被视为海上贸易的巨大奖赏，只要欧洲母国在海上无能为力，它们就会在欧洲母国的热切支持下寻求这一奖赏，而英国则希望利用其力量为自己赢得这一奖赏。诚然，所有殖民地中最重要的海地，或者更正确地说，海地的西部——法国的第三块殖民地圣多明戈，自革命战争的最初几年以来，因许多黑人叛乱而遭受了巨大的损失；但留下的东西足以唤起人们对利益的渴望。此外，其余的法国殖民地 ，西印度群岛的瓜德罗普岛和马提尼克岛，南美大陆的圭亚那，法兰西岛（现称毛里求斯）以及非洲的留尼汪岛和塞内加尔，在战争期间受到的损害较小，而根据外部证人的证据，西班牙的属地似乎没有受到严重影响。在和平时期，与所有这些领土进行贸易的国家——这种贸易在和平时期受到严密保护——美国最为突出。此时美国刚刚开始其独立的政治存在，并且正在寻求可能使他们摆脱与英国的专属经济联系的方法——这种联系是在殖民时期建立和维持的。就这样，出现了一种对美利坚合众国的大西洋各州来说非常重要的三角贸易。船只带着玉米和木材前往法国和西班牙的西印度群岛，在那里接收殖民地货物，特别是糖和咖啡，并将其运往欧洲大陆，然后返回。运送的主要是压舱物，但也有一部分是欧洲工业产品。美国商人在欧洲大陆获得的资产余额被用来清偿其对英国的纺织品和铁制品的债务余额，这些产品继续主导着美国市场；但其中相当一部分也被再出口到美洲其他地区，主要是法国和西班牙西印度群岛本身。

The whole of this trade was in conflict with the ' rule of 1756 ',I and, therefore, could not be tolerated in principle by Great Britain. But as the rule was interpreted during the revolutionary wars proper by the great legal authority, the British Judge of Admiralty, Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell-still to-day the great name in the sphere of the law of war at sea-it offered various possibilities to the neutrals, and particularly to Americans. Especially in the famous case of the Immanuel (1799) he elaborated the idea, on the one hand, that the neutrals could make no claim whatever to trade with enemy colonies during war, because those colonies, owing to the Old Colonial System, had been as inaccessible to them before the war as if they had been situated in the moon, and had been thrown open to trade only through the British naval victories. But, on the other hand, he also emphasized the fact that these prohibitions on trade in the products of enemy colonies held good only so long as those products had not formed part of a neutral country's stock of goods ; and this he developed further in the case of the Polly in the following year, to the effect that the evidence of such a ' neutralization ' should consist in the unloading of the goods in a neutral port and there passing them through the customs. Such a demand for what was called a ' broken voyage ' was not difficult to fulfil, so much the less because the geographical position of the West Indies made it possible, with very little loss of time, for a vessel to put in at an American mainland port, especially Charleston, South Carolina, on its way to Europe. It was undoubtedly with full intention that the American government facilitated the matter by granting permission that when the goods were passed through the customs payment should be made by bond, and that practically the whole of the duty, with a very small exception (3.5 per cent.), should be paid back on re-export. Consequently, the customs' treatment furnished the smallest possible guaranty that the goods had passed into neutral trade. When the unloading of the goods was required, the vessels had the possibility of going to a ship-building port in New England and using the time for the completion of repairs while the cargo was being discharged and reloaded. The trip thus became a ' circuitous voyage '.

整个贸易与 "1756年规则 "相冲突，因此，英国原则上不能容忍。但在革命战争期间，伟大的法律权威——英国海军部法官威廉·斯科特爵士，即后来的斯托威尔勋爵，至今仍是海上战争法领域的伟大人物——对这一规则进行了解释，为中立国，特别是美国人提供了各种可能性。特别是在著名的以马内利案（1799年）中，他一方面阐述了这样的观点：中立国在战争期间不能对与敌方殖民地的贸易提出任何要求，因为出于旧的殖民制度，这些殖民地在战前对他们来说就像位于月球上一样无法进入，只有通过英国海军的胜利才会对贸易开放。但另一方面，他也强调，只有当敌方殖民地的产品没有成为中立国货物库存的一部分时，对这些产品的贸易禁令才有效；第二年，他在波利号的案例中进一步发展了这一点，大意是这种"中立化 "的证据应该包括在中立港口卸货并通过海关。这种所谓的 "中断航行 "的要求并不难实现，更何况西印度群岛的地理位置使得船只在前往欧洲的途中可以在美国本土的港口，特别是南卡罗来纳州的查尔斯顿停靠，而不会损失多少时间。毫无疑问，美国政府完全是出于这样的考虑，允许在货物通过海关时以保证金的方式付款，而且除了极小的例外（3.5%），几乎所有的关税都应在再出口时偿还。因此，海关的处理方式为货物进入中立贸易提供了尽可能小的保证。当需要卸货时，船只有可能前往新英格兰的一个造船港，在卸货和重新装货时利用时间完成修理。因此，这次旅行变成了 "迂回的航行"。

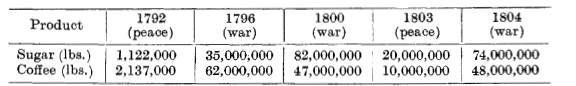
The result of this peculiar manipulation may be illustrated in many ways. During the years of war the foreign trade of the United States underwent an extraordinary increase, while " in the short peace interval there was an immediate decline ; and, the character of the trade is shown by the quite unique excess of re-exports, i.e., the exports of foreign products. It is true that the figures are not in all respects above dispute, but they are sufficiently reliable to merit reproduction.

这种特殊的操纵方式的结果可以用许多方式来说明。在战争年代，美国的对外贸易经历了非同寻常的增长，而 "在短暂的和平时期，立即出现了下降；而且，贸易的特点由相当独特的再出口，即外国产品的出口所表明。诚然，这些数字并非在所有方面都无可争议，但它们足够可靠，有引用的价值。



We see here how the exports of foreign goods jumped from almost nothing to amounts which, at the close of the 'nineties, far exceeded the exports of domestic goods, and then during the peace year 1802-3 fell to little more than one-fourth of the amount for the last war year, but immediately after the outbreak of the new war rose to nearly half as much again as the exports of domestic goods in 1806. The following figures (given by Mahan) showing the exports to Europe of the two most important West Indian products during the few typical war years and peace years are also highly illuminative.

在这里，我们看到外国商品的出口是如何从几乎一无所有跃升到90年代末远远超过国内商品的出口，然后在1802-1803和平年下降到上一个战争年的四分之一多一点，但在新的战争爆发后立即上升到1806年的国内商品出口的近一半。以下数字（由马汉提供）显示了在几个典型的战争年和和平年期间，西印度群岛两种最重要的产品对欧洲的出口情况，也具有很强的启发性。



It may also be of interest to form a more graphic picture of this trade than can be given by figures. A sketch by the American historian, Professor McMaster, gives a mere summary of the abundant data, based on proceedings in prize-court cases as found in Stephen's book to which we have so often had occasion to refer :

对这一行业进行比数字更生动的描述可能也是有意义的。美国历史学家麦克马斯特教授的简述仅仅是对大量数据的总结，这些数据是根据斯蒂芬的书中发现的奖励法庭案件的诉讼程序得出的，我们经常有机会提到这本书：

*The merchant flag of every belligerent, save England, disappeared from the sea. France and Holland absolutely ceased to trade under their flags. Spain for a while continued to transport her specie and her bullion in her own ships, protected by her men-of-war. But this, too, she soon gave up, and by 1806 the dollars of Mexico and the ingots of Peru were brought to her shores in American bottoms. It was under our (the American) flag that the gum t.rade was carried on with Senegal, that, the sugar trade was carried on with Cuba, that coffee was exported from Caracas, and hides and indigo from South America.' From Vera Cruz, from Cartagena, from La Plata, from the French colonies in the Antilles, from Cayenne, from Dutch Guiana, from the isles of Mauritius and Reunion, from Batavia and Manila, great fleets of American merchantmen sailed to the United States, there to neutralize the voyage and then go on to Europe. They filled the warehouses at Cadiz and Antwerp to overflowing. They glutted the markets of Emden, Lisbon, Hamburg and Copenhagen with the produce of the West Indies and the fabrics of the East, and, bringing back the products of the looms and forges of Germany to the new world, drove out the manufactures of Yorkshire, Manchester and Birmingham.*

*除英国外，每个交战国的商旗都从海上消失了。法国和荷兰完全停止了以其旗帜进行贸易。西班牙有一段时间继续用自己的船只运输其货币和金银，并由其海军士兵保护。但是，她也很快放弃了这一做法，到1806年，墨西哥的美元和秘鲁的金块被装在美国的船底运到她的海岸。正是在我们（美国）的旗帜下，进行着与塞内加尔的树胶贸易，与古巴的糖贸易，从加拉加斯出口的咖啡，从南美出口的皮革和靛蓝。从维拉克鲁斯，从卡塔赫纳，从拉普拉塔，从安的列斯群岛的法国殖民地，从卡宴，从荷属圭亚那，从毛里求斯和留尼旺岛，从巴达维亚和马尼拉，大量的美国商船船队驶向美国，在那里进行中立国航行，然后继续前往欧洲。他们把加的斯和安特卫普的仓库塞得满满的。他们用西印度群岛的产品和东方的织物充斥着埃姆登、里斯本、汉堡和哥本哈根的市场，并将德国的织布机和锻造厂的产品带回新世界，赶走了约克郡、曼彻斯特和伯明翰的制造业。*

*It was not to be expected that the British would look upon this development with approval. It took from them the trade with the enemy colonies, conveyed the products of these colonies to the enemy mother countries or gave them profitable sales in neutral markets, and consequently subjected the goods of the British colonies to an unwelcome competition on the Continent and at the same time created a market in America for the industrial products of the Continent which competed with those of Great Britain herself. Moreover, the shipping of the neutrals was considered to cause an enviable activity in the enemy ports ; and, finally, it was considered to increase Napoleon’s military power by relieving him of the necessity of providing convoys, which would have been necessary if the connexions had been provided by the French mercantile marine, and also by freeing him from the cares of supplying his colonies. These last matters implied a situation which the British would certainly have deprecated for their own part and which was also anything but welcome to Napoleon himself ; but the other aspects of the situation involved many things which were bound to tempt Great Britain to interfere*

*我们不能指望英国人会对这一发展表示赞同。它夺走了与敌方殖民地的贸易，将这些殖民地的产品运往敌方母国，或在中立市场上进行有利可图的销售，从而使英国殖民地的商品在欧洲大陆受到不受欢迎的竞争，同时也为欧洲大陆的工业产品在美洲创造了一个与英国自己的产品竞争的市场。此外，中立国的航运被认为在敌方港口引起了令人羡慕的活动；最后，它被认为增加了拿破仑的军事力量，因为法国不必再提供护航，如果由法国商船提供联系，就必须提供护航，而且还可以使他摆脱向其殖民地供货的烦恼。最后这些事情意味着英国人肯定会对自己的处境感到不满，而且对拿破仑本人来说也是不受欢迎的；但在其他方面，情况涉及到许多必然会诱使英国进行干涉的事情。*

However, the British measures against the colonial trade of the Americans were comparatively mild for several years after the draconic law of November 6, 1793, regarding the confiscation of all vessels carrying products of the French colonies or conveying supplies to them had been revoked within two months. The absence of consistently maintained blockade declarations against the enemy colonies is especially striking. The instructions of 1794, 1798, and 1803, which we have previously mentioned,aimed mainly at preventing only direct intercourse between the enemy mother countries and their colonies, and also, in the case of that of 1798, at drawing the trade through British ports. Beyond that, they wished to tolerate trade only in ‘free goods ’, that is to say, goods which had passed into neutral hands. Thus the instructions of 1794 forbade direct intercourse between the port of an enemy colony and a European port, as well as trade in products which continued to be French property, while the instructions of 1’798 allowed even direct intercourse with Europe provided a call was made at a European port belonging to Great Britain or the home country of the vessel. The instructions of 1803 introduced a certain modification of this, in that, curiously enough, a British port is no longer approved but only a port in the vessel’s home country ; and it is further laid down that the gopds must belong to a citizen of the same country. Especially during the first years after the new outbreak of war in 1803 the treatment of the neutrals, both Americans and Danes, was unusually mild and their shipping was little disturbed. The number of captured vessels incorporated with the British merchant fleet was also smaller in the years 1803-6 than it was in the preceding or following years.

然而，在1793年11月6日关于没收所有运载法国殖民地产品或向其输送物资的船只的恶法在两个月内被撤销后，英国针对美国人的殖民地贸易的措施相对温和了几年。对敌方殖民地没有一贯坚持的封锁宣言，这一点尤其引人注目。我们之前提到的1794年、1798年和1803年的指示，主要是为了防止敌国母国和其殖民地之间的直接交往，而且，在1798年的指示中，也是为了吸引贸易通过英国港口。除此之外，他们希望只容忍 "自由货物 "的贸易，也就是说，已经落入中立国手中的货物。因此，1794年的指示禁止敌国殖民地的港口与欧洲港口之间的直接交往，以及继续属于法国财产的产品的贸易，而1798年的指示甚至允许与欧洲的直接交往，只要在属于英国的欧洲港口或船只的母国停靠。1803年的指示对此进行了一定的修改，奇怪的是，英国的港口不再被批准，而只是船只母国的港口；并且进一步规定，船只必须属于同一国家的公民。特别是在1803年新的战争爆发后的最初几年里，对中立国，包括美国人和丹麦人的待遇异常温和，他们的航运几乎没有受到干扰。在1803年至1806年期间，并入英国商船队的被俘船只数量也比之前或之后的年份要少。

The ‘ neutralization ’ of enemy property resulting from the trade war itself, as well as from Sir William Scott’s exposition of the law, assumed enormous proportions ; and Stephen’s book is full of characteristic and well-documented examples of the extent to which the regulations were evaded. These evasions, the number of which was legion, aimed at showing both that the trip was really (bona fide) begun in a neutral (American) port and that the goods were neutral property. With the former object new ship’s papers were procured in an American port, sometimes, indeed, a new crew ; in fact, there were occasions when two vessels exchanged cargoes so that they might both truthfully say that the cargo had been taken aboard in a neutral port. Moreover, separate insurances were taken for each trip, and the import duty was paid in the fictitious manner previously indicated.With regard to the neutral ownership of the cargoes, the most grotesque situations arose. In this connexion an extract from Stephen’s account, which is supported by references to the different legal cases, is well worth quoting :

贸易战本身以及威廉·斯科特爵士对法律的阐述所导致的敌方财产的大规模"中立化 "。斯蒂芬的书中充满了典型的、有据可查的例子，说明了法规被规避的程度。这些规避行为的数量非常多，其目的是表明旅行确实是在一个中立（美国）港口开始的，而且货物是中立的财产。为了达到前者的目的，他们在美国港口购买了新的船票，有时甚至购买了新的船员；事实上，有的时候，两艘船交换了货物，这样他们都可以如实地说，货物是在中立港口上船的。此外，每次航行都有单独的保险，进口税也是以前面提到的虚构方式支付的。关于货物的中立所有权，出现了最怪异的情况。在这方面，斯蒂芬的叙述中有一段摘录，其中提到了不同的法律案例，非常值得引用：

*Merchants who, immediately prior to the last war, were scarcely known, even in the obscure seaport towns at which they resided, have suddenly started up as sole owners of great numbers of ships, and sole proprietors of rich cargoes, which it would have alarmed the wealthiest merchants of Europe to hazard at once on the chance of a market, even in peaceable times. A man who, at the breaking out of the war, was a petty shoemaker in a small town of East Friesland, had, at one time, a hundred and fifty vessels navigating as his property, under Prussian colours . . . The cargoes of no less than five East Indians, all composed of the rich exports of Batavia, together with three of the ships, were contemporary purchases, on speculation, of a single house at Providence in Rhode Island, and were all bound, as asserted, to that American port ; where, it is scarcely necessary to add, no demand for their cargoes existed. . . . Single ships have been found returning with bullion on board, to the value of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand Spanish dollars, besides valuable cargoes of other colonial exports. Yet even these daring adventurers have been eclipsed. One neutral house has boldly contracted for all the merchandize of the Dutch East India Company at Batavia, amounting in value to no less than one million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling.*

*在上一次战争之前，即使在他们居住的不起眼的海港城市中，也有几乎没有人知道的商人，突然成为大量船只的唯一拥有者和丰富货物的唯一拥有者，即使在和平时期，欧洲最富有的商人也会因为市场的机会而立即感到震惊。在战争爆发时，一个在东弗里斯兰的一个小镇上做小鞋匠的人，一度有一百五十艘挂着普鲁士的旗帜的船作为他的财产在航行……巴达维亚丰富的出口货物包括不少于五名东印度群岛人的货物，并且船队中三艘船，是在罗德岛普罗维登斯的一所房子的投机交易中购买的当代货物，而且都是如所宣称的那样，开往美国港口。几乎没必要补充的是，那里对他们的货物没有需求……人们发现，除了宝贵的其他殖民地出口货物外，还有单艘船载着金银返回，价值从十万到十五万西班牙元不等。然而，即使是这些大胆的冒险家也不是最极端的。一家中立机构大胆地承包了荷兰东印度公司在巴达维亚的所有商品，价值不少于一百七十万英镑。*

All this led, in the spring of 1805, to an alteration in the practice of the British law courts, which considerably damaged the possibilities of the American carrying trade. The highest British prize court, the Prize Appeal Court of the Privy Council, in the famous case of the ship Essex with its cargo from Barcelona to Salem, Massachusetts, and thence to Havana, declared both the vessel and the cargo forfeited, despite the fact that the latter had been unloaded and passed through the custom-house in the usual way in the Americm port (May 22). This precedent was immediately followed by two others in the Admiralty Court, whereby the intention of eluding the regulations was declared to be decisive as against the external criteria. At the same time the British' went a more direct way to the end of obtaining control over the American colonies of the enemy, namely, by passing a series of laws which were promulgated in April and June 1805, and in July 1806. These were intended to encourage the importation of the products of those colonies either direct to England by licence or to the British West Indies, either to sixteen free ports established there or, with somewhatless liberty and on the basis of a licence, to other islands, with a somewhat varying right to be forwarded to the British home country. At the same time permission was given to send a return cargo from the British to the foreign colonies. To the sixteen free ports importation might be made in small vessels of any nationality whatsoever, that is to say, even of enemy nationality.

这一切导致在1805年春天，英国法院的做法发生了变化，这大大损害了美国运输贸易的可能性。英国最高捕获法庭，即枢密院有奖上诉法院，在著名的埃塞克斯号船及其货物从巴塞罗那前往马萨诸塞州的塞勒姆，然后到哈瓦那的案件中，宣布该船和货物都被没收，尽管后者在美国港口已经卸货并按常规方式通过了海关（5月22日）。在这个典例之后，海事法庭又有另外两个相似的案件，据此，逃避法规的意图被宣布为对外部标准的决定性因素。同时，英国以更直接的方式达到控制敌人的美洲殖民地的目的，即通过了一系列的法律，这些法律在1805年4月和6月以及1806年7月颁布。这些法律旨在鼓励这些殖民地的产品通过许可证直接进口到英国，或者进口到英属西印度群岛，或者在那里建立的16个自由港，或者在许可证的基础上，以较少的自由度进口到其他岛屿，并有一定程度的权利被转送到英国本土。同时，还允许从英国向外国殖民地运送回程货物。在这16个自由港，任何国籍的小船都可以从其进口，也就是说，即使是敌国的船只也可以进口。

This new application of the law as regards ‘ circuitous voyages ’ aroused a great deal of feeling in t,he United States, and in April 1806, led to an American counter-measure ; and at the same time there were issued the British blockade declarations concerning the North Sea coast and the English Channel on which we have previously touched. The most important of these in all respects was the blockade which was proclaimed on May 16, 1806, on the initiative of the then British foreign secretary, the celebrated Whig politician, Charles James Fox. This created a strictly blockaded region between Ostend and the mouth of the Seine-that is to say, practically Havre-and also two less strictly blockaded regions to the north and to the south thereof-from Ostend to the Elbe and from the mouth of the Seine to Brest, respectively. Neutral vessels were conceded the right to call at the ports on the last two stretches, on condition that their goods were not contraband of war and did not belong to enemy subjects, and on the further condition that they had not been loaded in an enemy port and were not, to begin with, bound to such a port.

这种关于 "迂回航行 "的新法律应用在美国引起了很大的反响，并在1806年4月导致了美国的反措施；与此同时，英国发布了关于北海海岸和英吉利海峡的封锁宣言，我们在前面已经提到过。其中最重要的是1806年5月16日宣布的封锁，是由当时的英国外交大臣、知名的辉格政治家查尔斯·詹姆斯·福克斯倡议的。这在奥斯坦德和塞纳河口之间建立了一个严格的封锁区——也就是说，实际上是哈弗尔，在其北部和南部也有两个不太严格的封锁区——分别从奥斯坦德到易北河和从塞纳河口到布雷斯特。中立船只被允许在后两段的港口停靠，条件是它们的货物不是战争违禁品，也不属于敌方国民，还有一个条件是它们没有在敌方港口装过货，而且一开始就没有被约束到这样的港口。

Like most of the British blockade regulations, this was very obscure ; and it is not known to me how it was applied during the remainder of the year. Mahan’s view that it liberated neutrals from the obligation laid down in the Essex case, honestly to import the goods of the enemy colonies before they were again exported to Europe, i: not very satisfactory as an interpretation of the law ; for the condition was absolutely binding by the‘ rule of 1756 ’, even irrespective of the question whether any blockade had been ordered, and consequently it could not be regarded as annulled by the fact that the blockade had been made less strict on certain stretches.

像大多数英国封锁条例一样，这条规定非常模糊；我不知道它在这一年的剩余时间里是如何应用的。马汉的观点是，它使中立国摆脱了埃塞克斯案中规定的义务，即在敌方殖民地的货物再次出口到欧洲之前，诚实地进口这些货物。作为对法律的解释，这种观点并不令人满意；因为根据 "1756年规则"，即使不考虑是否已下令封锁的问题，这一条件也具有绝对的约束力，因此，不能因为封锁在某些地方不那么严格而将其视为无效。

Both in Great Britain herself and also in America and on the Continent of Europe, indeed, these different British measures during the years 1805 and 1806, especially the new exposition of the law in the prize courts, were regarded as serious blows against the neutral carrying trade. But the A.merican trade statistics given above do not point to this. On the contrary, they show a higher figure for exports of colonial goods during 1806 than during the year before or after; and the figures relating to captures do not show any considerable rise until the following year. It is possible, therefore, that in reality the application of the measures was such as Mahan has laid down. In any case: it may surely be considered clear that during 1806 Great Britain did not get rid of the neutral trade of which she disapproved or put an end to the advantages which, from a British point of view, this trade afforded to the enemy part of the Continent.

事实上，无论是在英国本身，还是在美洲和欧洲大陆，英国在1805年和1806年的这些不同措施，特别是在捕获法庭上对法律的新阐述，都被视为对中立国运输贸易的严重打击。但上面给出的美国贸易统计数据并没有指出这一点。相反，它们显示1806年的殖民地货物出口数字高于之前或之后的年份；而与捕获有关的数字直到第二年才显示出任何可观的增长。因此，在现实中，这些措施的应用有可能像马汉所规定的那样。在任何情况下：可以肯定的是，在1806年期间，英国并没有摆脱她不赞成的中立贸易，也没有结束从英国的角度来看，这种贸易给欧洲大陆的敌人带来的好处。

Then, at the close of the year, came Napoleon’s Continental decree. Owing to the enormous emphasis with which it was proclaimed, as well as to the measures by which it was followed, this gave a tangible occasion for the discussion of new measures chiefly against the neutrals. The ministry which came to power in Great Britain after Pitt’s death in January 1806, was under the leadership of Lord Grenville, who had for many years been Pitt’s foreign secretary and fellow worker ; and for the reason that it embraced many of the most gifted politicians in the country, it is known in history as the ‘ Ministry of All the Talents ’. The foreign secretary at the start was Fox, the most Francophile of all British statesmen, and, after his death in the middle of September, the future leader of the Whig Party, the then Lord Howick, but better known under his later title of Earl Grey. This government was not inclined toward forcible measures ; and the only British statesman after Pitt’s deathwho was to some extent equal to Napoleon, but who did not belong to the Talents Ministry, namely, George Canning, somewhat later said disparagingly that the Grenville measures against the Berlin decree ' partook of all the bad qualities of half-measures '.

然后，在这一年的年底，拿破仑的大陆法令颁布了。由于宣布该法令时的巨大压力，以及随后采取的措施，这为讨论主要针对中立国的新措施提供了切实的机会。皮特于1806年1月去世后，在英国上台的内阁由格林维尔勋爵领导，他多年来一直是皮特的外交秘书和同事；由于它囊括了国内许多最有天赋的政治家，因此在历史上被称为 "人才济济的内阁"。开始时的外交大臣是福克斯，他是所有英国政治家中最喜欢法语的人，而在他于9月中旬去世后，未来的辉格党领袖，当时的豪威克勋爵，但以他后来的头衔格雷伯爵更为人所知。这个政府并不倾向于采取强硬措施；皮特死后，唯一一位在某种程度上与拿破仑相当，但不属于塔利茨部的英国政治家，即乔治·坎宁，他后来有些不屑地说，格伦维尔针对柏林法令的措施'具有折中方法的所有不良品质'。

## **FIRST ORDER IN COUNCIL (JANUARY 7, 1807)**

## **1807年1月7日的议会中的首先的秩序**

However, Lord Howick's governmental measure turned out to be the first step in the British counteraction which was to occupy the thoughts of the whole world during the following five years. Like its successors, it assumed the form of a measure by the King in Council, without the co-operation of Parliament, and it was therefore, from the point of view of public law, an Order in Council. Hence, this term became afterwards in the popular mind almost a proper name for regulations of this kind. The first Order in Council was issued on January 7, 1807, or a month and a half after the Berlin decree.As a measure of reprisal against the Berlin decree and with the reference, previously quoted,to the necessity of ' restraining the violence of the enemy and to retort upon him the evils of his own injustice ', trade between enemy ports was entirely forbidden, and also trade between other ports at which the Berlin decree prevented English ships from calling. The members of the Grenville government afterwards maintained that this was only an application of the ' rule of 1756 ', which included a prohibition of coasting trade along the territory of the enemy. But if that had been the case, there would have been no use of asserting an intention of reprisal ; and the opponents of the governmente. g., Lord Eldon, the Lord Chancellor in the following Ministryalso observed that the order went outside the alleged principle, in that it prohibited, for instance, trade between French and Spanish ports. Trade between the enemy mother country andher colonies was forbidden as a matter of course, but this implied nothing new. On the other hand, as regards coasting trade proper, it was more difficult to get at than any other part of the enemy’s shipping, a point to which the domestic opponents of the government did not fail to call attention. On March 17, 1807, in a communication to J. G. Rist, the Danish charge d’affaires at London at the time, Lord Howick amplified this further by declaring that there was no objection to neutral vessels carrying cargo to an enemy port, thence going in ballast to another port, and then carrying cargo from this last port to the home country. It was just the flourishing Danish Mediterranean trade that was hit by the new law ; but apart from that the importance of the measure can not be regarded as great, except that to a certain extent it compromised the Whig Party with regard to the justifiability of measures of reprisal, and so far rendered difficult their position with regard to the more comprehensive measures of their successors in the same direction.

然而，豪威克勋爵的政府措施最终成为英国反击行动的第一步，而这一行动在接下来的五年中占据了整个世界的注意力。和它的后继者一样，它采用了国王在没有议会合作的情况下采取的措施的形式，因此从公法的角度来看，它是一项枢密院令。因此，这个词后来在大众心目中几乎成了这类法规的专有名词。第一个枢密院令于1807年1月7日发布，即在柏林法令发布一个半月后。作为对柏林法令的报复措施，并根据之前引用的 "限制敌人的暴力并对其进行报复 "的必要性，完全禁止敌人港口之间的贸易，以及柏林法令阻止英国船只停靠的其他港口之间的贸易。格林维尔政府的成员后来坚持认为，这只是 "1756年规则 "的应用，其中包括禁止在敌人的领土上进行沿海贸易。但如果是这样的话，就没有必要宣称有报复的意图；而政府的反对者 ，例如，下一届政府的大法官埃尔登勋爵 ，他们也注意到，该命令超出了所谓的原则，因为它禁止，例如，法国和西班牙港口之间的贸易。敌方母国和其殖民地之间的贸易被禁止是理所当然的，但这并不意味着什么新鲜事。另一方面，就沿海贸易本身而言，它比敌人航运的任何其他部分都更难获得，这一点政府的国内反对者没有不注意到的。1807年3月17日，豪威克勋爵在给当时丹麦驻伦敦代办：约翰·乔治·里斯特的信中进一步扩大了这一说法，宣称不反对中立船只将货物运到敌方港口，然后用压舱物运到另一个港口，再从这个最后的港口将货物运到本国。新法打击的只是丹麦繁荣的地中海贸易；但除此之外，这项措施的重要性不能说很大，只是在一定程度上损害了辉格党对报复措施的正当性的看法，并使他们对其继任者在同一方向上的更全面措施的立场变得困难。

It was quite natural, therefore, that those who were in favour of more forcible measures on the part of the government, either against Napoleon or against the neutrals, were not satisfied with the January order. In this connexion we have first to think of Stephen and his supporters, who, according to the later evidence of his opponent, Brougham, constitut,ed the great majority. It is true that Stephen’s book had appeared as far back as the autumn of 1805, or more than a year before the issue of the Berlin decree ; but there is nothing to indicate that either the man or his book had exerted any influence on the January order. The positive demands of Stephen are not quite clear, it is true ; but in any case they can not be regarded as having been satisfied by the measure of the Grenviue ministry, In many passages in his book Stephen assumes a negative attitude toward the thought of using the war as a pretext forcommercial advantages, which he calls ' a morbid excess of sensibility to immediate commercial profit ' ; and as a warning example to his countrymen he mentions the action of the Dutch, during a siege, of selling powder to the enemy, whereby, he says, they ' preferred their trade to their political safety '. In accordance with this,he adopts for the most part a purely naval standpoint and urges that the neutrals, with very few exceptions, should be entirely prevented from dealing with enemy countries and in enemy goods, and especially with enemy colonies. In that way the enemy would be compelled to carry on his trade himself and to fetter his naval forces by convoying trading vessels and protecting his colonies and providing them with supplies ; and by all these things the desired possibility of captures would also be secured to its fullest extent. Alongside all of this, however, we also find hints that more directly anticipate the following course of development, namely, that the goods of the enemy colonies might be conveyed to the British market and there taxed to such an extent as to prevent them from competing with those of the British colonies.

因此，那些赞成政府采取更强硬措施的人，无论是对拿破仑还是对中立国，都不满意一月的命令，这是很自然的。在这方面，我们首先要想到斯蒂芬和他的支持者，根据他的对手布鲁厄姆后来提供的证据，他们占了绝大多数。诚然，斯蒂芬的书早在1805年秋天就出现了，或者说在柏林法令发布前一年多就已经出现了；但没有任何迹象表明这个人或他的书对一月命令产生了任何影响。事实上，斯蒂芬的积极要求并不十分明确，但不管怎么说，他的要求没有被格伦维厄部的措施所满足。在他书中的许多段落中，斯蒂芬对利用战争作为商业利益的借口的想法持否定态度，他称这是“对眼前商业利益的病态过度敏感”。作为对他的同胞的警告，他提到了荷兰人在被围困期间向敌人出售火药的行为，他说，他们因此 "宁愿选择他们的贸易，也不愿选择他们的政治安全"。根据这一点，他在大多数情况下采取了纯粹的海军立场，并敦促中立国，除了极少数例外，应完全防止与敌国和敌国货物打交道，特别是与敌国殖民地进行交易。这样一来，敌人将被迫在自己的地盘进行贸易，并因为护送贸易船只和保护其殖民地并为其提供补给而限制其海军力量。所有这些事情，也将最大限度地确保所期望的捕获可能性。然而，在所有这些方面，我们还发现了一些暗示，这些暗示更直接地预示着下面的发展进程，即敌方殖民地的货物可能被运往英国市场，并在那里征税，以防止它们与英国殖民地的货物竞争。

Stephen was closely connected with the English Tory politician, Spencer Perceval, who as prime minister was in company with Stephen at the time of his assassination by a lunatic in 1812 ; and it was from Perceval that there came the first positive criticism of the January regulations, wiz., in the House of Commons on February 4, 1807. In his speech, too, we have the first complete explanation of the motives that lay behind the definitive Orders in Council ; and to judge by the speech it would seem that the detailed framing of those orders was due less to Stephen than to Perceval. The latter clearly takes his stand, from the very first, on what we have designated above as the ' third line ' of policy, namely,that of traderivalry. After a criticism of the January regulations he comes tmt he regards as two possible expedients for meeting the Berlin decree. The one would be ' to exclude certain necessary commerce ' from the territory of the enemy. But if this leads us to expect a plea for an effective blockade, we are immediately disabused; for it refers to the importation of French and Spanish colonial goods into France, with the object of at least making them dearer and thm strengthening the competitive power of the British goods. The alternative expedient, and the one which was to acquire practical importance, consists in the previously treated ‘ third line ’, namely, to turn the measures of France against herself by the order ‘ that no goods should be carried to France except they first touched at a British port. They might be forced to be entered at the custom-house and a certain entry fee imposed, which would contribute to enhance the price and give a better sale in the foreign market to your own commodities,’ It is scarcely necessary to point out how faithfully the previously traced economic tendency of maritime blockade is here expressed, with sales on the enemy market as a self-evident aim. The second of these concrete proposals is somewhat influenced by the instructions of 1798, which in their turn stand in a certain connexion with the entrep6d or ‘ old colonial ’ system.

斯蒂芬与英国保守党政治家斯宾塞·珀斯瓦尔关系密切，在1812年斯蒂芬被疯子暗杀时，他作为首相与斯蒂芬在一起；正是珀斯瓦尔在1807年2月4日在下议院对一月命令提出了第一次正面批评。在他的演讲中，我们也第一次完整地解释了枢密院最终命令背后的动机；从演讲中可以判断，这些命令的详细框架似乎不是由斯蒂芬而是由珀斯瓦尔制定的。后者从一开始就清楚地表明了他的立场，即我们在上面所说的政策的 "第三条路线"，也就是贸易竞争。在对一月命令进行批评之后，他认为有两种可能的权宜之计来满足柏林法令的规定。一个是 "将某些必要的贸易排除在敌人的领土之外"。但是，如果这让我们期待一个有效封锁的请求，我们又会马上被打消念头：因为它指的是将法国和西班牙的殖民地商品进口到法国，目的至少是使它们变得更贵，从而加强英国商品的竞争能力。另一个权宜之计，也是将获得实际重要性的一个权宜之计，实际上包含于前面提到的 "第三条路线"中，即通过命令"除非货物首先在英国港口抵达，否则不得将其运往法国。它们可能会被迫在海关入境，并收取一定的入境费，这将有助于提高价格，并使你们自己（英国）的商品在外国市场上更好地销售。"几乎没有必要指出，以前追踪到的海上封锁的经济趋势在这里得到了忠实的表达，进行在敌人市场上的销售是不言而喻的。这些具体建议中的第二个建议在某种程度上受到了1798年指示的影响，而这些指示又与企业或 "旧殖民地 "制度有着某种联系。

Perceval’s contribution to the discussion became of great practical importance owing to the fact that some few weeks later, in March 1807, the Grenville ministry resigned and was succeeded by a government with the Duke of Portland as a figurehead prime minister, Canning as foreign secretary, and Perceval himself as chancellor of the exchequer. The minister of finance soon found occasion to take up afresh the question of measures against the Berlin decree, and that occasion arose in the West Indian interest, which to some extent had also lain. behind Stephen’s action. A West Indian petition which had been presented to the House of Commons as early as February had been referred to a select committee, whose report was ordered to be printed in August. The report strongly emphasized the American trade between the enemy colonies and Europe as the cause of the fall in the price of sugar, and this was stated to have gone so far that it no longer covered even the expenses of cultivation except on the largest estates in the British West Indies. In the debate on this report Perceval promised a prompt treatment of the question. We may regardas a first step toward the fulfilment of this promise an Order in Council which was issued only a few days afterwards (August 19), whereby vessels sailing under thc flags of Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Papenburg, or Kniphausen were declared lawful prize if they touched at an enemy port unless they were going from or coming to a British port. As the colours of these somewhat dubious North German principalities were commonly used as neutral flags in the more risky cases, this measure implies a fisrt application of the new principle to a part of the pretended neutral trade.

接下来，珀斯瓦尔对讨论做出了重要贡献，因为几个星期后，即1807年3月，格伦维尔政府辞职，由波特兰公爵担任名义上的首相，坎宁担任外交大臣，珀斯瓦尔本人担任财政大臣的政府接任。财政部长很快发现有机会重新讨论反对柏林法令的措施问题，而这个机会是在西印度的利益中产生的，这在某种程度上也是斯蒂芬行动背后的原因。早在2月就提交给下议院的一份西印度请愿书被提交给一个特别委员会，该委员会的报告被命令在8月印刷。该报告强烈强调美国在敌方殖民地和欧洲之间的贸易是糖价下跌的原因，据说这已经到了除英属西印度群岛最大的庄园外，连种植费用都无法支付的程度。在关于这份报告的辩论中，珀斯瓦尔承诺将迅速处理这个问题。我们可以把几天后（8月19日）发布的一项枢密院命令视为履行这一承诺的第一步，根据该命令，悬挂梅克伦堡、奥尔登堡、帕彭堡或克尼普豪森旗帜的船只如果在敌方港口停靠，则被宣布为合法的战利品，除非它们来自或来到英国港口，因为在风险更大的情况下，这些有点可疑的北德公国的颜色通常被用作中立旗帜。这项措施意味着新原则首次适用于部分假装中立的贸易。

## **ORDERS IN COUNCIL (NOVEMBER 11-DECEMBER 18, 1807)**

## **1807年11月11日至12月18日的议会秩序**

The decisive step, however, was taken by three Orders in Council of November 11,1807, supplemented by one of November 18, five of November 25, and one of December 18 ; and to these there were afterwards added further new ones, so that in the end the number of them amounted to no less than twenty-four. It is this system of ordinances, and especially the fundamental ordinance of November 11, that formed the foundation of British policy during the following period-in form, it is true, only until the spring of 1809, but in reality until the collapse of the Continental System. It is also these, and not the January ordinance, that are usually meant when reference is made to the Orders in Council. They were further supplemented in the spring of 1808 by no fewer than six less important statutes governing such points of the system as could not be put into execution without the consent of Parliament

然而，1807年11月11日的三项枢密院令迈出了决定性的一步，并有11月18日的一项、11月25日的五项和12月18日的一项法令加以补充；此后，又有更多的新法令加入，因此，最终这些法令的数量不少于24项。正是这套法令体系，特别是11月11日的基本条例，构成了英国在接下来一段时间内的政策基础——在形式上只持续到1809年春天，但实际上作用直到大陆体系崩溃。在提到枢密院令时，人们通常指的也是这些法令，而不是1月的法令。1808年春天，这些法令又得到了不少于六项不太重要的法规的补充，这些法规规定了未经议会同意不能执行的制度要点。

It is truly anything but easy to explain the purport of this far-reaching complex of regulations. The Orders in Council, in particular, are marvels of obscurity and rambling. We find the same matter scattered over several ordinances, which seemedabsolutely to contradict one another, of the same day or with only a few days’ interval. This incomprehensibility not only holds good for the people of later generations, but also for the people of that time ; and the fogginess of the regulations was a standing butt for the jeers of the opposition. Thus, Lord Grenville declared his belief that the very persons who drafted them had scarcely understood their content; and he also alleged that four points in the same ordinance contained four contradictions, and that he was not a little proud of having been able to understand the connexion at last.The often confused and mutually conflicting explanations of the ministers did not, as a rule, help to clear matters ; and owing to the total lack of all special investigations, especially as to their connexion with general legislation regarding shipping and the colonies, certain points at the present time are not easy to interpret.But this does not apply to the general line of thought, which is quite clear ; and the pretended object of the measures can be distinguished without any considerable difficulty from their real objects. The fundamental idea is to be found practically in the germ as early as Perceval’s speech in February

要解释这套影响深远的复杂法规的目的，确实不容易。特别是枢密院的命令，充满着令人惊奇的模糊不清和杂乱无章。我们发现同样的问题分散在几项法令中，这些在同一天或仅间隔几天的时间内的法令似乎完全是相互矛盾的。这种不可理解性不仅对后世的人有效，而且对当时的人也有效；而法规的模糊不清是反对派嘲笑的一个常备手段。因此，格伦维尔勋爵宣称，他认为起草这些条例的人几乎没有理解其内容；他还声称，同一条例中的四点包含了四个矛盾之处，而他对最后能够理解其中的联系不无自豪。大臣们经常作出的混乱和相互矛盾的解释，通常也无助于澄清问题。目前，由于完全缺乏所有方面的专门调查，特别是关于它们与有关航运和殖民地的一般立法的联系，当前研究不容易解释法规中的某些要点。这与法规的基本思想路线不同，它是相当清楚的：这些措施的假想目标与它们的实际目标不存在任何相当大的区别。早在珀斯瓦尔2月的讲话中，我们就可以看到基本思想的雏形。

Seldom, however, has the contrast between the policy officially proclaimed and the policy actually pursued stood out in a more striking way than in the chief of the three Orders in Council of November 11, the one which can properly be called the blockade ordinance.After a declaration that the January ordinance had not attained its object, either of compelling the enemy to revoke his measure or of inducing the neutrals to take action to the same effect, this ordinance simply proceeds to copy the most important points of the Berlin decree, Thus not only all enemy countries with their colonies, but also all-places from which the British flag is excluded (this last point has nothing corresponding to it in the blockade declaration of the Berlin decree), are declared to be subject to the same rule as if they were really blockaded in the strictest manner ; and, further, alltrade in their products is prohibited. Every vessel trading to those countries shall be fair prize, as well as its cargo and all goods coming from there.

然而，官方宣布的政策和实际执行的政策之间的反差，很少比11月11日三项枢密院命令中的主要命令更突出，这个命令可以恰当地称为封锁法令。因此，不仅所有敌国及其殖民地，而且所有英国国旗被排除在外的地方（这最后一点在柏林法令的封锁声明中没有任何相应的内容），都被宣布受同样的规则约束，就像它们真的被严格封锁一样。此外，禁止对其产品进行一切贸易。每艘前往这些国家的船只，以及其货物和来自这些国家的所有货物，都是公平的战利品。

But immediately following these draconic regulations are exceptions which entirely nullify the rule and make possible the very trade so rigorously prohibited. Out of alleged regard for the neutrals, in fact, it is declared that they shall still be allowed to provide themselves with colonial goods for their own consumption and even to carry on ‘ such trade with His Majesty’s enemies as shall be carried on directly with the ports of His Majesty’s dominions or of his allies ’. And in this the true fundamental principle has found expression. Ignoring details, we may say that the real principal regulations, as distinct from the apparent ones, consists in permitting both direct trade between the home country of a neutral vessel and enemy colonies and also direct trade between the European British port and enemy ports. What is prohibited in the first place, therefore, is direct intercourse between the enemy colonies and their mother countries. But further, in the main, all direct intercourse between the enemy countries and other ports is prohibited, except when the ‘ other ports ’ are either European British ports or ports in the vessel’s own country. That is to say, intercourse is also prohibited between enemy ports and neutral ports elsewhere than in the home country of the neutral vessels.

但紧随这些可怕的规定之后的是一些例外，这些例外完全抵消了规则，使如此严格禁止的贸易也可能进行。事实上，出于对中立国的所谓考虑，英国宣布仍然允许他们为自己的消费提供殖民地货物，甚至允许他们 "与国王陛下的敌人进行直接与国王陛下的领地或其盟国的港口进行的贸易"。在这一点上，真正的基本原则得到了体现。抛开细节不谈，我们可以说，与表面上的规定不同，真正的主要规定包括允许中立船只的母国与敌国殖民地之间的直接贸易，以及在欧洲的英国港口与敌国港口之间的直接贸易。因此，首先被禁止的是敌方殖民地和其母国之间的直接交往。但进一步说，主要是禁止敌国和其他港口之间的所有直接交往，除非 "其他港口 "是欧洲英国的港口或船只自己国家的港口。也就是说，敌国港口和中立国港口之间的交往也被禁止，而不是在中立国船只的母国。

Thus the regulations left the intercourse of the neutrals, principally the Americans, with the enemy West Indian colonies so far undisturbed. But by preventing the American vessels from conveying the products of those colonies direct to any port on the European mainland, neutral or enemy, the Orders in Council practically cut them off from almost the whole trade with the enemy colonies, except in so far as they were willing to put in at a British port ; for the intercourse which was still allowed between the enemy colonies and the United States itself was of no very great importance, the Union’s requirements of West Indian products being quite insignificant. Consequently, we can not deny the existence of a certain amount of consistencyin these measures, despite their seeming aimlessness ; and this showed itself in a number of details.

因此，这些规定使中立国，主要是美国人，与敌国西印度殖民地的交往至今未受干扰。但是，议会的命令通过阻止美国船只将这些殖民地的产品直接运往欧洲大陆的任何港口，无论是中立国还是敌国，实际上切断了他们与敌国殖民地的几乎全部贸易，除非他们愿意在英国港口停靠；因为仍然允许敌国殖民地和美国本身之间的交往并不是非常重要的，联邦对西印度产品的需求相当微不足道。因此，我们不能否认这些措施中存在着某种程度的一致性，尽管它们看起来毫无目的；这在一些细节上表现出来。

The principal thing in all respects was the obligatory call at a British port. The intention of this regulation was presumably, above all, to raise the prices on the products of the enemy colonies and the enemy parts of the European mainland in all ports where they might compete with goods of Great Britain or her colonies.' For this purpose it was laid down that both goods of enemy destination and goods of enemy origin, as well as goods which had been loaded in an enemy port, should be discharged on the arrival of the vessel at a British port. The only exceptions were corn, flour, and other unmanufactured natural produce brought direct from the producing country, where there was no competition with British goods, and where it was thought possible, without inconvenience, to show a certain consideration for the exportation by the United States of their own products, as opposed to their re-exportation of colonial goods. The whole of this exception, however, furnishes very significant evidence of the long distance that Great Britain had travelled from the temporary plan of 1793 to starve out the Continent.

各方面的主要问题是必须在英国港口停靠。这项规定的意图是："首先，在所有可能与英国或其殖民地的货物竞争的港口，提高敌方殖民地和欧洲大陆敌方地区的产品价格。为此，规定敌方目的地的货物和敌方产地的货物，以及在敌方港口装载的货物，都应在船只抵达英国港口后卸货。唯一的例外是直接从生产国运来的玉米、面粉和其他未加工的自然产品，在这些领域中没有英国货物的竞争，还有在不造成不便的情况下，一定程度上考虑了对美国出口的其产品，而不是对其殖民地商品的再出口。然而，整个例外情况提供了非常重要的证据，表明英国已经从1793年的临时计划中走过了漫长的路程，即使得欧洲大陆陷入饥荒。

When the goods were afterwards to be exported again, the majority of the foreign goods, but not the British colonial goods, nor the actual products of neutral countries just mentioned, were subjected to customs dues; and in complete accordance with the aim of the whole measure these duties attained a considerable height : for instance, for coffee, 28s. per cwt. ; for brown sugar, '10s. ; and for white sugar, 14s. At the prices then current these rates would seem to have corresponded to at least 20 or 30 per cent, of the value.

当货物再次出口时，大多数外国货物都要缴纳关税，除了英国殖民地货物，以及刚才提到的中立国的实际产品；而且与整个措施的目的完全一致，这些关税达到了相当高的水平：例如，咖啡，每公吨28s.；红糖，10s.；白糖，14s。按照当时的价格，这些税率似乎至少相当于价值的20%或30%。

What this meant for goods that had been brought under British control only by military pressure, appears from such a detail as the fact that a special provision in the most importantof the statutes had to concede to the owner of the goods the right to allow them to be destroyed in port without duty.But besides this there were also certain restrictions in the right to re-export these goods at all, still without the slightest intention of cutting off the enemy’s supplies, although it often might seem so, but only in the interests of commercial rivalry. The greatest relaxations, therefore, curious as it may seem, were made in the permission to export to European ports, inasmuch as everything might go there, even enemy property (to be distinguished, of course, from commodities of enemy origin) ; this was otherwise excluded from all toleration by reason of the British denial of the rule that ‘ free ships make free goods ’. The reason, of course, was that British statesmen, as usual, wished to force upon a reluctant enemy goods via England. All British and East Indian commodities and captured goods were allowed to go to enemy colonies ; and foreign goods imported to England might go there by a licence which would . always still furt-her increase their price ; while, finally, other places, chiefly, of course, the British colonies, might not, without special licence, receive six kinds of goods that played a special part in the colonial trade, namely, sugar, coffee, wine, brandy, snuff, and cotton

这对那些仅仅由于军事压力而被置于英国控制之下的货物意味着什么，从这样一个细节可以看出，在最重要的法规中，有一条特别的规定，即必须让货物的所有者有权允许它们在港口被销毁而不缴税。但除此之外，对这些货物的再出口权也有一定的限制，尽管这看起来似乎丝毫没有切断敌人供应的意图，而只是为了商业竞争的利益。因此，虽然看起来很奇怪，但最大的宽松是允许向欧洲港口出口，因为所有东西都可以去那里，甚至是敌方的财产（当然要区别于敌方的商品）；否则，由于英国否认 "自由的船只产生自由的货物 "这一规则，这都被排除在所有容忍范围之外。当然，原因是英国的政治家们像往常一样，希望通过英国把货物强加给不情愿的敌人。所有英国和东印度的商品以及缴获的货物都被允许运往敌人的殖民地；进口到英国的外国货物可以通过许可证运往那里，但许可证总是会使它们的价格上涨；最后，其他地方，当然主要是英国殖民地，如果没有特别的许可证，就不能接收在殖民地贸易中发挥特殊作用的六种货物，即糖、咖啡、酒、白兰地、鼻烟和棉花。

But there were two commodities concerning which there arose a very vehement struggle, namely, raw cotton and cinchona bark, usually called Jesuit’s bark. The former was naturally of the greatest importance in the continental industry that competed with the British, while the latter, as is well known, was a piece de resistance in the older pharmacopeia in all febrile maladies. After having originally thought of imposing an export duty on these goods too, the British government decided to prohibit their export. Here, at least, where an actualprohibition of export was created, one would expect to meet with an aim at the actual blockade of the Continent, which the opposition indeed often assumed, more or less bona fide, to be the real object of this measure. But, as a matter of fact, nothing was further from the thoughts of the government. Perceval, who in his capacity of chancellor of the exchequer introduced the bills on this subject, justified the prohibition on cinchona bark, it is true, by alleging that the greatest difficulties had already revealed themselves on the Continent, especially in Napoleon’s armies, through the scarcity of medicaments, as was indeed shown by the fact that the price had increased sevenfold. But he went on immediately to say : ‘ The object of the prohibition in this instance was that it might ultimately be the means of introducing other articles into the Continent.’ For these reasons the laws themselves authorized licences from the prohibitions, as Perceval again emphasized, in order to prevail on the enemy to receive British goods, ‘ There would be no difficulty,’ he said, ‘in obtaining any quantity of this article, the moment the enemy took off his prohibition from the importation of other articles,’ Thus the competition point of view was the deciding factor all along the line

但有两种商品引起了非常激烈的斗争，即原棉和金鸡纳树皮，通常称为耶稣会的树皮。前者在与英国竞争的大陆工业中自然是最重要的，而后者，众所周知，是旧式药典中治疗所有发热疾病的一个重要部分。英国政府最初也曾想过对这些货物征收出口税，后来决定禁止其出口。至少在这里，在实际禁止出口的情况下，人们会期望达到实际封锁欧洲大陆的目的，反对派确实经常或多或少善意地认为这是这项措施的真正目的。但是，事实上，没有什么比政府的想法更进一步了。珀斯瓦尔以财政大臣的身份提出了关于这个问题的法案，他为禁止金鸡纳树皮辩解说，政府确实有这方面的考虑，他声称在欧洲大陆，特别是在拿破仑的军队中，药物已经出现了最大的困难——这确实可以从价格增加七倍的事实中看出。但他马上又说：“禁令的目的防止任何最终可能成为将其他物品引入欧洲大陆的手段”由于这些原因，法律本身批准了对禁令的许可，正如珀斯瓦尔再次强调的那样，为了说服敌人接受英国货物，他说：“一旦敌人取消了对其他物品进口的禁令，获得任何数量的这种物品都不会有困难”。因此，竞争观点一直是决定性因素

But it remained to regulate the control by seeing that the vessels went as a matter of fact to the British ports ; and the regulations on this subject wereamong those that attracted the greatest attention, although they are not of equal interest in principle. The commanders of British war-ships and privateers were instructed, before the new regulations became known, to warn vessels on the way to enemy or other forbidden ports, and also to order them to make their way to specially named ports. Vessels on their way to an American port which was not in their own country were to go to Halifax in Nova Scotia (which was also used for similar purposes during the recent war) or to a West Indian free port ; vessels south of the Equator were to go to Ceylon, to St. Helena or the Cape of Good Hope ; andvessels on their way to Europe, either to Gibraltar or to Malta or to any port in the British Isles.

但是，它仍然是通过确保船只事实上前往英国港口来进行管制的；关于这个问题的规定是最引人注意的规定之一，尽管它们在原则上不具有同样的意义。在新规定出台之前，英国战舰和私掠者的指挥官就被要求警告正在前往敌方或其他被禁止的港口的船只，并命令它们前往特别指定的港口。前往不在其本国的美国港口的船只应前往新斯科舍省的哈利法克斯（在最近的战争中也被用于类似目的）或西印度的自由港；赤道以南的船只应前往锡兰、圣赫勒拿或好望角；前往欧洲的船只应前往直布罗陀或马耳他或不列颠群岛的任何港口。

In addition to all this, finally, there were pure measures of reprisal, framed according to their French counterparts. Trading vessels were to remain enemy property and to be confiscated as such, even if they were sold to neutrals ; and what was the most unreasonable of all the regulations, the mere possession of a French certificate of origin as to the non-British nationality of the cargo was to involve the confiscation of both ship and cargo. On the other hand, since the lack of such certificates involved capture on the part of the French, a neutral vessel, at least if it did not sail under British convoy, had, according to this last regulation, no alternative between breaking the orders of one power or the other, with the consequent risk of capture from one side or the other, provided, it is well to remark, that they wished to act openly and honestly, which therefore was practically impossible. The only effect of all this was the establishment of a system of double ship’s papers, which gradually attained an immense scope ; and thus in reality the consequence was that the laws of both sides were broken.

除了这一切之外，最后还有纯粹的报复措施，这些措施是根据法国的相应规定制定的。贸易船仍然是敌人的财产，即使卖给了中立国，也会被没收。所有规定中最不合理的是，只要拥有关于货物的非英国国籍的法国原产地证明，就会被没收船只和货物。另一方面，根据最新规定，一艘中立的船只会因为没有这种证明而被法国人扣押，至少如果它没有在英国护航队的带领下航行是这样的。那么，那些希望公开和诚实地行动的船只要么违反英国的命令，要么违反法国的命令，别无选择，并且随之而来的是被一方或另一方扣押的风险，因此船只不可能公开诚实地行动。所有这一切的唯一效果是建立了一个双重船票制度，它逐渐扩张到了一个巨大的范围；因此，实际上的后果是双方的法律都被破坏了。

In this multiplicity of regulations-which, however, have not by any means been fully reproduced here-the most prominent thing of all is the obligation to call at a British port, with the possibilities thereby created of controlling and rendering dearer enemy products; especially enemy colonial goods. In the course of time, too, the British ministers managed to find a comparatively clear expression of their ways of thinking in this respect. This was especially the case in almost identical utterances made in the spring of 1812 by three of the ministers. As formulated by Lord Bathurst, the president of the Board of Trade, that is to say, minister of commerce, it ran as follows : ‘ France by her decrees had resolved to abolish all trade with England : England said, in return, that France should then have no trade but with England.’ This, of course, did awaywith the idea of blockade as such, and the licensing system took its place in the seat of honour, partly through the ‘ proviso ’ regulations of the ordinances themselves and partly through the licences expressly permitted in them.

然而，这里决不是完全照搬，在这多种多样的规定中，最突出的是在英国港口停靠的义务，以及由此产生的控制和提供更昂贵的敌方产品（特别是敌方殖民地产品） 的可能性。随着时间的推移，英国的部长们也设法找到了一个方式，相对明确的表达他们在这方面想法。尤其是在1812年春天，三位大臣发表了几乎相同的言论。贸易委员会主席巴瑟斯特勋爵，也就是商务部长，提出的意见如下：“”法国通过其法令决定废除与英国的所有贸易：英国说，作为回报，法国除了与英国之外，不应该有任何贸易。”当然，这与封锁本身的想法不谋而合，许可证制度在荣誉之地占据了一席之地，部分是通过法令本身的 "但书[[30]](#footnote-29) "规定，部分是通过其中明确允许的许可证。

This, however, was far from clear to everybody ; nor was it approved by all to whom it was clear. Some of the home critics of the British government, somewhat later including Canning, who was a member of the government when the ordinances were issued but had to leave it in 1809, considered that they ought to be true to their alleged purpose of making the enemy feel the consequences of his own injustice and to that end cut off his supplies.But more numerous were those attacks of the opposition which blamed the government for its advertised intention, doing so under the unfounded assumption that it was sincere. These critics dwelt on the impossibility of starving out the Continent, the small extent to which a shortage of certain articles of luxury was felt, the encouragement to new branches of production and the invention of substitutes which such a blockade might introduce into the Continent, and all the consequent injury to British industry and British colonies. In point of fact, however, all this criticism did not apply to the Orders in Council as they worked and as they were intended to work, but to Napoleon’s Continental System. To that extent, therefore, it implied a recognition of the appositeness of that system, which was certainly not the intention of the critics, The real character of the government policy did not, however, escape criticism altogether, as when Lord Grenville in one of his first discussions on the Orders in Council, in the House of Lords on February 15, 1808, declared that : ‘ This principle of forcing trade into our markets would have disgraced the darkest ages of monopoly.’ On the whole, however, it may be said that the criticism, usually very much embittered, missed the true point of the policy of the government.

然而，这并不是每个人都清楚的，也不是所有清楚的人都赞同的。英国政府的一些国内批评家，包括后来的坎宁（他在法令颁布时是政府成员，但在1809年不得不离开政府）认为，他们应该忠实于其所谓的目的，即让敌人感受到自己不公正的后果，并为此切断其供应。这些批评者详述了饿死欧洲大陆是不可能的：某些奢侈品短缺的程度很小，大陆会鼓励新的生产部门和发明替代品，以及封锁对英国工业和英国殖民地造成的所有伤害。然而，事实上，所有这些批评都不适用于枢密院的运作和意图，而是适用于拿破仑的大陆体系。因此，在这一程度上，它意味着承认该制度的适用性，而这当然不是批评者的意图。然而，政府政策的真正特征并没有完全逃脱批评，如格伦维尔勋爵在1808年2月15日在上议院首次讨论枢密院令时宣布："这种强迫贸易进入我们市场的原则会让最黑暗的垄断时代蒙羞。”然而，总的来说，可以说这些批评通常非常令人痛苦，但错过了政府政策的真正要点。

## **TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM (1807)**

## **大陆系统的领土扩张(1807年)**

In order to make the connexion clear, the British countermeasures to the Berlin decree have been followed to the close of the year 1807, and even somewhat beyond. But on the Continent the year 1807 had been rich in tremendous events with far-reaching consequences for the Continental System. At Tilsit Napoleon had prevailed upon Russia to join the great policy of reprisals in the event of her failure to mediate a peace between Great Britain and France ; and naturally enough she failed. The bombardment of Copenhagen-Canning’s act of violence against Denmark, which, as we know,was quite superfluous-had thrown that country entirely into the hands of Napoleon and made its ruler, the Crown Prince Frederick, who shortly afterwards ascended the throne as Frederick VI, one of his few sincere allies. Meanwhile, Napoleon’s own aggression against Portugal had put an end to the independence of that country after the royal family had fled to Brazil. The remaining states of Europe were either more or less purely subsidiary states to France, or at leastohad been so recently vanquished by Napoleon that they could not contemplate resisting the introduction of the Berlin decree. To the former category belonged the kingdarns of Italy (North Italy), Holland, and Naples, the Confederation of the Rhine, and in the main (for the present) Spain ; to the latter, Prussia and Austria. Besides these, the kingdom of Etruria (Tuscany) was reduced to submission by military occupation and the other Italian territoriesby suitable pressure. Even Turkey bound herself to exclude British goods. In this connexion it was especially important that the great emporium of Leghorn was closed to the trade of England by the overthrow of the independence of Etruria, At the close of 1807, therefore, there was only one European state that openly refused to become a party to the Continental System ; and that state was Sweden, the sole ally of Great Britain. Against her, accordingly, Russia, at the instigation of Napoleon, made the attack which was to end with the conquest of Finland and the deposition of Gustavus IV Adolphus. Thus during its very first year the Continental System attained a territorial range which far transcended even the boldest plans that had been formulated in the minds of its author’s predecessors under the Convention and Directory, when they spoke of a blockade from the Tagus to the Elbe or from Gibraltar to Texel.

为了清楚地说明这种联系，英国对柏林法令的反击措施，一直持续到1807年年底，甚至更久。但在1807年，欧洲大陆发生了许多对大陆体系有深远影响的重大事件。在提尔西特，拿破仑说服俄国，一旦俄国未能调解英国和法国之间的和平，就加入了伟大的报复政策。自然，俄国失败了。对哥本哈根的轰炸——坎宁对丹麦的暴力行动，如我们所知，是非常多余的——使这个国家完全落入了拿破仑的手中，并使其统治者，即腓特烈王储，不久后以腓特烈六世的身份登上王位，成为他为数不多的真诚盟友之一。同时，拿破仑自己对葡萄牙的侵略，在王室逃往巴西后，结束了该国的独立。欧洲其余的国家或多或少都是法国的附属国，或者至少在最近被拿破仑征服，以至于它们无法考虑抵制柏林法令的出台。前者是意大利（北意大利）、荷兰和那不勒斯王国，莱茵河联盟，以及主要是（目前的）西班牙；后者是普鲁士和奥地利。除此之外，伊特鲁里亚王国（托斯卡纳）因军事占领而屈服，其他意大利领土则因适当的压力而屈服。甚至连土耳其也约束自己不接受英国商品。因此，在1807年结束时，只有一个欧洲国家公开拒绝加入大陆体系；这个国家就是英国的唯一盟国瑞典。而在拿破仑的怂恿下，俄国对她发动了进攻，最终以征服芬兰和推翻古斯塔夫四世——阿道夫而告终。因此，在其第一年，大陆体系的领土范围甚至远远超过了其作者的前辈们在国民大会和督政府体系下制定的最大胆的计划，当时他们仅仅谈到了从塔戈斯河到易北河或从直布罗陀到特塞尔的封锁。

## **FIRST MILAN DECREE (Nov. 23, 1807)**

## **第一份《米兰法令》（1807年11月23日）**

At the same time Napoleon had laboured further at the internal structure of the system in forms which, in the main, belong to part III. After regulating in greater detail the treatment of British vessels and goods on the especially exposed coast-line of North Germany, he gave to certain provisions which applied to that coast validity for his own empire through the first Milan decree (November 23, 1807). This contained detailed regulations concerning the manner in which it was to be determined that vessels had called at a British port, concerning the confiscation of vessels and cargoes in this case (not merely their expulsion, as was prescribed in the Berlin decree), and concerning the certificates of origin previously mentioned touching the non-British provenience of goods.

与此同时，拿破仑还对该体系的内部结构作了进一步的努力，其形式主要属于第三部分。在更详细地规定了英国船只和货物在北德国不设防的海岸线上的待遇后，他通过第一项米兰法令（1807年11月23日），对适用于他自己帝国海岸有效性的某些条款做出了规定。该法令包含了关于确定船只停靠英国港口的方式的详细规定，涉及在这种情况下没收船只和货物（而不仅仅是像柏林法令中规定的那样将其驱逐），以及关于前面提到的涉及货物非英国来源的原产地证明的规定。

## **SECOND MILAN DECREE (Dec. 17, 1807)**

## **第二份《米兰法令》（1807年12月17日）**

It was during his stay in the kingdom of Italy that Napoleon was informed of the British Orders in Council of November 11 ; and he seems to have been seized by a violent fit of anger,which found expression in the second of the fundamental laws of the Continehtal System, namely, the second Milan decree, issued on December 17,1807. The part of the Orders in Council to which he especially devoted his attention was the in itself not very remarkable examination (the warning) by British war-ships ; but of course he also took notice of the obligatory call in England and the duty on re-exports. He hurled out his decree as a measure of reprisal against the English government, ' which,' he said, ' assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers,' and applied it only against such nations as failed to compel England to respect their flags, and also, as usual, made it valid only so long as England continued to disregard international law (Article 4). Every vessel which submitted to any of the three regulations-examination, call in England, or paying duty there-was declared to be denationalized ; it had forfeited the protection of its own flag and, from the view-point of French legislation, had become English property (Article l), and had thus become lawful prize both in port and at sea (Article 2). The doubt which had hitherto prevailed concerning the application of the Continental System by sea was thereby removed. The real content of the Milan decree is simply the express and unrestricted extension of the system from the Continent to the sea, in so far as French privateers could make it effective there. This fact finds expression in the curious formula that the British Isles are now declared in blockade b0t.h by land and by sea ; and every vessel on its way to or from an English port, or an English colonial port, or even a port occupied by England, are declared to be fair prize (Article 3). Moreover, by attaching these regulations in the first place to the examination, which the neutrals almost entirely lacked the power of preventing, and not only to the call in a British port, where a certain amount of independent will might perchance remain for the masters of neutral vessels, the Continental System had approached the Nivose law of 1798 more closely than in its previous workings ; that is to say, it had come to apply against neutral shipping as such. This was quite deliberate on the part of Napoleon ; and from this point of time dates his view that there were nolonger any neutrals, inasmuch as they were either, and as a rule, Englishmen in disguise, or, at all events, had made themselves the accomplices of the English by accommodating themselves to the Orders in Council. This construction put upon nonFrench shipping applied almost as a matter of course to vessels, not only from allied, but also from purely vassal powers, On the very same day that the Milan decree was issued, for instance, Napoleon gave orders to DecrPs, his minister of the marine, to detain a Russian vessel-that is to say, a vessel belonging to an allied nation-which had arrived in the port of Morlaix in Brittany ; and for this order he gave the truly Napoleonic justification that it was either really English-in which case it was condemned as a matter of course-or that it was really Russian, and in that case should be detained to prevent it from being taken by the English. DecrPs was also charged to give orders to the same effect to all French ports concerning Danish, Dutch, Spanish, and all other vessels, and to investigate whether the regulations were similarly applied in the vassal states, On this basis Napoleon afterwards systematically built up his treatment of non-French vessels in the ports of France and its subsidiary states, with gradually more and more developed protectionist tendencies as against shipping which was not purely French.

拿破仑在意大利王国逗留期间得知了英国11月11日的枢密院令；这似乎使他被一种强烈的愤怒所攫取，这种愤怒在大陆体系的第二项基本法律，即1807年12月17日颁布的第二项米兰法令中得到了体现。他特别关注的枢密院令的部分是英国军舰的检查（警告），这本身并不引人注目；但他当然也注意到了在英国的强制征召和再出口的关税。他把他的法令作为对英国政府的报复措施。他说，“英国政府把它的立法与阿尔及尔[[31]](#footnote-30)的立法相提并论”。第二项米兰法令只对那些未能迫使英国尊重其旗帜的国家适用，而且像往常一样，只在英国继续无视国际法的情况下才有效（第四条）。每艘服从下列三项规定中任何一项的船只——检查、在英国停靠或在英国交税——都被宣布为无国籍。从法国立法的角度来看，它已经失去了本国国旗的保护，已经成为英国的财产（第1条），因此在港口和海上都成为合法的战利品（第2条）。迄今为止，关于大陆制度在海上的适用性的疑问已经消除。米兰法令的真正内容只是将该制度从大陆明确和不受限制地扩展到海上，使得法国私掠者能在海上有效地施行大陆体系。这一事实体现在一个奇怪的公式中，即英伦三岛现在被宣布为陆上和海上封锁；每艘进出英国港口或英国殖民地港口，甚至英国占领的港口的船只都被宣布为公平的战利品（第3条）。此外，大陆体系比以前更密切地处理了1798年的雪月法令，通过将这些规定首先附加在中立国几乎完全没有阻止的审查上，而不仅仅是附加在中立船只的船长可能会保留一定的独立意愿的，英国港口的停靠上。也就是说，它已经开始适用于中立国航运。这是拿破仑有意为之。从这一时间点开始，他认为不再有任何中立者，因为他们要么是，而且通常是伪装的英国人，或者无论如何，是通过适应英国议会的命令而使自己成为英国人的帮凶。这种对那些不是法国船只的解释几乎理所当然地适用于那些不仅来自盟国，而且来自纯粹的附庸国的船只。例如，就在米兰法令发布的同一天，拿破仑向他的海事部长德克尔普斯下达命令，扣留一艘俄罗斯船只，也就是说，一艘属于盟国的船只，它已经抵达布列塔尼的莫莱克斯港；对于这一命令，他给出了真正的拿破仑式的理由：它要么是真正的英国人，在这种情况下，它当然会被谴责；要么是真正的俄国人，在这种情况下，应该被扣留以防止它被英国人占领。德克尔普斯还负责向所有法国港口的丹麦、荷兰、西班牙和所有其他船只发出同样的命令，并调查这些规定是否在附庸国也同样适用。

On the same day that the Milan decree was issued, Champagny, the foreign minister at the time, received orders to transmit it by a special courier to Holland, Spain, and Denmark, with the request that these nominally sovereign states should comply with (obtemperer a) it ; and the continental powers immediately set to work to bring their legislation into accordance with the new decree of the master.Of greater interest than the details of this development, which becomes important only in connexion with the inquiry into the actual workings of the system, is the attitude assumed by the United States——at that time almost the only remaining neutral power-toward this blow directed by both the belligerents mainly against neutral trade. The highly instructive development of the American attitude toward the Continental System went on alongside the development of European affairs down to the practical collapse of the system in 1812. It will form the subject of the next chapter.

在米兰法令发布的同一天，当时的外交部长尚帕尼接到命令，通过特别信使将其转交给荷兰、西班牙和丹麦，并要求这些名义上的主权国家遵守该法令。各个大陆大国立即开始工作，使其立法与主人的新法令保持一致。与这一发展的细节相比，更令人感兴趣的是美国——当时几乎是仅存的中立国——对交战双方主要针对中立贸易的这一打击所采取的态度，而这一细节只有在调查该制度的实际运作情况时才变得重要。美国对大陆体系的态度的发展具有很强的启发性，它与欧洲事务的发展同时进行，直到1812年该体系的实际崩溃。它将成为下一章的主题。

## **CHAPTER IV**

## **第四章**

## **POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES**

## **美国的政策**

## **AMERICAN POSITION**

## **美国的地位**

THE policy of the United States during the period of the Continental System is an example of the type which, in the course of an economic war to the knife, seeks to maintain neutrality to the uttermost and to take all the consequences of that attitude, without, it is true, the support of either external military power or an efficient internal administration.Down to the close of 1807 this policy brought with it a unique development of American shipping and foreign trade, especially the carrying trade, But when the commercial war became more intense in 1807, it made a complete right-about-face and led to the second great self-blockade caused by the Continental System; and finally, when this became quite untenable, it drove the American Union into the very war which its leading men had done everything in their power to avert

美国在大陆体系时期的政策是一个例子，它在经济战争的过程中，在的确没有外部军事力量或内部的有效管理的支持的前提下，试图最大限度地保持中立，并承担这种态度的所有后果。一直到1807年年底，这一政策给美国的航运和外贸，特别是运输贸易带来了独特的发展，但当1807年商业战争变得更加激烈时，它完全改变了方向，导致了由大陆体系引起的第二次大的自我封锁；最后，当这种情况变得相当难以维持时，它把美联邦赶进了，实际上是它的领导人竭尽全力要避免的战争中。

The desire of the American statesmen for neutrality scarcely calls for any detailed explanation. The sympathies of the popylation were strongly divided between the combatants. Anglophiles predominated among the Federalists, who later developed into the Republican Party, while Francophiles predominated among the opposite party, the Republicans, later known as Democrats. The Federalists dominated the commercial and sea-faring states of New England, while the main support of their antagonists lay in the agricultural states of the South. The latter party tended to get the upper hand, strongly supported, as it was, by President Jefferson in 1801-9, andagain by President Madison in 1809-17, partly because of political tradition dating from the time when France cooperated in the American War of Independence, and partly because the conflicts of a neutral sea-faring nation must always be keenest with that combatant who commands the sea. The remarkable thing about the situation is that it was precisely those economic interests and those parts of the country for the defence of which the campaign of neutrality was carried to extremes, that were its most zealous opponents and did their utmost to prevent its efficaey. Nor did they hesitate to follow the same tactics even during the war to which the policy of neutrality led, just because the measures of neutrality had necessarily to be directed against the few remnants of international intercourse that the belligerents had left undisturbed. Both in this respect and in other respects the neutrals of our day have had something to learn from American developments.

美国政治家们对中立的渴望几乎不需要任何详细解释。民众的同情心在交战双方之间产生了强烈的分歧。亲英者在联邦党人中占优势，后来联邦党人发展成为共和党，而亲法者则在另一党派：共和党人（后来称为民主党人）中占优势。联邦党人在新英格兰的商业和航海州占主导地位，而他们的对手的主要支持者则在南方的农业州。后者倾向于占上风，在1801-1809年得到杰斐逊总统的大力支持，在1809-1817年再次得到麦迪逊总统的支持，部分原因是追溯到美国独立战争中法国与其合作的政治传统，另一部分原因是一个中立的航海国家必须总是与指挥着海洋的战斗者冲突最激烈。这种情况的显著特点是，恰恰是那些经济利益集团和那些将中立运动进行到极致的国家地区，才是其最热心的反对者，并尽最大努力阻止其生效。即使在中立政策导致的战争期间，他们也毫不犹豫地采取同样的策略，因为中立措施必须针对交战方未受干扰的少数国际交往残余。在这方面和其他方面，我们今天的中立国都可以从美国的发展中得到一些启示。

The increased severity in the British treatment of neutrals, as we know, went back especially to the new interpretation of ' broken voyages ' in the Essex case in the summer of 1805, and in April, 1806, it had occasioned the American counter-measure in the form of the Non-importation Act,which prohibited the importation, both from England and from other countries, of most of the main groups of Britishindustrialproducts, excluding, however, cotton goods. But the American law did not enter into force until November 15, and was suspended at the close of the year, so that it turned out to be nothing more than a threat. The Berlin decree of November 21, 1806, immediately led the American envoy in Paris to address an inquiry to the French minister of the marine, Vice Admiral Decrds, as to the interpretation of the new law at sea. In the absence of the Emperor the answer was favourable, and consequently there was no immediate occasion for uneasiness on the part of America. On the contrary, there were complaints in England that the Americans were making common cause with Napoleon in order to supply France with the industrial products that she was otherwise wont to obtain from England. Nor was any greatalteration made in this respect by the first British Order in Council of January, 1807, owing to its restricted range. Accordingly, during the greater part of the year 1801 American trade and shipping continued not merely to flourish, but even to grow, as is shown by the table previously printed.In reality, the year 1807 marked the high-water mark of the trade and navigation of the United States for a very long time to come.

正如我们所知，英国对待中立国的态度越来越严厉，特别是要追溯到1805年夏天埃塞克斯案中对"中断航行"的新解释，而在1806年4月，它引起了美国以《不进口法》的形式采取反措施，该法禁止从英国和其他国家进口大多数主要的英国工业产品，不过不包括棉花制品。但美国的法律直到11月15日才生效，并在年终时被暂停，因此，它只不过是一种威胁而已。1806年11月21日的柏林法令，立即导致美国驻巴黎特使向法国海事部长德克兹副海军上将询问新法律在海上的解释。在皇帝缺席的情况下，上将做出了有利的答复，因此美国方面没有立即感到不安。相反，英国有人抱怨说，美国人与拿破仑沆瀣一气，以便向法国提供她本来要从英国获得的工业产品。由于其范围有限，1807年1月的第一份英国枢密院令在这方面也没有做出任何重大改变。因此，正如上文印制的表格所示，在1801年的大部分时间里，美国的贸易和航运不仅继续繁荣，甚至还在增长。事实上，1807年标志着美国贸易和航运在未来很长一段时间内的高水位线。

But the turning-point was to be reached before the close of the year. The beginning was made with the authentic interpretation of t.he law which Napoleon, as the sole final authority, gave to his Berlin decree, whereby it came to apply also to the sea. Then followed the new British Orders in Council of Kovember and Napoleon’s Milan decree of December.

但转折点将在这一年结束前达到。拿破仑作为唯一的最终权威，对他的柏林法令作出了真实的解释，从而使其也适用于海洋，这就是开始。接着是英国11月的新议会令和拿破仑12月的米兰法令。

## **EMBARGO ACT (DECEMBER 22, 1807)**

## **禁运法令（1807年12月22日）**

All this set going the great American series of counter-measures, which also, so far as they concerned Great Britain, were affected by the latest act of aggression, the so-called ‘Chesapeake Affair’ of June, 1807. A British man-of-war requested to be allowed to search the American frigate Chesapeake with the object of recapturing some alleged deserters from the British navy ; and when the request was refused, as a matter of course, the British vessel opened fire, captured the American man-of-war, and took away four of the crew. To this was added the American annoyance at the British practice of impressing for naval service sailors on American trading vessels on the pretext that, having been born before the American states became independent, they were British subjects ; and this, combined with the Chesapeake Affair, gave rise to a very pretty diplomatic conflict.

所有这一切都促使美国采取了一系列大规模反击措施，就其与英国的关系而言，这些措施也受到最近一次侵略行为的影响，即1807年6月所谓的 "切萨皮克事件"。一艘英国战舰要求被允许搜查美国护卫舰切萨皮克号，目的是抓捕一些据称是英国海军逃兵；当这一要求被拒绝后，按照惯例，英国船只开火，俘虏了美国战舰，并带走了四名船员。除此之外，美国人还对英国人以美国各州独立前出生的水手是英国国民为借口，逼迫美国商船上的水手参加海军服役的做法感到恼火；这与切萨皮克事件相结合，引起了一场非常漂亮的外交冲突。

But what gave the principal impulse to the American commercial, or rather anti-commercial, intervention was not the measures of Great Britain, but rather those of France, that is to say, the new adaptation of the Berlin decree, which brought it about that a stranded American vessel, the Horizon, had that part of its cargo which’was of British origin declared fair prize. However, the new Orders in Council were known in the United States (in fact, thongh not officially) when on December 22, 1807, Congress and the President enacted the Embargo Act,which is one of the most interesting legislative products of the period. As has already been indicated, it was a self-blockade of the purest water, but, unlike Napoleon’s, an open and direct one. An embargo was laid on all vessels lying in American ports and bound for foreign ports. The only ex-ceptions were foreign vessels, which were allowed to depart after being informed of the enactment of the law ; and vessels in the American coasting trade were to give security that the cargo should be discharged in an American port. Almost at the same time the Non-importation Act, passed in the previous year against British goods, was put into force and excluded importation in foreign bottoms from the only power that was in a position to carry on trade by sea. Under the pressure of the unreasonable procedure of both the combatants, the American government thus sought to cut off at a blow the abnormally large trade and shipping that the United States had until then enjoyed. In principle the policy was impartial, inasmuch as it was intended, on the one hand, to deprive Great Britain of American cotton and grain, as well of sales on the American markets, and, on the other hand, to put an end to the colonial trade from which France and Spain and their colonies derived equal advantages, and also to the importation of the industrial products of the European Continent into America. Although the measure was thus indisputably twosided, the simultaneous enforcement of the one-sided Nonimportation Act gave the policy the appearance of being directed distinctly against Great Britain. That country, indeed, had touched on a particularly tender point by imposing duties on the goods which compulsorily passed through its territories, inasnpch as both the United States and the British opposition put it on a level with the taxation of American trade which in the preceding generation had given the finalimpulse to the Declaration of Independence by ' the old thirteen '

但是，给美国商业，或者说反商业干预带来主要动力的不是英国的措施，而是法国的措施，即对柏林法令的新修改，使一艘搁浅的美国船只，"地平线号"，被法律规定的那部分货物被宣布为公平的战利品。然而，当1807年12月22日，国会和总统颁布《禁运法》时，新的枢密院令在美国已为人所知（事实上，虽然不是正式的），这是当时最有趣的立法成果之一。如前所述，这是对最神圣的水域的自我封锁，但与拿破仑的不同，这是一种开放和直接的封锁。所有停泊在美国港口并开往外国港口的船只都被禁运。唯一的例外是外国船只，它们在被告知该法律的颁布后被允许离开；而从事美国沿海贸易的船只必须提供货物在美国港口卸货的担保。几乎在同一时间，前一年通过的针对英国货物的《禁止进口法》也开始生效，并排除了唯一有能力进行海上贸易的国家在外国底层的进口。在交战双方不合理程序的压力下，美国政府试图一举切断其在此之前享有的异常巨大的贸易和航运。原则上，这项政策是公正的，因为它一方面是为了剥夺英国的美国棉花和谷物以及在美国市场上的销售，另一方面是为了结束法国和西班牙及其殖民地从中获得同等利益的殖民贸易，以及将欧洲大陆的工业产品进口到美国。尽管这项措施无可争议地具有两面性，但同时执行片面的《禁止进口法》使这项政策看起来明显是针对英国的。事实上，该国对强制通过其领土的货物征收关税，已经触及了一个特别敏感的问题，因为美国和英国的反对派都将其与美国贸易税相提并论，而在上一代，美国贸易税最终促成了“十三州”的《独立宣言》。

President Jefferson's motive seems to have been partly the bias of the plantation owners, emphasized by his physiocratic tendency toward regarding agriculture as the highest work of man and his grave distrust of everything which departed from agriculture. To begin with, at least, he undoubtedly considered, as the American historian, Channing, says, ' that to put an end to, let us say, three quarters of the commerce of t€ie United States would be a blessing, albeit somewhat in disguise '. But evidently this, like most of the measures of the different powers in the commercial war, was also a measure.of reprisal, an endeavour to compel the embittered belligerents to be reasonable. In fact, unlike the majority of their own measures, it was a sincere attempt in that direction. It seems also as if the Embargo Act was a means of saving the great American merchant fleet, the largest next to that of Great Britain, from the extinction which must otherwise have been the almost necessary consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees and of the Orders in Council. Thus, €or instance, a' large ship-owner in Maryland stated that of fifteen vessels which he had dispatched during the bare four months between September 1 and the enactment of the Embargo Act, only three had arrived at their destination, while two had been capt,ured by the French and the Spaniards, one had been seized at Hamburg, and nine had been taken to England.

杰斐逊总统的动机似乎有一部分是种植园主的偏见，他那将农业视为人类最高工作的重农主义倾向和对一切偏离农业的事物的严重不信任都强调了这一点。正如美国历史学家钱宁所说，至少在开始时他无疑认为"比方说，结束美国四分之三的商业，将让我们因祸得福。"但显然，像不同大国在商业战争中的大多数措施一样，这也是一种报复措施，是一种迫使愤怒的交战方讲道理的努力。事实上，与他们自己的大多数措施不同的是，它是朝着这个方向的真诚尝试。禁运法似乎也是一种手段，以拯救伟大的美国商船队，即仅次于英国的最大商船队，使其免于灭绝，否则柏林和米兰的法令以及枢密院的命令几乎必然会造成这种结果。例如，马里兰州的一位大船主说，从9月1日到禁运法颁布前的四个月里，他派出的15艘船中，只有3艘到达了目的地，2艘被法国人和西班牙人俘虏，1艘在汉堡被扣押，9艘被带到了英国。

However, it is rather an academic question what the effect of the Embargo Act would have been had it been obeyed, for nothing was further from reality. It makes an almost moving impression to see how one supplementary law after another, each more detailed and more draconic than the other, seeks to stop up the holes in the original law, which was very summary ; but it has seldom been shown more distinctly that a constant succession of new laws on the same subject meansa constant disobedience to the provisions of the law. As early as January 9, 1808, special enactments were made as to the security that coasting and fishing vessels would have to give, and it was declared that the exceptions made in the Embargo Act in favour of public armed vessels did not apply to privateers (chapter 8). On March 12, in the same year, foreign vessels also were required to give security to the extent of four times the value of vessel and cargo, or twice as much as for native vessels, that they would not sail to foreign ports ; and for fishing vessels, a declaration was imposed under oath as to whether any of the catch had been sold during the trip. At the same time, however, the President was authorized, very imprudently, to grant vessels the right to go in ballast to foreign ports in order to fetch from there the property of American citizens, on giving a pledge to return with that property, and not to carry on any other trade, etc. (chapter 33). Still more forceful was the intervention a month and a half later by a law of April 25, which both forbade all loading of vessels except under the control of the authorities, and also in general terms forbade any vessel to depart, without the special permission of the President, to any United States port or district which was adjacent to foreign territory ; and the customs staff was charged to take under their care any suspiciously large stocks of goods in such border regions. Further, the law gave to naval and customs vessels the right of search and authorized the customs staff, pending the President’s decision, to detain vessels suspected of intending to break the law, and so on (chapter 66). Finally, on January 9,1809, there was passed an Enforcement Act,which summoned all the weak public powers of the Union to compel obedience to the law. Thus the President was authorized to employ the fighting forces of the United States by land and sea and to hire the imposing number of thirty vessels for the purpose. At the same time all the previous laws were made more severe. Vehicles were also subjected to the embargo, in order to prevent the law from being circumvented by land routes ; permission had to be obtained for theloading of vessels ; and the right of the customs officials to refuse permission was extended to the right of ordering the discharge, in suspected cases, of goods already loaded, and also to take goods from vessels into their custody ; and the surety deposited was raised to six times the value of the goods. Finally, the right to sail to foreign countries for American property was annulled.

然而，如果《禁运法》得到遵守，它的效果会是什么，这倒更像是一个学术问题，因为没有什么比这更不符合现实了。我们看到了一部又一部的补充法律，每一部都比另一部更详细、更苛刻，试图堵住概括性的原始法律的漏洞，留下了令人感动的印象。但很少有人能清楚地发现，在同一问题上不断有新的法律出现意味着不断不服从法律的规定。早在1808年1月9日，美国就制定了关于沿海和捕鱼船只必须提供担保的特别法令，并宣布《禁运法》中有利于公共武装船只的例外情况不适用于私掠船（第8章）。同年3月12日，外国船只也被要求提供船只和货物价值四倍的担保，或两倍于本国船只的担保，保证他们不会驶往外国港口。并要求渔船宣誓声明在航行期间是否有任何渔获物被出售。然而，与此同时，总统被非常轻率地授权，可以授予船只装载压载物前往外国港口的权利，以便从那里提取美国公民的财产，并承诺携带这些财产返回，不得进行任何其他贸易等（第33章）。一个半月后，4月25日的一项法律进行了更有力的干预，该法律既禁止除当局控制下的所有船只装货，又笼统地禁止任何船只在未经总统特别许可的情况下前往任何毗邻外国领土的美国港口或地区。海关工作人员被要求在这些边境地区看管任何可疑的大量货物库存。此外，法律还赋予海军和海关船只以搜查权，并授权海关工作人员在总统作出决定之前，扣留涉嫌打算违法的船只等等的权力（第66章）。最后，在1809年1月9日，通过了一项《执行法》，该法召集了联邦所有弱小的公共权力来迫使人们遵守法律。因此，总统被授权从陆上和海上雇用美国的战斗部队，并为此目的雇用30艘船只。同时，所有以前的法律都变得更加严厉。车辆也受到禁运的限制，以防止通过陆路规避法律；船舶装载必须获得许可；海关官员拒绝许可的权利被扩大到在可疑情况下命令卸下已经装载的货物，并将货物从船上取下交给他们保管；存入的担保金被提高到货物价值的六倍。最后，为美国财产出海到外国的权利被取消了。

These convulsive regulations give a kind of negative to the actual circumstances, which would seem to have been characterized by even more systematic transgressions of the law than generally occurred during that exceptionally lawless period. In Passamaquoddy Bay, on the borders of British North America, and on the St. Mary’s River, which formed the boundary toward the still Spanish Florida, there were collected whole flotillas of American vessels, which, under the pretence of sea damage, put in with flour and fish at the ports of Nova Scotia and of the West Indian Islands, and gave the skippers’ need of money to pay for repairs as an excuse that the cargoes had been sold there, This transfer of trade outside the territories of the Union went to the north, west, and south. Korthward seven hundred sledges went back and forth between Montreal in Canada and the boundary of the State of Vermont ; and at the same time great quantities of potash were imported into Quebec. That city and Halifax in Nova Scotia had halcyon days, the former having more shipping than the whole of the United States ; and the British governor of Kova Scotia declared that the Embargo Act was ‘well calculated to promote the true interests of His Majesty’s American colonies ’, which, to say the least, was not its intention, In the West Indies, it is true, there appeared at first a serious shortage of foodstuffs and timber, accompanied by a great rise in prices ; and the French islands never regained their former prosperity. But many circumstances contributed to this ; and in the British West Indies the prices of grain sank again rapidly, and a number of American vessels went there, as also to Havana, where on one occasion, in 1808, there lay nearly a hundred at one time. On the cotton market at Charleston, where the law had evidentlybeen effective in 1808, an agent stated that it had been broken every week since December of that year and January of 1809. Of course the right to sail for American property abroad was particularly abused, and was therefore finally cancelled. Five hundred and ninety vessels are said to have left under this pretext, and as a rule they stayed away, like the American tonnage which happened to be outside the limits of the United States when the law was passed, and which took very good care not to come again under their jurisdiction. On the other hand, of course, those vessels which remained at home in obedience to the law remained largely without employment. Admiral Mahan supposes that those that remained in the states were in the majority, although, on the other hand, the complaints about the sufferings that the law was alleged to cause gained in volume from the desire to make party capital out of the matter. That part of the trade which, as far as one can judge, was hit hardest was the export of raw materials to Europe, especially the export of raw cotton from the Southern States to England. Thus Liverpool received only 25,926 bags in 1808 as compared with 146,756 bags, or nearly six times as much, in 180'7. Even that part of the British importation of raw materials which was not directly dependent on American supplies showed a great decline in 1808. This was presumably due to the general shortage of shipping that was a consequence of the withdrawal from traffic of a fairly large part of the second largest mercantile fleet in the world.

这些令人震惊的规定给实际情况带来了一种负面影响，使得更多的系统性违法行为出现，甚至多于没有法律的时代。在英属北美边界的帕萨马科迪湾和构成通往西班牙佛罗里达州边界的圣玛丽河上，聚集了美国全体船队，它们以海损为借口，在新斯科舍和西印度群岛的港口装上面粉和鱼，并以船长需要钱来支付修理费为借口，说货物已在那里售出。在加拿大的蒙特利尔和佛蒙特州的边界之间，有700辆雪橇来回穿梭；同时，大量的钾肥被进口到魁北克。该市和新斯科舍省的哈利法克斯曾有过辉煌的日子，前者的航运量超过了整个美国。科瓦斯科舍省的英国总督宣称，禁运法"是为了促进国王陛下的美洲殖民地的真正利益"，至少这并不是它的本意。的确，在西印度群岛，起初出现了食品和木材的严重短缺，伴随着价格的大幅上涨，法兰西群岛再也没有恢复从前的繁荣。但许多情况促成了这种情况；在英属西印度群岛，粮食价格再次迅速下降，许多美国船只前往那里，也前往哈瓦那，有一次在1808年，那里一次就有近百艘船只。在查尔斯顿的棉花市场上，法律显然在1808年已经生效，一位代理人说，自该年12月和1809年1月以来，每星期都有人破坏法律。当然，为美国财产出海的权利尤其被滥用，因此最终被取消。据说有五百九十艘船以这个借口离开了，而且一般来说，他们都不离开，就像法律通过时碰巧在美国境外的美国吨位一样，他们非常小心，没有再来到美国的管辖范围内。当然，另一方面，那些遵从法律留在国内的船只在很大程度上仍然没有工作。马汉上将认为，留在各州的船只占大多数，尽管另一方面，对该法律据称造成的痛苦的抱怨大量来自于从此事中获得政党资本的愿望。就人们的判断而言，贸易中受打击最大的部分是向欧洲出口原材料，特别是向英国出口南部各州的原棉。因此，利物浦在1808年只收到了25,926袋，而在1807年则收到了146,756袋，几乎是六倍的数量。即使是不直接依赖美国供应的那部分英国原材料进口，在1808年也出现了大幅下降。这大概是由于世界上第二大商船队中的相当大一部分退出了运输，造成了普遍的航运短缺。

In spite of the immense extent to which the law was disregarded, therefore, it would be an exaggeration to call the Embargo Act ineffective as a means of giving trouble to the belligerents. During the years 1808 and 1809 the British opposition never wearied of holding up to the government thedisastrous consequences that its Orders in Council had hrtd by giving rise to the Embargo Act, which had cut off both the supply of raw materials from the United States and, above all, the possibility of sales there. In accordance with the good old British parliamentary custom, they made the government responsible for all the maladies of the body politic, while the government, also in the usual stereotyped fashion, pictured the situation in as favourable a light as possible and ascribed the undeniable difficulties to other causes. Any inquiry of scientific value, however, must consider the course of economic development as a whole, and for this reason the question of the effects of the Continental System on the belligerents has been held over for separate treatment in the fourth part of this work. In any case, the difficulties accruing to Great Britain in consequence of the Embargo Act were not of such consequence as to lead its government in 1808 either to rescind the Orders in Council or even in the least degree to modify their application. On the contrary, Canning, as foreign secretary, conducted the almost continuous exchange of notes with an ironic superiority and a diplomatic skill which were calculated to irritate more and more the American government with its clumsier methods

因此，尽管该法在很大程度上被认为是无效的，但称《禁运法》作为给交战国带来麻烦的手段是夸张的。在1808年和1809年期间，英国反对派不厌其烦地向政府提出其枢密院令造成的灾难性后果，即禁运法，它切断了来自美国的原材料供应，尤其是在美国销售的可能性。按照英国议会的古老习惯，他们让政府对政治体的所有弊病负责，而政府也按照通常的陈规陋习，尽可能地把情况描绘得有利一些，把不可否认的困难归咎于其他原因。然而，任何具有科学价值的调查都必须把经济发展的过程作为一个整体来考虑，因此，大陆体系对交战国的影响问题被搁置起来，在本作品的第四部分单独处理。无论如何，《禁运法》给英国带来的困难并没有导致其政府在1808年撤销枢密院命令，甚至在最低程度上修改其适用范围。相反，坎宁作为外交大臣，以一种讽刺性的优势和外交技巧进行了几乎连续不断的换文，这些都是为了让美国政府对其笨拙的方法越来越恼火。

## **BAYONNE DECREE (APRIL 17, 1808)**

## **巴约纳法令（1808年4月17日）**

The American law had, if possible, still less effect, in the direction intended, on Napoleon’s measures. Decrhs’s original uncertainty as to the scope of the Berlin decree had inspired the American government with what it somewhat vaguely called an assurance that the measures would not be applied against the United States ; and this curious position was maintained by the Americans in the exchange of notes with Great Britain even after the Milan decree and its application should have definitely dissipated all such hopes. Like Great Britain, France was constantly capturing American vessels ;and in so doing she behaved, if possible, in a still more violent manner than her adversary, especially by confiscating vessels simply and solely because they had been subjected to examination by British cruisers, a thing which they codd not possibly have escaped. This interpretation was carried to such an extent, and with such disregard of actual conditions, that in 1808, for instance, an American brig' was declared lawful prize because of the British examination, despite the fact that, immediately after the examination, it had endeavoured to flee from the British cruiser into the port of Bilbao, which belonged to Napoleon's ally, Spain, and had thus done its best to show its desire to stand well with the continental powers. As a matter of fact, Napoleon was so little inclined to except the United States from his proposition that neutrals did not exist, that with his usual ability to draw unexpected logical conclusions he managed to find in this very Embargo Act a justification for seizing all American vessels that arrived at French or ' allied ' ports. In a letter addressed to his minister of finance, Gaudin, on April 17, 1808, he declared, in fact, that, as the government of the United States had laid an embargo on its vessels and resolved not to carry on foreign trade during the war, ' it is evident that all the vessels that say they come from America really come from England and that their papers are fictitious ' ; and consequently all American vessels that came to the ports of France, Holland, the Hanse Towns or Italy were to be seized.This was the Bayonne decree, and was all that the United States got out of France by the Embargo Act.

如果可能的话，美国的法律对拿破仑的措施在预期的方向上影响更小。德克尔斯最初对柏林法令的范围不确定，这使美国政府受到启发，它有些含糊地称这些措施不会对美国适用；即使在米兰法令及其应用使所有这些希望破灭之后，美国人在与英国的换文中仍保持着这种奇怪的立场。与英国一样，法国也在不断地捕获美国船只；在这样做的时候，如果可能的话，她的行为比她的对手更加粗暴，特别是没收船只，只是因为它们受到了英国巡洋舰的检查——这是它们不可能逃脱的事情。这种解释达到了这样的程度，而且无视实际情况，例如，在1808年，一艘美国双桅船因为英国的检查而被宣布为合法的战利品，尽管在检查之后，它曾试图从英国巡洋舰那里逃到属于拿破仑的盟友西班牙的毕尔巴鄂港，并因此尽力表明它希望与大陆国家站在一起。事实上，拿破仑并不倾向于将美国排除在他那不存在任何中立国的主张之外，以至于他以其一贯的能力得出了意想不到的逻辑结论，设法在这个禁运法中找到了扣押所有抵达法国或 "盟国 "港口的美国船只的理由。在1808年4月17日写给财政部长高登的信中，他宣布，事实上，由于美国政府已经对其船只实施禁运，并决定在战争期间不进行对外贸易，"很明显，所有声称来自美国的船只实际上来自英国，他们的文件是虚构的"；因此，所有来到法国、荷兰、汉萨城或意大利港口的美国船只将被扣押。这就是巴约纳法令，也是美国通过禁运法从法国得到的全部东西。

## **NON-INTERCOURSE ACT (MARCH 1, 1809)**

## **不交涉法（1809年3月1日）**

The hopelessness of the struggle against the disregard of the law by the Americans themselves finally led the President and Congress to give it up, and that, too, shortly after the passing of the Enforcement Act in January, 1809. The fact is that this law gave rise to disturbances and to a &ill greater feeling of irritation in the shipping states, so much the more so as theinsurrection in Spain in the late summer of 1808 seemed to open up new and bright prospects to American trade. The result was a new and famous law, the Non-intercourse Act, passed on March 1,1809.That law repealed the Embargo Act as a complete all-round self-blockade, and limited the embargo so as to make it apply only to the two sets of belligerents, Great Britain and France ; but by way of compensation it was made, if possible, still more strict against them. Over and above the prohibition of American trade and shipping contained in the Embargo Act, which remained in force with regard to those two countries, all British and French vessels, all goods shipped from Great Britain and France, and all goods produced there, were now forbidden to enter American ports as from May 20, 1809. The substitution of the two-sided prohibition for the one-sided Non-importation Act, which was exclusively directed against Great Britain, gave a really consistent expression to an impartial policy of reprisals. The intention was to provide an outlet for American trade which could make the measure feasible without blunting the edge of its task as a measure of reprisal; and it was thus, practically speaking, a rationalization of the Embargo Act. But it was obvious beforehand that any control of its observance must be more difficult than ever when once American vessels obtained the right to sail to Europe, The character of the law as a means of exerting pressure was further marked by the fact that the President was authorized to announce by proclamation when either of the two belligerents revokedoramended its laws to such an extent that they no longer violated the trade of the United States ; after which event commercial intercourse with the country of that belligerent was to be renewed.

对反对美国人无视法律的斗争的绝望导致总统和国会在1809年1月《执行法》通过后不久放弃了这项法律。事实是，这项法律在各航运州引起了骚乱和更大的刺激，尤其是1808年夏末西班牙的起义似乎为美国贸易开辟了新的光明前景。结果是1809年3月1日通过了一项新的、著名的法律，即《不交涉法》。该法废除了《禁运法》，产生了一个全面的自我封锁，并限制了禁运，使其只适用于两方交战国，即英国和法国；但作为补偿，它对这两方交战国在可能得范围内更加严格。除了《禁运法》中包含的对美国贸易和航运的禁令（对这两个国家仍然有效）之外，从1809年5月20日起，所有英国和法国的船只、所有从英国和法国运来的货物以及当地生产的所有货物都被禁止进入美国港口。用双面禁令取代专门针对英国的片面的《不进口法》，使公正的报复政策得到了真正一致的表达。其目的是为美国贸易提供一个可行的出口措施，同时又不削弱其作为报复措施的优势；因此，实际上，它是《禁运法》的一个合理化。但事先很明显的是，一旦美国船只获得了航行到欧洲的权利，对其遵守情况的任何控制都会比以往更加困难。该法律作为施加压力的手段的特点还表现在，当两个交战国中的任何一个国家撤销或修改其法律，以至于不再侵犯美国的贸易时，总统有权通过公告宣布；在此之后，与该交战国的商业往来将重新进行。

The natural result was a considerable recovery in American foreign trade, in the &st place with the more or less neutral places, such as the Hanse Towns, Altona, and especially Tanning in Schleswig and probably Gothenburg. The trade with England continued to go chiefly to Canada and Nova Scotia, and also, especially for cotton, wia Amelia Island in the St. Mary’s River and thence to Europe in British bottoms, which could not beregarded as attractive from an American standpoint. Cotton went also via Lisbon, Cadiz, the Azores or other permitted ports, while persons who had no reputation to lose made shipments direct to Liverpool. But the need of the goods was so small, comparatively, in Great Britain, that the increased prices which were a consequence of the roundabout journey and the difficulties of transportation lowered profits for the American exporters

自然的结果是，美国的对外贸易有了相当大的恢复，首先是与汉斯镇、阿尔托纳、特别是石勒苏益格的制革和可能的哥德堡等或多或少中立的地方。与英国的贸易继续主要流向加拿大和新斯科舍省，还有，特别是棉花，从圣玛丽河的阿梅利亚岛出发，然后通过英国的底舱运往欧洲。从美国人的角度来看，这个选择并不具有吸引力。棉花也经过里斯本、加的斯、亚速尔群岛或其他允许的港口，而那些没有名誉损失的人则直接将货物运往利物浦。但是，相对而言，英国对这些货物的需求很小，由于迂回运输和运输困难，价格上涨，降低了美国出口商的利润。

But while the economic effects continued to arouse discord, the political effects seemed, though somewhat late, to promise the results expected from a policy of reprisals. Madison, who had succeeded Jefferson as President three days after the passing of the Non-intercourse Act, was rejoiced to receive an English proposal for a settlement, which rapidly attained an apparent result. In reality, to be sure, Canning’s conditions for an agreement were entirely unacceptable by the American government. But the British minister at Washington, Erskine, son of the Lord Chancellor in the ‘ All the Talents ’ ministry, went in his zeal for a settlement quite beyond his instructions and promised on behalf of his government the rescinding of the Orders in Council as against the United States from June 10, 1809. On this, Madison, in accordance with the authority given him in the Non-intercourse Act, announced this concession on the part of Great Britain in a proclamation which suspended the American act from the same day. An immense movement immediately began in all American ports, where six hundred vessels lay ready to sail on the appointed day ; and during the week June 16-23, Liverpool received more American cotton than it had received throughout the entire year of 1807. At this point, however, it was found that the British government disavowed its minister, and the President was compelled to revoke his proclamation. The new British envoy who succeeded Erskine came immediately into sharp conflict with the American government and was recalled ; after which all prospects of an immediate settlement in this quarter were again blighted.

但是，虽然经济上的影响继续引起不和，但政治上的影响似乎——尽管有些晚——保证了报复政策所预期的结果。麦迪逊在《不交涉法》通过三天后接替杰斐逊成为总统，他很高兴地收到了英国提出的解决建议，该建议迅速取得了明显的效果。实际上，可以肯定的是，坎宁的协议条件是美国政府完全不能接受的。但英国驻华盛顿公使厄斯金（Erskine），"众望所归 "的大法官的儿子，热衷于达成和解，完全没有遵循坎宁的指示，并代表他的政府承诺从1809年6月10日起撤销针对美国的安理会命令。在这一点上，麦迪逊根据《不交涉法》赋予他的权力，在一份公告中宣布了英国方面的这一让步，从同一天起暂停了美国的法案。一场巨大的运动立即在所有美国港口展开，那里有600艘船只准备在指定日期起航；在6月16日至23日的一周内，利物浦收到的美国棉花比它在1807年全年收到的还要多。然而，在这一点上，人们发现英国政府不承认其部长，总统被迫撤销了他的公告。接替厄斯金的新英国特使立即与美国政府发生了尖锐的冲突，并被召回；此后，在这一地区立即解决问题的所有前景再次被破坏。

## **FREEDOM OF TRADE (1810-11)**

## **贸易自由（1810-1811）**

The Non-intercourse Act now also had to be dropped. Its place was taken on May 1, 1810, by a third law,which was intended to give the belligerents a period of grace within which they might amend their ways, but at the same time to play out the one who did so against his still obdurate antagonist. It was laid do- that, if either of the two countries, Great Britain and France, rescinded her regulations before March 3, 1811, but the other country did not follow the example within three months, the President might by proclamation put into force against the latter country the principal provisions of the Non-intercourse Act. For the moment, therefore, trade was free with all countries and consequently grew apace during the year 1810. However, this did not hold good of the colonial carrying trade, which had largely dropped out of American hands, not only, or perhaps not even principally, because of the Continental decrees and the Orders in Council, but also in consequence of the military events themselves, in that at first the insurrection in Spain in 1808 and afterwards the capture of the French colonies in 1809-10, put the British themselves in a position to take over the trade in almost anything that could be called colonial goods. The trade that did grow apace, therefore, was especially imports and also all trade in the products of the United States, chiefly the sale of raw cotton to Great Britain and of grain to the combatants in the Iberian peninsula ; but this is of comparatively little interest from our present point of view,

现在，《不交涉法》也不得不被取消。1810年5月1日，第三项法律取代了它的位置，该法律的目的是给交战国一个宽限期，让它们可以修改自己的做法，但同时也让这样做的一方对他仍然顽固的对手发挥作用。协议规定，如果英国和法国这两个国家中的任何一个在1811年3月3日之前取消了她的规定，但另一个国家在三个月内没有效仿，总统可以通过公告使《不交涉法》的主要条款对后者生效。因此，就目前而言，与所有国家的贸易都是自由的，因此在1810年期间增长迅速。然而，这对殖民地的运输贸易并不有利，它在很大程度上脱离了美国人的掌控，这不仅是因为大陆法令和枢密院令，而且还因为军事事件本身，因为首先是1808年西班牙的叛乱，然后是1809-1810年对法国殖民地的占领，使英国人自己处于接管几乎所有可称为殖民地货物贸易的地位。因此，迅速增长的贸易特别是进口贸易和所有美国产品的贸易，主要是向英国出售原棉和向伊比利亚半岛的战斗人员出售谷物；但从我们目前的观点来看，这一点相对来说没有什么意义、

## **REVOCATION OF CONTINENTAL DECREES (1810-12)**

## **撤销大陆法令（1810-1812）**

These two American laws of 1809 and 1810 gave Napoleon an opportunity for a diplomatic game of hide and seek, the like of which has seldom been seen, and which completely. fogged the Americans and finally led to the attainment of his object by making inevitable a breach between Great Britain and theUnited States. At first he took no notice of the Non-intercourse Act and pretended that he did not know of it, although a note to his minister of the interior, dated December 21, 1809, speaks of it in plain terms ; and three weeks later a letter to his foreign secretary, Champagny, shows that he desired a settlement with America, But about a year after the American law was passed he suddenly proceeded to a measure of reprisal, the Rambouillet decree, dated March 23, 1810, but not published until about the middle of May. The least remarkable thing about this decree is that, on the ground of the Non-intercourse Act, it was ordered that all American vessels should be seized and sold for the benefit of Napoleon’s caisse d’nrnortissement, although this was going a good deal farther than his earlier measures, which had not explicitly involved confiscation. What made this particular measure especially ruthless, was another feature, that it was given retroactive force as far back as the date on which the American law came into force, May 20, 1809. Thus it made Napoleon master of a number of vessels and cargoes (according to an American estimate, 100 vessels with cargoes representing a value of $10,000,000), which, suspecting no evil, had gone to the ports of France or her allies. But shortly afterwards, when the Emperor learned of the American law of 1810, he immediately saw in it a possibility for a most bewildering diplomatic action, namely, by means of an apparent concession concerning the Continental decrees, to drive the United States into putting the law into force against Great Britain. In a more than usually characteristic letter to Champagny (July 31,1810) he rejects the idea of rescinding the Berlin and Milan decrees-which, he says, ‘ would cause disturbance and not fulfil my object,’-and simply charges Champagny to inform the American envoy in a diplomatic note that he might feel assured that the decrees would not be enforced after November 1, and that he should regard them as revoked. ‘ This method,’ he says with calm effrontery, ‘ seems to me to be more in accordance with my dignity and with the seriousness of the case.’ Two days later Napoleon sent a draft for such a note, which Champagny forwarded practically unaltered to the representative of the United States (August 5). The foreign secretary there says that he is authorized to declare that the Berlin and Milan decrees are revoked and that they cease to be enforced after November 1, ' it being understood, of course, that in consequence of this declaration the English must rescind their Orders in Council and renounce the new blockade principles that they had wished to establish, or else that the United States, in accordance with the law of which you have informed me, should make their rights respected by the English '. This note was inserted in Le Moniteur a few days later, and toward the end of the year it was followed by a letter from the minister of finance to the director general of customs, written by the Emperor's order, to the effect that the decrees 'should not be applied to American vessels ; and this, too, was inserted in the official newspaper of France.

1809年和1810年的这两部美国法律给了拿破仑一个机会，让他玩起了外交上的捉迷藏游戏，这种游戏是很少见的，它完全迷惑了美国人，最后导致了他的目标的实现，使英国和美国之间不可避免地出现裂痕。起初，他没有注意到《不交涉法》，并假装不知道它，尽管1809年12月21日给他的内政部长的照会中明确提到了它；三周后给他的外交秘书尚帕尼的信表明，他希望与美国达成和解。但在美国法律通过大约一年后，他突然采取了一项报复措施，即1810年3月23日的朗布依埃法令，但直到5月中旬才公布。这项法令最不引人注目的地方是，以《不交涉法》为由，命令扣押和出售所有美国船只，以便为拿破仑提供资金，尽管这比他以前的措施走得更远，因为这些措施并没有明确涉及没收。但使这项特殊措施特别无情的是另一个特点，即它被赋予了追溯力，可以追溯到美国法律生效的日期，即1809年5月20日。因此，它使拿破仑成为一些船只和货物的主人（根据美国人的估计，有100艘船只，货物价值为1000万美元），这些已经已经去了法国或其盟国的港口的船只不会被怀疑有任何恶意。但不久之后，当皇帝得知1810年的美国法律时，他立即在其中看到了采取最令人困惑的外交行动的可能性，即通过对大陆法令的明显让步，促使美国对英国实施该法律。在给尚帕尼的一封比通常更有特点的信中（1810年7月31日），他拒绝了废除柏林和米兰法令的想法。他说，"这将引起骚乱，不能实现我的目标，"他只是指责尚帕尼在一份外交照会中通知美国特使，声称他确信这些法令不会在11月1日之后被执行，因此他应该把这些法令视为被撤销。他平静而又厚颜无耻地说道：“在我看来，这种方法更符合我的尊严和情况的严重性”。两天后，拿破仑寄来了这样一份照会的草稿，尚帕尼将其转交给了美国代表（8月5日），几乎没有任何改动。外交秘书在那里说，他被授权宣布废除柏林和米兰的法令，并在11月1日之后停止执行。“当然，双方都理解，由于这一声明，英国人必须撤销他们的枢密院命令，放弃他们希望建立的新的封锁原则，否则，根据你通知我的法律，美国应该让英国人尊重他们的权利”几天后，这份说明被刊登在《世界报》上，在这一年的年底，财政部长根据皇帝的命令给海关总署署长写了一封信，大意是这些法令'不应适用于美国船只；这封信也被刊登在法国的官方报纸上。

One can not be surprised, it is true, that the American statesmen and diplomats were at the &st blush highly delighted with the French declaration of August and, on the strength of it, immediately requested a corresponding concession on the part of Great Britain. Nevertheless, the very form in which the ' fundamental principle ' of the French Empire-the laws around which the whole of European politics had revolved for well-nigh four years-was revoked was so far peculiar that it might reasonably be expected to superinduce scepticism. And it proved almost immediately that the Continental decrees were applied just the same as before, not only in general, but also against American vessels. When this was pointed out to him, Napoleon declared that it was really due to the fact that the vessels had disobeyed his port regulations and not the international rules contained in the Berlin and Milan decrees. But in reality the fact of the matter was that the only vessels which were liberated were those which had not disobeyed the Continental decrees; and with regardto those which had disobeyed them, no change took place except that they were not, it is true, condemned to confiscation but were nevertheless detained by the French authorities. None the less, Napoleon did accord a limited amount of consideration to the trade and shipping of the United States in the autumn of 1810, inasmuch as he issued a number of licences to American vessels that wished to import into France certain American colonial goods, with French consular certificates written in cipher in order to provide security that the British should not appear in the guise of Americans. He also reduced to one quarter the enormous customs dues that the Trianon tariff of August 5, 1810, had imposed upon colonial goods when the importation had been directly effected by American vessels. A contributory motive behind this measure was the necessity of being able to appeal to the support of the United States in the pressure which Napoleon was now bringing to bear, though in vain, on Emperor Alexander of Russia in order to keep that country within the Continental System. But none of these things altered the fact that the system itself remained unchanged.

美国的政治家和外交家们对法国8月的声明一见钟情，并根据该声明立即要求英国方面作出相应的让步，这一点没什么令人惊讶的。然而，法兰西帝国的 "基本原则"，整个欧洲政治围绕其旋转了近四年的法律，被废除的形式是如此的特殊，以至于有理由预期它将极度引起人们的怀疑。而事实几乎立即证明，大陆法令的适用与以前一样，不仅是一般的，而且是针对美国船只的。当有人向他指出这一点时，拿破仑宣称，这确实是由于这些船只不遵守他的港口规定，而不是柏林和米兰法令中的国际规则。但事实上，唯一被释放的船只是那些没有违抗大陆法令的船只；至于那些违抗法令的船只，除了没有被判处没收，但仍被法国当局扣留之外，没有任何变化。尽管如此，拿破仑在1810年秋天确实对美国的贸易和航运给予了有限的关注，因为他向希望向法国进口某些美国殖民地货物的美国船只发放了一些许可证，并提供了用密码书写的法国领事证书，以保证英国人不会以美国人的身份出现。他还将1810年8月5日的特里亚侬关税对直接由美国船只进口的殖民地货物征收的巨额关税减至四分之一。这项措施背后的一个促成动机是，有必要呼吁美国支持拿破仑现在对俄罗斯皇帝亚历山大施加的压力，尽管这是徒劳的压力，以使该国保持在大陆体系内。但是，这些事情都没有改变一个事实，即该体系本身仍然没有改变。

However, the American statesmen had already bound themselves to regard Champagny’s August note as a genuine and already effective revocation and therefore were placed in an extremely awkward position when compelled to maintain this standpoint in their negotiations with the British. For they were at the same time exerting all their powers of persuasion to induce the French to make the revocation a reality. As the putting into force of the American law of 1810 was made dependent on the willingness of the one or the other of the belligerents to rescind his laws, there consequently arose a difficulty in applying the law against Great Britain, which had not taken any conciliatory steps ; and it was therefore considered necessary, on March 2, 1811, to pass a new law which,irrespective of this question of interpretation, put the previously mentioned parts of the Non-intercourse Act into force again as against Great Britain. This was the Non-importation Act of 1811.1 Curiously enough, this law seems to have been very effective, so that the old methods of evading the prohibition on trade by shipping cargo via Amelia Island in Canada were but little used. Cotton ltccumulated more and more in Charleston in the course of 1811 ; and in the autumn no quotations could be published because there were no buyers. The whole situation was very peculiar from a commercial point of view, inasmuch as the claims of the cotton exporters on England could not be satisfied directly, in the natural manner, by the importation of British goods, since all such imports were now forbidden. Probably the triangular trade through other countries also offered great difficulties, for we find the cotton broker in Charleston whose reports Mr. Daniels has edited complaining of the fact that drafts on England were unsaleable, thanks to the new Non-importation Act ; and similar complaints were registered on the British side in a petition from the cotton importing town of Liverpool.

然而，美国的政治家们已经把尚帕尼8月的照会视为真正的、已经生效的撤销条例，因此，当他们被迫在与英国人的谈判中坚持这一立场时，就处于极其尴尬的境地了。因为他们同时也在发挥他们所有的说服力，促使法国人把撤销变成现实。由于1810年美国法律的生效取决于交战国中的一方或另一方是否愿意废除其法律，因此，在对没有采取任何和解措施的英国适用该法律时出现了困难；因此，有必要在1811年3月2日通过一项新的法律，不论这一解释问题如何，都将《不交涉法》中预先提到的部分再次对英国生效。这就是1811年的《不进口法》。奇怪的是，这项法律似乎非常有效，因此，通过加拿大的阿梅利亚岛运输货物来逃避贸易禁令的老方法几乎没有被使用。1811年期间，棉花在查尔斯顿越积越多；到了秋天，由于没有买家，无法公布配额。从商业角度看，整个情况非常特殊，因为棉花出口商对英国的要求不能以自然的方式直接通过进口英国商品来满足，因为现在所有这种进口都被禁止了。可能通过其他国家的三角贸易也带来了巨大的困难，因为我们发现查尔斯顿的棉花经纪人（丹尼尔斯先生曾编辑过他的报告）抱怨说，由于新的《不进口法》，英国的汇票无法出售；在英国方面，棉花进口城市利物浦的一份请愿书中也有类似的抱怨记录。

However, it now became more necessary than ever for the Americans to convince the British of the genuineness of the French revocation ; and this offered greater and greater difficulties, especially in the face of Napoleon’s own utterances. In two great speeches delivered in March, 1811, one to deputies from the Hanse Towns and another to deputies from the French Chambers of Commerce (the second of which was not published officially, but was circulated in different versions), he repeated his old phrase about the Berlin and Milan decrees as the fundamental laws of the Empire, whose validity was coextensive with that of the Orders in Council. In the second of the speeches, it is true, he declared himself prepared to receive the Americans in French ports, on condition that they should uphold the same principles as he did ; and if they could not compel England to respect them, that they should declare war on that country.But manifestly this implied something quite different from the idea that the decrees had been abolished as far back as the November of the previous year. Napoleon expressed himself in a still more unqualified manner in an unpublished message to his Conseil d’administratim du commerce (April 29, 1811), after the passing of the American law of 1811. Inasmuch as that law forbade American vessels to go to England, it followed, he thought, in accordance with his old way of thinking, that a vessel which nevertheless went there was not American at all but English ; and on this hypothesis one could quite well say that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, at least so far as the United States were concerned !

然而，现在美国人比以往任何时候都更有必要让英国人相信法国撤销条约的真实性；这带来了越来越大的困难，尤其是面对拿破仑自己的言论。在1811年3月发表的两次重要讲话中，一次是对汉萨同盟的代表，另一次是对法国商会的代表（第二次讲话没有正式发表，但有不同的版本），他重复了他那句老话，说柏林和米兰法令是帝国的基本法律，其效力与枢密院令的效力相同。诚然，在第二次讲话中，他宣布准备在法国港口接待美国人，条件是他们应坚持与他相同的原则；如果他们不能迫使英国尊重这些原则，他们应向该国宣战。但这显然意味着与早在前一年11月就已废除法令的想法完全不同。拿破仑在1811年美国法律通过后，在给他的商业管理委员会的一份未发表的信息中（1811年4月29日），以一种更无条件的方式表达了自己的观点。他认为，既然该法律禁止美国船只前往英国，那么按照他以前的思维方式，前往英国的船只就根本不是美国船只，而是英国船只；根据这一假设，人们完全可以说，柏林和米兰的法令被撤销了，至少就美国而言是这样！

## REVOCATION OF ORDERS IN COUNCIL (1812)

## 撤销议会法令（1812）

Meanwhile, the British government remained undecided and awaited developments. But after Napoleon had caused to be published a report by Maret, Champagny’s successor as foreign minister, on March 10, 1812, in which the blessings of the Continental decrees were once more asserted, the British Prince Regent replied by a proclamation, dated April 21, to the effect that, as soon as the Berlin and Milan decrees had been expressly and unreservedly revoked, the Orders in Council should also be regarded, without further ado, as having lapsed. This at last placed in the hands of the American diplomats a weapon against France which bore fruit. Maret allowed himself to be induced by it to bring forward the last of this series of strange documents, namely, a decree of April 28,1811, which, according to its date, was more than a year old, but which was never published and was quite unknown until that time. This decree declared that the Berlin and Milan decrees had ceased to hold good for American vessels from November 1, 1810, more than six months earlier, in accordance with the original declaration. When this document was laid before the British government, the British statesmen were not a little confounded, for whichone can hardly blame them ; but after some delay they considered that they ought to declare that, though the decree did not contain the general revocation that had been stipulated in the Prince Regent's proclamation of April 21, nevertheless the Orders in Council should be rescinded as regards American vessels. Accordingly, with the enthusiastic approval of the British opposition, the Orders in Council were revoked on June 23,1812, so far as American vessels with American cargoes were concerned. This revocation was to take effect as from August 1, though only under the condition that the American government revoked its prohibition of commercial intercourse with Great Britain. It is evident that many factors contributed to this result : dearth and disturbances in England itself, for which the opposition laid all the blame on the Orders in Council; the desire to disarm the war party, which had grown stranger and stronger in the United States ; and the need of American supplies of grain for the greatly impoverished Iberian peninsula.

与此同时，英国政府仍未作出决定，继续等待事态的发展。但在拿破仑于1812年3月10日公布了尚帕尼的外交部长继任者马雷特的报告，其中再次强调了大陆法令的好处后，英国摄政王于4月21日发布公告，大意是，一旦柏林和米兰法令被明确和毫无保留地撤销，枢密院令也应被视为已经失效，而无需再作进一步的讨论。这终于使美国外交官手中有了对付法国的武器，并取得了成果。马雷特允许自己受其诱导，提出了这一系列奇怪文件中的最后一份，即1811年4月28日的一项法令，根据其日期，该法令已超过一年，但它从未被公布，直到那时才被人所知。该法令宣布，根据最初的声明，柏林和米兰法令从1810年11月1日，即六个多月前，就不再对美国船只有效了。当这份文件被提交给英国政府时，英国政治家们不免有些困惑，这也难怪他们；但经过一段时间的拖延后，他们认为应该宣布，虽然该法令不包含摄政王4月21日公告中规定的全面撤销，但对美国船只来说，枢密院令应该被撤销。因此，在英国反对派的热情支持下，枢密院命令于1812年6月23日被撤销，其中涉及到装载美国货物的美国船只。这一撤销从8月1日开始生效，但条件是美国政府撤销对与英国的商业往来的禁止。显然，许多因素促成了这一结果：英国本身的匮乏和动乱，反对派将所有责任归咎于枢密院的命令；解除战争党的武装的愿望，该党在美国变得更加奇特和强大；以及美国的粮食供应对极其贫困的伊比利亚半岛的需要。

When the British government had at last made its decision, however, Napoleon had already attained his object, although neither he nor anybody else had been able to foresee the order in which the events were to take place. On June 19, in fact, that is, four days before the rescinding of the Orders in Council, the United States had declared war on Great Britain, partly because of the disputes which have here been described and partly because of the impressment of seamen and various other things. In Great Britain it was generally expected, especially by the opposition, that the declaration of war would be recalled when the conciliatory decision of Great Britain became known. But this was'not the case ; and the war went on for two and a half years, until Christmas Eve 1814. It came too late,however, to exert any noteworthy influence on the course of events in Europe, which was now entirely determined by Napoleon’s Russian campaign ; and so far one may say that Great Britain’s great adversary, owing to the delay in the outbreak of the conflict, failed to attain his object. In any case, American events now disappear from the horizon of the Continental System.

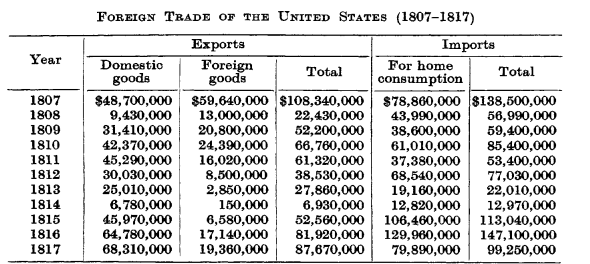
然而，当英国政府最终作出决定时，拿破仑已经达到了他的目的，尽管他和其他任何人都无法预见到事件发生的顺序。事实上，在6月19日，也就是在废除枢密院命令的四天前，美国已经向英国宣战，部分原因是这里所描述的争端，部分原因是扣押海员和其他各种事情。在英国，人们普遍认为，特别是反对派认为，当英国的和解决定公布后，宣战会被收回。但事实并非如此；战争持续了两年半，直到1814年圣诞节前夕。然而，它来得太晚了，无法对欧洲事件的进程产生任何值得注意的影响，而欧洲事件的进程现在完全由拿破仑的俄罗斯战役决定；到目前为止，人们可以说，由于冲突的延迟爆发，英国的伟大对手未能实现其目标。无论如何，美国的事件现在已经从大陆体系的地平线上消失了。

## **GENERAL SURVEY**

## **概况**

A summary-only very partial and sketchy, it is true, but readily comprehensible-of this peculiar development of events as regards America can be found in the following commercial statistics of the United States from 1807 to 1817. These form a continuation to the table printed on page 103

以下是美国1807年至1817年的商业统计资料，其中对美国这一特殊事件的发展进行了总结--确实是非常片面和粗略的，但很容易理解。这些数据是第103页所印表格的续篇

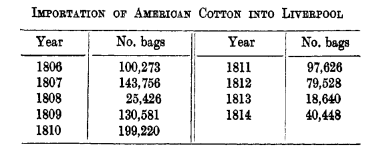


It is true that these figures have one great weakness, namely, that they seem not to pay any regard to smuggling. The enorrnous decline in exports and the very pronounced decline in imports shown in the year 1808, therefore, undoubtedly give an exaggerated notion of the effect of the Embargo Act, but picture quite correctly the almost complete disappearance of legitimate exports. Professor Charming’s calculation that, as a whole, the exports diminished by 75 percent. and the imports by 50 per cent., is probably too high, especially with regard to exp0rts.l For consonant with the facts as it may be, that the figures show a stronger decline for exports than for imports, the decrease of exports can hardly be as great as this hypothetical figure would seem to indicate. True, it was against American exports that both the Continental decrees, the Orders in Council, and the Embargo Act directed their blows with practical unanimity ; but, on the other hand, it is to be observed that smuggling also directed its successful counter-action to the same point. The subsequent Nonintercourse Act marks a powerful improvement, as appears from the figures for 1809; and the law of 1810 makes the imports and exports for that year and the exports for 1811 still higher. But, for reasons previously given, the export has changed its character from the colonial carrying trade to the sale of the United States' own products. In 1812 began the war with Great Britain, which gradually led to the almost complete cessation of all American foreign trade, especially of all exports. Finally, the years 1815-17 show the restoration of peace conditions, and thereby provide a suitable background for the alterations of war time. Especially noteworthy, in comparison with the situation in 1807, are the low figures for re-exports, which are only a little higher in 1815-17 than under the Embargo Act of 1808. This brings out very clearly the wartime character of this trade.

诚然，这些数字有一个很大的弱点，即它们似乎没有考虑到走私的问题。因此，1808年有着出口的大幅下降和进口的非常明显的下降。这无疑是对禁运法影响的一种夸大的概念，但很正确地反映了合法出口几乎完全消失的情况。查梅因教授的计算结果是，从整体上看，出口减少了75%，进口减少了50%，这可能太高了，特别是在出口方面，因为与事实相符的是，数字显示出口的下降比进口的下降更厉害，出口的减少不可能像这个假设数字似乎表明的那样大。诚然，大陆法令、枢密院令和禁运法实际上都是针对美国出口的；但是，另一方面，应该注意到，走私也将其成功的反击行动引向了同一地点。随后的《不交涉法》标志着一种强有力的改进，这一点从1809年的数字中可以看出；1810年的法律使该年的进出口和1811年的出口仍然很高。但是，由于前面提到的原因，出口的性质已经从殖民地的搬运贸易转变为美国自己产品的销售。1812年开始了与英国的战争，这逐渐导致了美国所有对外贸易，特别是所有出口的几乎完全停止。最后，1815-1817年显示了和平条件的恢复，从而为战争时期的改变提供了一个合适的背景。特别值得注意的是，与1807年的情况相比，1815-1817年的再出口的数字很低，仅比1808年禁运法下的数字高一点。这就非常清楚地表明了这种贸易的战时性质。

It may also be of interest to see the development of one special line of this trade, namely, the imports of American cotton into Liverpool. The figures were as follows

看一下这一贸易的一个特殊项目的发展，即美国棉花进口到利物浦，可能也是有意义的。这些数字如下



As is only natural, 1808, the year of the Embargo Act, stands lowest of the years before the war year 1813, while the Non-importation Act of 1811 also brings with it a heavy decline. The Non-intercourse Act of 1809, on the other hand, has no very strong repellent effect, although, of course, 1810, the only year with full freedom of trade, stands still higher. These figures, which presumably include smuggled goods, as well as lawful exports, thus confirm the preceding statements in all essentials.

很自然的是，1808年，即《禁运法》的那一年，在1813年战争年之前的年份中排名最低，而1811年的《不进口法》也带来了严重的下降。另一方面，1809年的《禁运法》没有产生非常强烈的排斥作用，当然，1810年，也就是唯一一个有完全贸易自由的年份，仍然占了更高比例。这些数字大概包括走私货物以及合法出口，因此在本质上证实了前面的陈述。

## **CHAPTER V**

## **第五章**

## **THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM IN EUROPE (1808-1812)**

## **欧洲的大陆体系（1808-1812）**

## **THE ' COAST SYSTEM '**

## **海岸系统**

DURING the years 1808-10 external political events in Europe were characterized by the steadily-continued extensionof the ' coast system '. In the very first of these years occurred the formal incorporation of Etruria with the French Empire; and at the same time Rome was occupied by French troops, to be also incorporated in the following year together with the rest of the Papal States. By this means the Italian peninsula was completely subjected to the power of Napoleon ; and of all that we now count as Italy, only Sicily and Sardinia succeeded in preserving their independence, thanks to the direct support of Great Britain, During 1809 the occupation of the coasts was followed up on the Balkan peninsula-a movement which had begun as early as the close of 1805 with the acquisition of Dalmatia and part of Istria. By the Peace of Vienna (Schonbrunn) Austria had now to cede, among other things, the rest of her coast, the remainder of Istria and Croatia ; and the acquisitions of 1805 and 1809 were incorporated with France, like all the territories previously mentioned, under the name of the Illyrian Provinces. F'rom the point of view of the Continental System, the most important thing about all this was that Napoleon's power was now extended to Trieste, which with some exaggeration might be called, after the incorporation of Leghorn, the Leipzig of South Europe.

在1808-1810年期间，欧洲外部政治事件的特点是 "海岸系统"的稳步持续扩展。在这些年份的第一年，伊特鲁里亚正式并入法兰西帝国；同时，罗马也被法国军队占领，并在第二年与教皇国的其他地区一起被并入。通过这种方式，意大利半岛完全臣服于拿破仑的权力之下；在我们现在算作意大利的所有地区中，只有西西里岛和撒丁岛在英国的直接支持下成功保持了它们的独立。1809年期间，对沿海地区的占领在巴尔干半岛得到了延续——这一运动早在1805年结束时就已经开始了，即对达尔马提亚和部分伊斯特拉的收购。根据《维也纳和约》（Schonbrunn），奥地利现在不得不割让其海岸的其余部分、伊斯特拉的其余部分和克罗地亚；1805年和1809年的收购与法国合并，就像之前提到的所有领土一样，以伊利里亚省的名义。从大陆体系的角度来看，这一切最重要的是，拿破仑的权力现在已经扩展到的里雅斯特，在并入莱贡之后，可以夸张地称之为南欧的莱比锡。

## DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE

## 法国殖民帝国的消失

As is well known, however, the year 1808 was a red-letter year in the history of the Continental System, and, for that matter, in the history of the great trial of strength as a whole. Thechange was exactly the reverse of that indicated by these new acquisitions, for the insurrection in Spain gave to events in the most western of the peninsulas of southern Europe exactly the opposite course to that in the two other peninsulas. The effect on the Continental System was brought about partly by military conditions, in that the coastal defence on the North Sea was weakened in respect of the forces required for the war -in the Iberian peninsula ; but the Spanish insurrection had a much larger bearing on the Continental System, through its consequences for colonial trade and for Napoleon's colonial empire. The German historian of Napoleon's colonial policy, Professor Roloff, has shown how decisively the events in Spain put an end to Napoleon's colonial plans, which had previously been built to a large extent on the Spanish possessions. From having been the basis for privateers against British trade, their passing into the hands of the enemy served as a weapon against the remains of the French colonies, which one after another fell into the hands of the British. In January 1809 French Guiana was taken ; in April, Martinique ; in July, what was originally the Spanish part of Haiti, Santo Doming0 (the French part, St. Domingue, had already for seven years been in the hands of the insurrectionary negroes), and at the same time Senegal in Africa ; in 1810 fell first Guadeloupe, the last French possession in America, and then the remaining African colonies, Isle-de-France (Mauritius) and Rhnion. In the same year, it is true, Java had nominally passed to France through the annexation of its mother country, Holland ; but this large island, too, fell finally into the hands of the British in September 1811. The doctrine that Napoleon had championed ever since the days of the Milan decreethough not, it is true, without some relapses-namely, that there were no neutrals and that all colonial goods were English, he had thus the doubtful pleasure of seeing stern reality confirming ex post facto. But evidently, on the other hand, this in a way increased the chances of the policy of ' conquering England by excess ',and made him not less, but rather more, zealous to pressruthlessly through the continental self-blockade with all available means.

然而，众所周知，1808年是大陆体系历史上的一个红字年[[32]](#footnote-31)，而且，在整个实力大考验的历史上也是如此。这种变化与这些新的收获所表明的变化完全相反，因为西班牙的叛乱使南欧半岛最西边的事件与另外两个半岛的事件完全相反。对大陆体系的影响部分是由军事条件造成的，因为就伊比利亚半岛的战争所需的力量而言，北海的海岸防御被削弱了；但西班牙叛乱对大陆体系的影响要大得多，因为它对殖民贸易和拿破仑的殖民帝国产生了后果。研究拿破仑殖民政策的德国历史学家罗洛夫教授表明，西班牙的事件是如何果断地结束了拿破仑的殖民计划，而这些计划在很大程度上是建立在西班牙属地之上的。这些殖民地在成为对抗英国贸易的私掠者的基础上，又落入了敌人的手中，成为对抗法国殖民地残余的武器，这些殖民地一个接一个地落入了英国的手中。1809年1月，法属圭亚那被占领；4月，马提尼克岛被占领；7月，原本是海地的西班牙部分，即圣多明各（法国部分，即圣多明各，已经在起义的黑人手中七年了），同时，非洲的塞内加尔也被占领；1810年，法国在美洲的最后一块殖民地瓜德罗普岛首先被占领，然后是剩余的非洲殖民地法兰西岛（毛里求斯）和朗尼昂。诚然，在同一年，爪哇岛因其母国荷兰的吞并而在名义上归属于法国；但这个大岛也在1811年9月最终落入英国人手中。拿破仑从米兰法令时代就开始倡导的学说，虽然不是没有过失，即不存在中立国，所有的殖民地货物都是英国的，但他却因此看到了事后确认的严酷现实，这让他感到疑惑。但显然，从另一方面来说，这在某种程度上增加了 "通过过度征服英国 "的政策的机会，并使他不仅没有减少，反而更加热衷于用所有可用的趋无情地突破大陆的自我封锁。

In Great Britain, however, in the course of 1809 expression was given to the prevailing belief in the relaxation of the pressure by a new Order in Council of April 26, which limited the blockade so as to include Holland as far as the Ems, France, with her colonies and the possessions dependent thereon, and North Italy as far as Pesaro and Orbitello, approximately including Tuscany, the old Etruria.The Orders in Council of November 11, 1807, were declared to be cancelled; but in reality their policy was continued without any change by the manner in which licences were granted. But a general optimism diffused itself in England during the course of 1809, thanks to the expansion of the colonial trade.

而在英国，1809年4月26日的一项新的枢密院命令表达了对放松压力的普遍信念，该命令限制了封锁，使其包括荷兰，远至埃姆斯河，法国及其殖民地和附属于它的属地，以及北意大利，远至佩萨罗和奥比泰洛，大约包括托斯卡纳，旧的伊特鲁里亚。1807年11月11日的枢密院命令被宣布取消；但实际上，他们的政策仍在继续，没有因为发放许可证的方式而有任何改变。但在1809年期间，由于殖民贸易的扩张，一种普遍的乐观情绪在英国蔓延开来。

## **THE CONVULSIONS OF 1810**

## **1810年的动乱**

The year 1810, on the other hand, was to be a year of heavy ordeals for both the ‘ mighty opposites ’, and that, too, both politically and economically. Sweden, which had resisted the Continental System longer than any other mainland state, was compelled as early as January to bind herself by the Treaty of Paris to exclude British vessels and commodities, except salta merely verbal profession of no very great importance, it is true, as Admiral Saumarez with his British squadron maintained friendly intercourse with the country without a break, even after Sweden had been compelled, in November, to declare war on Great Britain. Consequently, a far greater change was effected by events on the North Sea coast, in that Napoleon became more and more convinced of the impossibility of compelling obedience to the self-blockade beyond the limits of his own direct authority. For this reason there followed in rapid succession, first, in March, the acquisition of southern Holland as far as the River Waal, then the incorporation of the whole of Holland in July, after Napoleon’s brother Louis had abdicated and fled from the country, and finally, in December, the furtherannexation of the Hanse Towns, the coast of Hanover, which had formerly been assigned to the kingdom of Westphalia, the Ems department of the Grand Duchy of Berg, Lauenburg, and, after some hesitation, Oldenburg. The result of all this was that, at the turn of the year 1810-11, France extended along the whole of the North Sea coast and the Holstein border up to the Baltic at the mouth of the Trave. At the same time measures were being taken along the south coast of the Baltic by constantly more violent menaces against its three owners, that is, Prussia, helpless but bitterly hostile to Napoleon, Mecklenburg, and Sweden, as the possessor of Swedish Pomerania.

另一方面，1810年对这两个 "强大的对手"来说都是一个沉重的考验，而且是在政治上和经济上都是如此。瑞典抵制大陆体系的时间比任何其他大陆国家都长，早在1月就被迫通过《巴黎条约》约束自己，排除英国船只和除了盐以外的商品。尽管这只是口头上的承诺，并不十分重要。尽管瑞典在11月被迫向英国宣战，但索马雷兹海军上将和他的英国中队仍与该国保持着友好往来。因此，北海海岸发生的事件带来了更大的变化，因为拿破仑越来越相信，在他自己的直接权力范围之外，不可能迫使人们服从自我封锁。由于这个原因，接连发生了几件事，首先是法国在3月获得了荷兰南部直至瓦尔河的地区，然后是在7月，在拿破仑的弟弟路易退位并逃离荷兰后，整个荷兰被并入，最后是在12月，进一步并入了汉萨同盟、汉诺威海岸（以前被划归威斯特伐利亚王国）、伯格大公国的埃姆斯省、劳恩堡，以及在犹豫之后并入奥尔登堡。这一切的结果是，在1810-1811年之交，法国沿着整个北海海岸和荷尔斯泰因边境一直延伸到特拉夫河口的波罗的海。同时，在波罗的海南岸也采取了措施，对其三个所有者，即对拿破仑无能为力但充满敌意的普鲁士、梅克伦堡和作为瑞典波美拉尼亚拥有者的瑞典，不断发出更激烈的威胁。

It was precisely in the Baltic, however, that there happened before the close of the year an altogether revolutionary event, the strongest possible external blow against the structure that was geographically almost completed, viz, the apostasy of Russia, This occurrence had many causes, but the opposition between the two Emperors became visible when the Emperor Alexander declined Napoleon’s request in the autumn of 1810 to confiscate a large flotilla of commercial vessels trading in the Baltic under different neutral flags ; and the final emancipation was marked by the famous customs ukase which Alexander issued on the last day of the year (December 19/31). In this document a clause about the destruction of prohibited goods was renewed after an interval of thirteen years, undoubtedly in imitation of Napoleon’s own measures, to be mentioned presently. Nothing could have been more welcome to the French Emperor, if this had applied only to British goods ; but now the clause worked exactly in the opposite direction. For some important imports, foremost among them wines, had to arrive by sea in order to be legal ; and as French produce could come only by land, the blow struck at France herself. True, British goods were excluded, ipso facto, as coming from an enemy country. At the same time, however, American vessels were accorded preferential treatment ; and as they were the disguise principally used by British shipping, the whole measure was rightly regarded by Napoleon as an informalmanner of opening a door to the navigation of his enemy. To complete the picture, duties on the wines of France and her 4 allies were increased to twice the amount levied upon those of South-eastern Europe.

然而，正是在波罗的海，年底前发生了一件完全革命性的事件，这对地理上几乎完成的大陆体系结构来说，是最强烈的外部打击，即俄罗斯的变节。这一事件的发生有许多原因，但当亚历山大皇帝在1810年秋天拒绝了拿破仑关于没收在波罗的海打着不同中立旗帜的一大批商船的要求时，两个皇帝之间的对立就变得明显了；而最终的解放则以亚历山大在这一年的最后一天（12月19/31日）颁布的著名的海关禁令为标志。在这份文件中，关于销毁违禁品的条款在时隔13年后再次出现，这无疑是在模仿拿破仑自己的措施，将在下文中提及。如果这只适用于英国货物，那么没有什么比这更让法国皇帝高兴的了；但现在该条款的作用正好相反。因为一些重要的进口产品，其中最重要的是葡萄酒，必须通过海路才能合法；而法国的产品只能通过陆路运输，这就对法国本身造成了打击。诚然，英国商品被排除在外，当然是由于来自敌国。然而，与此同时，美国船只却得到了优惠待遇；由于它们是英国航运业主要使用的伪装，拿破仑正确地认为整个措施是为其敌人的航行打开了一扇非正式的大门。为了完成这一任务，对法国及其4个盟国的葡萄酒征收的关税增加到了对东南欧葡萄酒征收的两倍。

The order of Napoleon which received this unwelcome imitation was the Fontainebleau decree of October 1810, which prescribed the destruction of all English goods throughout the Continent, This formed the complement to the Trianon tariff ,+ of August of the same year, which, in contrast to this, admitted colonial goods, although only against enormous duties. Precisely at the time of this new turn in the Continental System, moreover, a serious crisis broke out in England and in France, and also in many other places ; and the difficulties of Great Britain inspired Napoleon with stronger hopes than ever of attaining the object of his great system, regardless of the fact that the dislocation of French economic life was at least equally deep and far-reaching.

拿破仑的命令得到了这种不受欢迎的模仿，即1810年10月的枫丹白露法令，该法令规定在整个欧洲大陆销毁所有英国商品，这是对同年8月的特里亚侬关税的补充，与此相反，特里亚侬关税允许殖民地商品，尽管只是征收巨额关税。此外，在大陆体系出现这种新的转折时，英国和法国以及其他许多地方都爆发了严重的危机；英国的困难激发了拿破仑实现其伟大体系目标的比以往更强烈的希望，尽管法国经济生活的混乱至少是同样深刻和深远的事实。

## **THE FINAL COLLAPSE**

## **最终崩溃**

By the apostasy of Russia, however, the Continental System had lost one of its retaining walls ; and in the course of 1811 the breach was more and more widened by Alexander’s constantly more open favourable treatment of British shipping. Napoleon had to try to raise a new barrier along the western frontier of Russia toward Prussia, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and Austria, and to have recourse to still more active measures to bar the south coast of the Baltic, now that British ships had points d’appui on its east coast in addition to those they had had all the time among the Swedish skerries. The last step in this direction was taken by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania in January 1813 ; but the immediate effect of this was to cause Sweden openly to fall away, Meanwhile, the preparations for the great trial of strength with Russia afterwards made heavie and heavier demands on Napoleon’s attention ; and with the beginning of the Russian campaign the cordon was relaxed everywhere. After the retreat from Moscow, in the beginning of the year 1813, insurrections took place both on the North Sea coast and in the Ruhr district (the Grand Duchy of Berg), which, like the Hanse Towns, had been very badly treated. It is true that they were ruthlessly suppressed, and Napoleon, sometimes at least, adhered to his old idea that the Continental System had shaken the power of England. But in the rush of more pressing claims that now came upon him, it exceeded even Napoleon’s ability to devote to the enforcement of the system the superhuman energy which, even under more favourable auspices, would have been necessary to prevent it from falling asunder. Moreover, the falling away of his compulsory allies cost the system its continental extension, so that even his sincere collaborator, Frederick VI of Denmark, took a cautious step backward ; and with the advance of the allied armies into France there also followed whole swarms of forbidden goods. Finally, the Continental decrees were formally rescinded, immediately after Napoleon’s abdication in April 1814. With that the system passed into the realms of history, not without dragging with it in its fall large parts of the new branches of production which were indebted to it for their existence.

然而，由于俄国的叛变，大陆体系失去了它的一道护墙；而在1811年期间，由于亚历山大不断地对英国航运给予更公开的优惠待遇，这个漏洞越来越大。拿破仑不得不在俄国西部边境对普鲁士、华沙大公国和奥地利设置新的屏障，并采取更积极的措施阻止波罗的海南岸，因为现在英国船只除了在瑞典的小艇中一直拥有支持点外，还在其东岸拥有支持点。这方面的最后一步是在1813年1月占领了瑞典的波美拉尼亚；但这一行动的直接效果是使瑞典公然倒戈，同时，随后与俄国进行的实力大比拼的准备工作对拿破仑的注意力提出了越来越高的要求；随着俄国战役的开始，警戒线也到处放松。从莫斯科撤退后，在1813年初，北海沿岸和鲁尔区（伯格大公国）都发生了叛乱，这些地区和汉萨同盟一样，受到了非常恶劣的对待。诚然，它们被无情地镇压了，而拿破仑，至少有时坚持他的旧观念，即大陆制度动摇了英国的力量。但是，在现在向他提出的更紧迫的要求中，甚至拿破仑都没有能力为执行这一制度投入超人的精力，而这种精力即使在更有利的情况下，也是防止它瓦解所必需的。此外，他的强制性盟友的离去使该制度失去了在大陆的扩展，因此，即使是他真诚的合作者，丹麦的腓特烈六世，也谨慎地后退了一步；随着盟军向法国的推进，也出现了一大批被禁止的货物。最后，在拿破仑于1814年4月退位后，大陆法令立即被正式废除了。随着这一制度进入历史领域，它的衰落并没有将大部分新的生产部门拖下水，而这些生产部门的存在则要归功于它。

But before that disintegration of the system which was visible from without and which was conditioned by external causes had had time to take effect, forces from within had appeared which made it a thing quite different from what had been originally intended. What has now been described, over and above the contents and significance of the foundational decrees, is merely the external political fapde behind which the real machinery worked. It is the latter that is to be the subject of part III.

但是，在这种从外部可见的、受外部原因制约的制度解体还没有来得及生效之前，来自内部的力量已经出现，使它成为与最初设想完全不同的东西。现在所描述的，除了基础法令的内容和意义之外，只是在背后运作的真正的系统的外部政治形式。而系统本身才是第三部分的主题。

# PART III第三部分

# INTERNAL HISTORY AND WORKING OF THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

# 大陆体系的内部历史与运作

## **CHAPTER I**

## **TREATMENT OF CONFISCATED GOODS**

## **没收货物的处理**

THE task that Napoleon made the central point of his policy manifestly imposed the greatest demands on its inventor and his helpers, especially when we take into consideration the administrative powers at the disposal of the governments of the time.

拿破仑把这项任务作为其政策的核心，显然对其发明者和他的助手提出了最大的要求，特别是当我们考虑到当时政府所拥有的行政权力。

With regard to what was by far the most important point, namely, the exclusion of British and colonial goods, the question of the application of the system at once struck upon a peculiar difficulty, namely, the problem of what to do with the confiscated merchandise. To Napoleon himself, strange as it may seem, this problem was a matter of minor importance, inasmuch as from first to last he adhered to the view taken over from the politicians of the Convention, that all goods were sold on the credit of Englishmen and thus were not yet paid for when they were seized, and that, accordingly, the loss in any case hit the enemy, With a persistence that never wavered he preached to his allies and helpers the doctrines that, ' inasmuch as the (continental) merchants never buy except on credit, it is a fact that no goods are ever paid for,' and that, ' all goods being the property of the English,' their confiscation means ' a backhanded blow for England which is terrific '.l On this assumption, moreover, the whole difficulty would pretty soon have been overcome ; for after a sufficiently large number of such losses had been inflicted on the English they might reasonablybe expected to grow weary of sacrificing their goods and thus abandon the attempt to force them on the Continent. It is true that not even under Napoleon’s assumption did it do to allow goods, at least the industrial products of England, to make their way into France itself, where they competed with the French products. But for the industries of the rest of the Continent Napoleon had no such interest, wishing solely to prevent their competition with the continental exports of France; and, lastly, it is manifest that neither of these points could create uneasiness in respect of colonial goods of British origin.

关于迄今为止最重要的一点，即排除英国和殖民地的商品，该制度的应用问题一下子就遇到了一个特殊的困难，即如何处理征收的商品的问题。对拿破仑本人来说，虽然看起来很奇怪，但这个问题并不重要，因为他从头到尾都坚持从国民议会的政治家那里得到的观点，即所有货物都是以英国人的信用出售的，因此在被没收时还没有付款，因此，在任何情况下，损失都是由敌人承担的。他以永不动摇的毅力向他的盟友和帮手宣扬这样的理论："由于（大陆）商人除了赊账外从不买东西，所以没有货物被支付，这是一个事实，"而且，"所有货物都是英国人的财产，"没收它们意味着 "对英国来说，这是一个可怕的反击。此外，根据这种假设，整个困难很快就会被克服；因为使得英国人遭受足够多的这种损失后，可以合理地预期他们会对牺牲他们的货物感到厌倦，从而放弃出口大陆。的确，即使在拿破仑的假设下，也没有允许货物，至少是英国的工业产品，进入法国本土，在那里与法国的产品竞争。但是，对于欧洲大陆其他地区的工业，拿破仑却没有这样的兴趣，他只希望在防止它们与法国的大陆出口产品竞争；最后，很明显，这两点都不会使得英国的殖民地商品感到不安。

From the very outset this caused an expedient which could not fail to lead the whole system into a wrong track, namely, that the towns and other places where the goods were seized received the right to repurchase them, usually at an extremely high figure. Consequently, the goods were not excluded. On the contrary, the different continental markets were able, to a very large extent, to provide themselves by means of such repurchases (rachats), and the control of illicit imports was thus rendered exceedingly difficult-a result which was also furthered by the great auctions that Napoleon caused to be held for the sale of captured and confiscated, though not repurchased, goods.l The only device which might have completely eradicated the difficulty would have been the absolute destruction of the illicit goods in accordance with earlier methods ; and for several years it does not appear to have occurred to Napoleon to go so far. But the injury done by the repurchase tactics was not limited to this, but went much deeper, inasmuch as from the very beginning it robbed the policy of its ideal attributes and its stamp of grandeur, as being a means for the emancipation of the Continent. It gave rise to intrigues, which in an incessant crescendo strengthened the notion that the intention of the whole affair was merely to levy blackmail, to find a means of squeezing money out of the continental peoples for the benefit of the Emperor and French funds, as well as of French marshals, generals and soldiers, ministers and consuls. Already in connexion with the events of 1808 an unusuallycompetent observer, Johann Georg Rist, the German-born representative in Hamburg of France's intimate ally, Denmark, writes in his memoirs, compiled in the years 1816 to 1881, that no one among the merchants, peasants or officials, or even among the scholars, believed in any plans for the good of Europe, but only in the desire to line French pockets. It was commonly held that no justice was to be expected, but merely arbitrariness and the basest motives, all marked by high words, threats, and deception. And with regard to the last phase of the system (from 1810 onward) almost exactly the same words fall from Mollien, who was Napoleon's good and faithful servant, though a man of strong and independent judgment. He says that ' this pretended system . . . deprived of every vestige of political prestige, has only proved itself in the eyes of everybody to be the most pernicious and false of fiscal inventions '.It was precisely fiscalism, the bane of so many systems of commercial policy, which thereby got a footing from the very beginning in the imposing and soaring plan and threw radical difficulties in the way of its execution.

从一开始，这就造成了一个不可能不把整个系统引入错误轨道的权宜之计，即被扣押货物的城镇和其他地方获得了回购货物的权利，通常以极高的价格回购。因此，这些货物并没有被排除在外。相反，不同的大陆市场在很大程度上能够通过这种回购来提供自己的货物，因此对非法进口的控制变得极为困难——拿破仑为出售缴获和没收的(尽管没有回购的)货物而举行的大型拍卖会也进一步推动了这一结果。唯一可能完全消除困难的办法是按照早期的方法绝对性地销毁非法货物，几年来，拿破仑似乎没有想到要走这么远。但是，回购策略所造成的伤害并不限于此，而是更深层次的，因为它从一开始就剥夺了该政策作为解放欧洲大陆的手段所具有的理想属性，以及它的宏伟形象。它引起了阴谋论，这些阴谋论在不断的高潮中加强了这样一种观念，即整个事件的目的只是为了勒索，为了找到一种手段，从大陆人民身上榨取钱财，为皇帝和法国基金以及法国元帅、将军和士兵、部长和领事谋取利益。早在1808年的事件中，一位异常称职的观察家约翰·乔治·里斯特（Johann Georg Rist），这位出生于德国，作为法国亲密盟友丹麦驻汉堡的代表，在其1816年至1881年编撰的回忆录中写道，商人、农民或官员，甚至学者中，没有人相信计划有任何有利于欧洲的成分，而只有让法国人的口袋鼓起来的成分。人们普遍认为，不能指望正义，只能指望武断和最卑劣的动机，所有这些都以高谈阔论、威胁和欺骗为标志。关于该制度的最后阶段（从1810年开始），莫利安几乎说了同样的话，他是拿破仑的好仆人，但也是一个有强烈独立判断力的人。他说，"这个假装的制度……被剥夺了所有的政治威信，在大家眼里，它只是证明了自己是最有害和最虚假的财政发明"。正是财政主义，这许多商业政策系统的祸根，使得从一开始就在这个雄伟和高涨的计划中得到了立足点，并在其执行过程中遇到了根本的困难。

This was all the more the case for the reason that Napoleon's assumption that everything was sold on credit was so far from being correct that it was the very reverse of the truth. Apparently the demand that prevailed on the Continent for British and colonial goods made it possible for them to be sold practically always for cash ; consequently it was the continental buyers who were the chief sufferers. And even when that was not the case, one finds the continental buyers, e. g., not only Hamburg merchants, but importers all over Germany and Holland generally-according to the evidence& 1807 of their British creditors themselves-displaying an extraordinary zeal in the regular payment of their debts

更为重要的是，拿破仑关于所有东西都是赊销的假设远非正确，而是与事实恰恰相反。因为大陆上对英国和殖民地商品的需求盛行，使得这些商品实际上总是以现金形式出售；因此，大陆上的买家才是主要受害者。即使情况不是这样，我们也会发现大陆的买家，例如，不仅是汉堡的商人，还有整个德国和荷兰的进口商——根据他们的英国债权人自己的证据和1807年的证据——在定期支付他们的债务方面表现出极大的热情。

Consequently there was little or no likelihood that the British would tire of supplying the Continent with goods. On the contrary, the inner history of the Continental System came to consist essentially in the embittered and uninterrupted struggles against the endless stream of British goods.

因此，英国人几乎没有可能厌倦向大陆提供货物。相反，大陆体系的内部历史主要包括对英国货物的无休止的斗争，而这种斗争是不间断的。

This difficulty with which Napoleon was confronted with regard to the very structure of the blockade was further complicated by the difficulty of getting honest and zealous persons to assist him in putting it into execution. It was almost impossible to obtain such assistants among his allies and their organs ; and consequently one of the most amply justified views in the historical literature of the present time is the explanation that the incessant extension of the empire along the coast of Eutope was due to the Emperor’s need of direct control, with a view to the observance of the Continental System. Of the innumerable examples of this we may mention two, one Swedish and one Prussian. In August 1811, when Sweden was nominally at war with Great Britain, Axel Pontus von Rosen, the Governor of Gothenburg, informed the minister of state, von Engestrom, that for once in a way he had caused to be confiscated ten oxen intended for Admiral Saumaree’s English fleet, which lay off Vinga, and added : ‘ I entreat that this be put in the papers, so that I, wretched that I am, may for once wear the nimbus of Continental zeal in the annals of Europe. Saumarez was informed beforehand, so that he will not be annoyed.’ During the winter of 1811-12 a systematic import of forbidden colonial goods by the state itself went on in Prussia through a special commissioner for the minister of finance, Privy Councillor von Heydebreck; and at the same time Hardenberg, the leading minister, wrote to that very man and requested the strictest inquiry into the smuggling

拿破仑在封锁结构方面所面临的这一困难，由于难以得到诚实和热心的人协助他实施封锁而变得更加复杂，在他的盟友和他们的机构中几乎不可能得到这样的助手。因此，目前历史文献中最有道理的观点之一是这样的解释：帝国沿着欧托普海岸的不断扩展是由于皇帝需要直接控制大陆体系的成员，使他们遵守大陆体系的规定。在无数这样的例子中，我们可以提到两个，一个是瑞典人，一个是普鲁士人。1811年8月，当瑞典在名义上与英国交战时，哥德堡总督阿克塞尔·蓬图斯·冯·罗森通知国务大臣冯·恩格斯特罗姆，他曾以某种方式使十头牛被没收，这些牛是为海军上将索马雷兹的英国舰队准备的，该舰队停在文加附近。他还说：“我恳请将此事写入文件，这样我这个可怜虫就能在欧洲的历史上戴上一次大陆热忱的光环。索马雷兹事先已被告知，所以他不会烦心”。在1811-12年的冬天，国家本身有计划地通过财政部长的特别专员冯·海德布雷克，在普鲁士进行被禁止的殖民地货物的进口；同时，主要的部长哈登伯格也给这个人写信，要求对走私活动进行最严格的调查。

But the fact that the situation was untenable when the application of the system lay in such hands must by no means be interpreted to mean that the difficulties were overcome sosoon as Napoleon was able to set his own administrators to the task. The general weakness of authority in those days, in comparison with the present day, was perhaps best expressed in the lack of will and capacity on the part of subordinate organs to follow out the intentions of the heads of the state, and that, too, even under such an almost superhumanly equipped ruler as Napoleon. The fiscal methods-to use a fine-sounding expression-which Napoleon employed in his own interest were often turned by his subordinates against him, or at least against his policy ; and his altogether unabashed endeavour to turn these abuses to his own account never failed to divert the Continental System still further from its task. In these respects the difference is inconsiderable between the various organs which were more or less completely employed for the purposes of the blockade policy, viz., the large detachments of troops along the coast and their naval coadjutors in ports and estuaries, the customs staff and border police, and finally the local administration in the territories belonging to the Empire and the French legation staffs and consuls in vassal states and occupied territories.

但是，当制度的实施掌握在这样的人手中时，情况是无法维持的，这一事实决不能被解释为，当拿破仑能够让他自己的行政人员完成任务时，困难很快就被克服了。与今天相比，当时权力的普遍弱点也许最能体现在下属机构缺乏贯彻国家元首意图的意愿和能力上，而且，即使在拿破仑这样一个几乎是超人的统治者手下，也是如此。拿破仑为了自己的利益而采用的财政方法，这是个好听的说法，常常被他的下属用来反对他，或者至少是反对他的政策；而他完全不加掩饰地努力将这些弊端转化为自己的利益，使大陆体系进一步偏离其任务。在这些方面，为了封锁政策的目的而或多或少完全使用的各种机构之间的差别是微不足道的，这些机构是：沿海的大型部队分遣队及其在港口和河口的海军副官，海关工作人员和边境警察，以及最后在属于帝国的领土上的地方行政机构和法国在附庸国和被占领土上的公使馆工作人员和领事。

## **CHAPTER II**

## **第二章**

## **RESULTS OF THE SELF-BLOCKADE (1806-1809)**

## **1806-1809年自我封锁的结果**

## **EXECUTION OF THE SELF-BLOCKADE**

## **自我封锁的执行**

IN order to form a concrete notion of the manner in which the Continental System worked, one may properly begin by following the general lines of its development, even though the constant efforts and hindrances exhibit a certain monotony, which, however, is broken in 1810 by what constitutes a change in principle. Our account in the first place concerns the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic and the parts of the mainland that lie behind them, Germany and Holland, which played the principal parts in the policy, and in which, moreover, that policy is best known.

为了形成一个大陆体系的运作方式的具体的概念，我们可以从遵循其发展的一般路线开始，尽管不断的努力和阻碍表现出某种单调性。然而，这种单调在1810年的原则性变化所打破。我们的叙述首先涉及北海和波罗的海的海岸以及位于它们后面的大陆部分，即德国和荷兰，它们在政策中发挥了主要作用，更多的是，而且在这些地方该政策是最有名的。

The Continental System, being an almost unbroken continuation of the previous policy, led to the peculiar effect that the seizures of British goods began before the actual issue of the Berlin decree-in Leipzig, Frankfurt-am-Main, Meppen, which was important for trade up the Ems, Holland, Switzerland, &c. But it was in the Hanse Towns that the centre of gravity lay, and the military cordon in particular was during this first phase (the close of 1806) mainly limited to the North Sea coast from Emden, in East Friesland, which was just at that time ceded to Holland, to Hamburg, with the salient along the boundary of Holstein, at that time belonging to Denmark, as far as Travemiinde, the outport of Lubeck on the Baltic.

大陆体系，作为一个几乎不间断的持续性政策，导致了一个特殊的效果，即在柏林法令实际发布之前就开始了对英国货物的扣押。这对在莱比锡、美因河畔的法兰克福、迈本，埃姆斯河、荷兰、瑞士之类地方的贸易很重要。但重心在汉萨同盟，特别是在第一阶段（1806年末），军事警戒线主要限于北海沿岸，从东弗里斯兰的埃姆登（当时刚割让给荷兰）到汉堡，沿荷尔斯泰因边界的突出部分，当时属于丹麦，一直到波罗的海上的吕贝克港的特拉维米恩德。

## **NAPOLEON’S ORDERS IN DECEMBER 1806**

## **1806年12月拿破仑的命令**

The best idea of the apparatus which was set going can be obtained from the letters which Napoleon wrote on December 2 and 3 to Marshal Mortier in Hamburg, to the police and navy ministers, and to his brother, King Louis of Holland,and from the simultaneously issued proclamation (December 2) as to the blockade in the northeast. In the first of the letters Mortier received orders to occupy Vegesack on the Weser, north of Bremen, in order to complete the blockade of that river. King Louis was to place batteries on the left bank of the river, in order to have a cross fire from corresponding batteries at Bremerlehe on the eastern shore. In the mouth of the Elbe a redoubt and a battery were to be erected on an island in the river immediately opposite Stade, so that no vessel could pass without being, examined, and no English goods could come in through Altona, Hamburg, or any other place ; and in all three Hanse Towns French troops were to be stationed to stop English letters. A brigadier general was to be stationed in Stade, and another in the outport, Cuxhaven; and in addition to this, two cordons-one from Hamburg to Travemunde along the frontier of Holstein, and another along the left bank of the Elbe as far as a point just opposite Hamburg-were to be placed under the command of yet a third brigadier general. As regards troops, the greater part of General Dumonceau’s division, two Italian regiments and a third of the Dutch cavalry, were to be used for these purposes ; and at the same time the minister of the marine received orders to send a post captain with two ensigns and forty sailors to equip some sloops in Stade. The customs authorities received orders to send five hundred (according to the proclamation, three hundred) customs officials under a director of customs and two inspectors of customs, These were the ‘ green coats ’, and in point of fact they arrived before the close of the year and soon drew upon themselves the bitter enmity of the population, Finally, Marshal Moncey was to have at his disposal one hundred gendarmes for distribution along the barrier. On that very same day (December 2) Napoleon wrote a second letter to Mortier with a renewed exhortation to set up a good battery at Stade ; and above all things he was to prevent all communication between Hamburg and Altona, to confiscate on the Elbe all vessels with potash, coal, and all other goods coming from England, and to detain all lettersfrom England. In these very fist orders, however, the difficulty emerged of obtaining honest executors of the measures. The naval minister received a special reminder to send ' unbribable ' officers ; and from the very beginning an effort was made to interest the soldiers themselves in the effectivity of the blockade by the regulation that they should have the benefit of all confiscations of goods which should try to pass. But in several of the letters, especially that to Fouchh, the minister of police, Napoleon says that he has received complaints-in reality only too well founded-about his consul in Hamburg, LachevardiBre, who ' seems.to steal with impunity '

从拿破仑在12月2日和3日写给汉堡的莫迪埃元帅、警察和海军部长以及他的兄弟荷兰国王路易的信中，以及从同时发布的关于东北地区封锁的公告（12月2日）中，可以获得对所启动的装置的最好理解。在第一封信中，莫迪埃收到了占领不来梅以北威悉河上的贝格萨克的命令，以完成对该河的封锁。路易国王将在该河的左岸设置炮台，以便从东岸的布雷默莱赫的相应炮台上交叉射击。在易北河口，紧靠斯塔德的河中小岛上将建起一个堡垒和一个炮台。这样，没有船只可以未经检查就能通过，任何英国货物都不能从阿尔托纳、汉堡或任何其他地方进入；在汉萨同盟的所有三个地方，法国军队将驻扎下来，阻止英国的信件。一个准将驻扎在斯塔德，另一个驻扎在港口库克斯港。除此之外，还有两条警戒线，一条是从汉堡到特拉维蒙德，沿着荷尔斯泰因的边界，另一条是将由第三个准将指挥，沿着易北河左岸，一直到汉姆对面的一个点。在军队方面，杜蒙索将军的大部分部队、两个意大利团和三分之一的荷兰骑兵将投入这些地方。同时，海事部长接到命令，派一名船长、两名海军少尉和四十名水手去武装斯塔德的一些单桅帆船。海关当局接到命令，派遣五百名（根据公告，是三百名）海关官员，由一名海关主任和两名海关检查员领导，这些都是 "绿大衣"。事实上他们在年关前就已经到达，并很快引起了民众的强烈不满。就在同一天（12月2日），拿破仑给莫蒂埃写了第二封信，再次劝告他在斯塔德建立一个良好的炮台；最重要的是，他要阻止汉堡和阿尔托纳之间的一切联系，在易北河上没收所有来自英国的装有钾盐、煤炭和其他所有货物的船只，并扣留所有来自英国的信件。然而，在这些非常简单的命令中，想要忠实执行命令的执行者遇到了困难。海军部长收到了一份特别提醒，要求派遣 "不可贿赂的 "军官；而且从一开始就努力使士兵们对封锁的有效性感兴趣，规定他们应从所有试图通过的货物的没收中获益。但在几封信中，特别是在给警察部长福什的信中，拿破仑说他收到了关于他在汉堡的领事拉切瓦尔迪-布雷的投诉，称他“偷窃却不受惩罚”——实际上是很有根据的，

In Hamburg there still survived the continental establishment of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, the most notable English trading company of an older type (the ' Regulated Company '), though it no longer played any considerable part. In order to save this for the English, the Senate of Hamburg purchased the whole establishment, called ' The Merchant Adventurers' Court ', and presented it to the members, who became citizens of Hamburg besides and in this way escaped imprisonment, so far as they did not escape by flight. The main thing, however, was the seizure of the English stocks of goods, which Napoleon, after various negotiations, fixed at the somewhat high figure of 17,000,000 francs for Hamburg and 2,000,000 francs for Lubeck ; meanwhile Bremen, by delaying the operation for a whole year, managed to smuggle away the greater part of the goods there and had to account for only 377,000 francs. In Leipzig, whose Fair still constituted by far the most important market in Central Europe, especially for manufactured goods to and from all points of the compass, the stocktaking gave a value of 9,150,000 francs, which was redeemed for 6,000,000 francs. Things went in the same way elsewhere.

在汉堡，商业冒险家公司的大陆机构仍然存在，这是英国最著名的老式贸易公司（"受管制公司"），尽管它不再发挥任何重要作用。为了挽救英国人的利益，汉堡参议院购买了整个机构，称其为 "商业冒险家法庭"，并将其交给成员，他们成为汉堡的公民，并以这种方式逃脱了监禁，只要他们能不逃亡。然而，最重要的是扣押英国的货物库存，拿破仑经过各种谈判，将汉堡和吕贝克的货物库存分别定为1700万法郎和200万法郎，有点高昂的数字。同时，不来梅由于通过将行动推迟一整年，设法将那里的大部分货物偷运走，只有37万7千法郎的库存。在莱比锡，其博览会仍然是迄今为止中欧最重要的市场，特别是对来自五湖四海的制成品而言，在那清点出915万法郎的货物，并以600万法郎赎回。其他地方的情况也是如此。

In Great Britain the publication of the Berlin decree caused, according to evidence given before a parliamentary committee, a cessation of exports to the Continent during themonths of December 1806, and of January and February 1807, with a rise in the marine insurance premiums. But the absence of captures on the basis of the decree, which, as we have seen before, was at first regarded as not applying to the sea, after that put new life into commercial intercourse ; and an Order in Council of February 18, with instructions for the commanders of vessels, granted unrestricted traffic for the vessels and goods of the Hanse Towns and the rest of that part of North Germany which was occupied by the French ; and this safeguarded intercourse with them

在英国，根据在一个议会委员会面前提供的证据，柏林法令的公布导致了1806年12月、1807年1月和2月期间对欧洲大陆的出口停止，海上保险费也随之上升。但是，正如我们之前所看到的，该法令起初被认为不适用于海上，在这之后，尽管有着法令，却没有捕获的举动，为商业往来带来了新的活力。2月18日的枢密院命令，以及对船只指挥官的指示，允许汉斯城镇和北德其他被法国占领的地区的船只和货物不受限制地通行；这保障了与他们的往来。

During the whole of the first six months of 1807, indeed, the Continental self-blockade may be said to have been practically ineffective, at least in North Germany. The systematic dishonesty of Napoleon's tools gave rise to regular orgies during this time, especially with the help of the new commanderin-chief in Hamburg, Marshal Brune, whom Napoleon, with unusually good reason, branded as an 'undaunted robber '. According to the report of de Tournon, who was sent there especially to investigate, Brune's instructions themselves to the customs staff were calculated to encourage smuggling; but that was the case to a very much greater extent with the application of the instructions. When vessels came up the Elbe, they were allowed, in absolute defiance of the instructions quoted above, to continue their journey past Stade, with only one single person from the barrier control on board, usually an ignorant seaman, while the customs officials themselves were consistently kept at a distance. The bill of lading was examined by a sub-officer of the navy ; and the inspection which it was the duty of Consul Lachevardibe to carry out, was handed over by him to a Hamburg broker, who had the greatest possible interest in letting everything pass. On the basis of the entirely uncontrolled investigation of this person,the consul afterwards issued a certificate as to the non-English origin of the goods ; and fabricated Holstein certificates of origin were always available to bolster up the certificate. At the close of May 1807, Brune went a step farther and removed the always relatively zealous customs officials from the Hamburg-Travemiinde frontier line and the Elbe line from Harburg (immediately opposite Hamburg) to Stade, replacing them by gendarmes. Consequently, during the five and a half months down to the beginning of August there arrived in Hamburg, without impediment, 1,475 vessels with cargoes estimated at 590,000 tons, including the most notoriously English goods, such as coal. According to the investigator just mentioned, Hamburg was chock full of English and colonial goods, which were sold as openly as in London, and not a single seizure had occurred. This would also seem to have been the time at which Bourrienne, Napoleon’s envoy in Hamburg-according to his own story, which is in this case confirmed from English sources-obtained cloth and leather from England in order to be in a position to supply Napoleon’s own army with the uniform coats, vests, caps, and shoes which he had to procure.

事实上，在1807年的整个头六个月里，大陆的自我封锁可以说是实际无效的，至少在北德是如此。在这段时间里，拿破仑下属有着成体系的欺诈行为，引起了经常性的狂欢，特别是在布伦元帅的帮助下，那位被拿破仑以异常充分的理由称为 "不畏艰险的强盗"的汉堡新指挥官。根据专门被派往那里调查的德·图尔农的报告，布伦对海关工作人员的指示本身就是为了鼓励走私；而在应用这些指示的时候，情况更加严重。当船只驶入易北河时，他们被允许完全无视上述指示，继续经过斯塔德，船上只有一个来自关卡控制的人，通常是一个无知的海员，而海关官员终与他们保持距离。提货单由海军的一名副官检查。而拉切瓦尔德贝领事负责的检查，则由他交给汉堡的一名经纪人，该经纪人在决定让谁通过上受益最大。在这个人进行的完全不受控制的调查基础上，领事随后签发了一份关于货物非英国原产地的证书；而伪造的荷斯坦原产地证书总是可以用来支持该证书。1807年5月底，布伦更进一步，将一直比较热心的海关官员从汉堡-特拉维明德边境线和从汉堡正对面到施塔特的易北河线上调走，由宪兵取代他们。因此，在截至8月初的五个半月里，有1475艘船毫无障碍地抵达汉堡，货物估计为59万吨，包括如煤炭等最臭名昭著的英国货物。根据刚才提到的调查者的说法，汉堡充满了英国和殖民地的货物，这些货物像在伦敦一样公开出售，而且没有发生过一次扣押事件。这似乎也是拿破仑在汉堡的特使布列纳的经历，即从英国获得布料和皮革，以便为拿破仑自己的军队提供他必须采购的制服外套、背心、帽子和鞋子，而英国的资料也证明了这一点。

The farce of Brune’s conduct in Hamburg, however, was too much for Napoleon, who removed him in the latter half of July and appointed Bernadotte as his successor. This appointment manifestly brought with it a stricter enforcement of the law, although the new and well-meaning despot that the Hamburgers thereby got proved rather costly to the town ; nor did he entirely escape more or less unproven accusations of corruptibility, both from Napoleon and also, later on, from the Senate of Hamburg.2 Above all, however, after the removal of Brune, Napoleon regulated the blockade. by means of two new decrees of August 6 and November 13,1807. These placed the right of seizing English goods into the hands of the customs staff, which was strengthened at the same time, while the troops were placed at the disposal of the customs officialsand increased guaranties were provided in various ways that unlawful goods should not be permitted to escape examination. In doing this Napoleon fell back on the old and very clumsy expedient of declaring large main groups of goods to be eo ipso British when they did not come from France, that is to say, the majority of textile goods, (except certain ones imported by the Danish East Asiatic Company), cutlery and hardware, glass, pottery, and lump sugar ; and for the colonial goods detailed certificates of origin were required from the French commercial agents in the exporting port. As regards the question as to whether a vessel had put in at an English port, a searching examination was prescribed of the captain and the sailors separately, and the arrest of such of them as should give false information, after which they should be set free only after the payment of a heavy fine (6,000 francs for the captain and 500 francs for each sailor). All such vessels were to be confiscated, while the Berlin decree merely prescribed their expulsion. The latter of these two decrees, that concerning certificates of origin, the examination of the crews, and the confiscation of the vessels, was given practically unaltered validity for the whole Empire through what is called the first Milan decree, issued ten days later (November 23). Within barely a month, as we have seen,l there followed the answer to the Orders in Council, the great second Milan decree, which marks the end of Napoleon’s measures bearing on the Continental System in 1807. On the heels of all this, immediately after the beginning of the new year (,January 11, 1808) there came the so-called Tuileries decree, which sought to induce the crews and passengers of vessels to reveal any call in an English port by promising one-third of the value of the vessel and cargo as a reward. In September 1807, Napoleon, with his customary ruthlessness, had intervened in Holland and, to the despair of his brother Louis, had calmly caused his gendarmes to convey to France from that nominally independent kingdom a citken of Breda and a citizen of Bergen-op-Zoom on the suspicion of smuggling.

然而，布伦在汉堡的行为闹剧让拿破仑受不了，他在7月下旬将其免职，并任命贝纳多特为其继任者。这一任命显然带来了更严格的执法，尽管汉堡人由此得到的新的、善意的专制者使得该镇付出相当大的代价；他也没有完全逃脱拿破仑以及后来汉堡参议院或多或少的贪污指控。这些法令将扣押英国货物的权利交给了海关人员，同时加强了海关人员的力量，同时将军队交给海关官员支配，并以各种方式增加了对非法货物的保证，使其不被允许逃避检查。在这样做的时候，拿破仑又采用了古老而笨拙的权宜之计，即宣布并非来自法国的大宗货物当然是英国的，也就是说，大多数纺织品（丹麦东亚公司进口的某些货物除外）、餐具和五金制品、玻璃、陶器和块状糖都在其中。对于殖民地货物，要求出口港口的法国商业代理人提供详细的原产地证明。关于船只是否在英国港口停靠的问题，规定对船长和水手分别进行搜查，并逮捕那些提供虚假信息的人，然后在支付高额罚款（船长6000法郎，每个水手500法郎）后，他们才能获得自由。所有这些船只都将被没收，而柏林法令只是规定将其驱逐出境。这两项法令中的后一项，即关于原产地证明、船员审查和没收船只的法令，在十天后（11月23日）通过所谓的第一项米兰法令，在整个帝国几乎没有改变的情况下被赋予效力。正如我们所看到的，几乎在一个月之内，就有了对枢密院命令的答复，即伟大的第二项米兰法令，这标志着拿破仑在1807年结束大陆体系的措施。在这一切之后，新年伊始（1808年1月11日）就出现了所谓的杜伊勒里法令，该法令试图通过承诺将船只和货物价值的三分之一作为奖励，诱使船只的船员和乘客透露在英国港口的任何停靠。1807年9月，拿破仑以其惯有的冷酷无情介入了荷兰，在他的兄弟路易的绝望中，平静地让他的宪兵将一名布雷达的市政官员和一名卑尔根-普-祖姆的公民从这个名义上独立的王国运往法国，罪名是涉嫌走私。

At the same time, thanks to Canning’s almost Napoleonic contempt for the independence of neutrals, Napoleon received valuable assistance in the blockade orthe North Sea coast in consequence of the bombardment of Copenhagen in the beginning of September aird the breach between Denmark and Great Britain. As a matter of fact, Schleswig-Holstein, during the whole of the preceding period, had been a serious obstacle in the way of Napoleon’s measures south of the Elbe. When the Elbe and the Weser were barred, Tonningin particular, but also Husum on the west coast of Schleswig, had largely replaced the Hanse Towns during the years 1803-6 as importers of English and colonial goods ; and their trade had flourished like plants in a forcing-house. All attempts to prevent the passing of goods to the south from Holstein territory through the town of Altona, which was practically continuous with Hamburg (all nah), met with almost insuperable difficulties, all the more as the local Holstein authorities never failed to certify the neutral origin of the goods. It was, therefore, of very great importance that the ruler of Denmark, the Crown Prince Frederick, embittered through the conduct of Great Britain, placed himself at the service of the Continental System, with almost unique loyalty, and as early as September 1807 ordered the seizure of all forbidden goods in Holstein. Almost alone among the allies of Napoleon, he repudiated the idea of feigning, adherence to the system while the real intention was to allow intercourse with Great Britain. His was not the principle auaviter in re, fortiter in modo, to quote a modern historian. It is true that the British, on their side, made a counter-move which was to have far-reaching consequences in the opposite direction, in that, simultaneously with the attack on Copenhagen, they occupied the Danish possession of Heligoland ; but the effects of this did not immediately show themselves.

同时，由于坎宁有着拿破仑式的对中立国独立的蔑视，拿破仑在封锁北海海岸方面得到了宝贵的帮助，因为九月初对哥本哈根的轰炸使丹麦和英国之间出现了裂痕。 n事实上，在之前的整个时期，石勒苏益格-荷尔斯泰因一直是拿破仑在易北河以南采取措施的一个严重障碍。当易北河和威悉河被封锁时，特别是托宁，还有石勒苏益格西海岸的胡苏姆，在1803-1806年期间，在很大程度上取代了汉萨同盟，成为英国和殖民地货物的进口商；他们的贸易像温室里的植物一样蓬勃发展。所有试图阻止货物从荷尔斯泰因地区通过阿尔托纳镇（该镇实际上与汉堡相连）南下的努力，都遇到了几乎无法克服的困难，更何况荷尔斯泰因地方当局从来都会证明这些货物的中立来源。因此，非常重要的是，丹麦的统治者，腓特烈王储，由于英国的行为而感到痛苦，他以几乎独一无二的忠诚为大陆体系服务，并早在1807年9月就下令扣押荷尔斯泰因的所有违禁品。在拿破仑的盟友中，几乎只有他一个人拒绝了仅仅假装遵守该制度，而与英国交往的想法。套用一位现代历史学家的话说，他的原则不是 "以其人之道还治其人之身"。诚然，英国人在自己这一方采取了反击行动，在相反的方向上产生了深远的影响，因为在进攻哥本哈根的同时，他们还占领了丹麦人拥有的赫利戈兰岛；但这种影响并没有立即表现出来。

## **RESULTS IN 1807**

## **1807的结果**

It remains to be seen, accordingly, to what extent Napoleon, at theclose of the year 1807,had attained hisimmediate object, the self-blockade of the Continent, not only in form but also in substance. As regards France herself, this had clearly been the case to a very high degree, as we can see from a very good barometer, namely, that a shortage of raw cotton was already threatening. As early as September the cotton manufacturers were speaking of having to close their mills if a breach with the Portuguese and Americans occurred ; and the price of Brazilian cotton (Pernambuco) in Paris rose from 6.80-7.30 francs to 8.10-15 francs per kg., while the price in London of 1s. 10d.-1s.11d. per pound corresponded to only 5-53 francs. As the British prohibition on the exports of raw cotton was not issued until the year 1808, and the imports of raw cotton into Great Britain were uncommonly large in the year 1807 (74,900,000 Ib. as against only 58,200,000 Ib. in the previous year), it is apparent from the very first how the difficulties of importation into the Continent expressed the strength of the self-blockade and not of the British measures of reprisal.

拿破仑在1807年结束时，在多大程度上实现了他的直接目标，即对欧洲大陆不仅在形式上，而且在实际情况上的自我封锁，还有待观察。至于法国本身，情况显然已经到了非常严重的地步，我们可以从一个制作的非常好的晴雨表中看到，即原棉的短缺已经在威胁着法国。早在9月，棉花制造商就在说，如果与葡萄牙人和美国人的关系破裂，他们就不得不关闭工厂；巴西棉花（伯南布哥[[33]](#footnote-32)）在巴黎的价格从每公斤6.80-7.30法郎上升到8.10-15法郎，而伦敦每磅1s.10d.-1s.11d.的价格仅相当于5-5.5法郎。由于英国对原棉出口的禁令直到1808年才发布，而1807年英国的原棉进口量非常大（7490万英磅，而前一年只有5820万英磅），所以从一开始就可以看出，向欧洲大陆进口的困难是自我封锁，而不是英国的报复措施。

The position in Central Europe can usually be best followed from the great meeting-point for continental trade, the Leipzig Fair, which was sensitive to every change ; and the position there is illustrated by the unusually impartial and detailed Saxon 'reports of the fair ' (Messrelationes), in the form in which they have been worked up by the German historians Hasse and, more particularly, Konig. In these reports there appears throughout a lively movement of both British industrialproducts and colonial goods during the earlier part of 1807, including among other things the parcels confiscated in Hamburg and redeemed, These commanded a ready sale, despite the fact that the manufactured goods included in them were largely out of date. But the autumn measures in the Hanse Towns and Holstein led to a great scarcity of British textiles and an enormous rise in price (over 150 per cent.) on British cotton yarn, so that Napoleon could here be assured of an immediate result from his own measures and those of his new Russian ally. For the Hanse Towns this result extended also to colonial goods, so that the price of coffee, for instance, stood 20 per cent. higher in the old coffee-importing town of Hamburg than in Leipzig ; and contrary to anything that had ever before been beheld, it was conveyed to the former place from the latter. Accordingly, the decline of shipping in Bremen stands out very clearly even in the statistics of 1807. A similar transformation occurred in Holstein, but with regard to the rest of Central Europe the effects did not yet extend to the colonial goods. This was chiefly due to the fact that the trade through Holland, in spite of everything, was still comparatively undisturbed, especially with American vessels, as the Embargo Act was not passed until the latter part of December 1807. Moreover, Rotterdam was alleged to have daily communication with England, just as in time of peace. British yarn was also shipped to Leipzig and Holland, and in September, 1807, the Belgian manufacturers complained that The Hague was so crowded with British cottons that a man might fancy himself in Manchester. With regard to colonial goods, it was also stated that the great Amsterdam firm of Hope & Co. had huge stores of sugar and coffee. This firm, which during the whole of this period played a leading part in almost all great international transactions of a commercial and financial nature, and also intervened in matters of public policy, was, incidentally, a living monument of the close commercial relations between the enemies, as it had a French head, LabouchAre, who stood in close connexion with the world-famous British commercial house of Baring Brothers. Nor does there appear to have beenany great scarcity of raw’cotton, especially owing to imports through the Mediterranean ports of Lisbon, Leghorn, and Trieste. The fmt of these, however, disappeared through the conquest of Portugal in the autumn of 1807, and the second through the occupation of Etruria at the close of the year. But Holland remained as an important gap, which became the more serious from Napoleon’s point of view after he had, in the second Milan decree of December 1807, passed to the view that there were no such things as neutrals ; and consequently he could no longer tolerate the American.shipping in Dutch ports. At the turn of the year 1807-8, it ietrue, British industrial products did not seem to enter as easily as before ; but it was soon to prove that Napoleon had underestimated the strength of two forces which were constantly to rise up , against his plans, ziz., smuggling and the opening-up of new commercial routes.

中欧的情况通常可以从欧洲大陆贸易的重要交汇点——莱比锡博览会来了解，该博览会对每一个变化都很敏感。那里的情况可以通过异常公正和详细的萨克森 "博览会报告"来说明，这些报告的形式是由德国历史学家哈斯，特别是科尼格编写的。在这些报告中，1807年上半年英国工业产品和殖民地商品的在流通中异常活跃，其中包括在汉堡没收并赎回的包裹。但是，汉萨同盟和荷尔斯泰因的秋季措施导致了英国纺织品的严重匮乏和英国棉纱价格的大幅上涨（超过150%）。因此，拿破仑在这里可以确信，他自己的措施和他的新俄国盟友的措施会立即产生效果。对汉萨同盟来说，这一结果也延伸到了殖民地商品，例如，咖啡的价格在古老的咖啡进口城市汉堡比在莱比锡高20%；而且与以往任何时候都不同的是，它是从后者运到前者的。因此，即使在1807年的统计数字中，不来梅的航运衰退也是非常明显的。类似的转变发生在荷尔斯泰因，但对中欧其他地区的影响还没有延伸到殖民地货物。这主要是由于尽管发生了各种情况，但通过荷兰的贸易仍然相对不受干扰，特别是与美国船只的贸易，因为禁运法直到1807年12月下旬才通过。此外，据称鹿特丹与英国每天都有联系，就像在和平时期一样。英国的纱线也被运往莱比锡和荷兰，1807年9月，比利时制造商抱怨说，海牙被英国的棉布挤得水泄不通，在那的人甚至可能以为自己在曼彻斯特。关于殖民地商品，据说阿姆斯特丹的霍普大公司[[34]](#footnote-33)有大量的糖和咖啡。这家公司在整个这一时期几乎在所有商业和金融性质的重大国际交易中发挥了主导作用，并且还介入了公共政策事务，顺便说一下，它是敌人之间密切商业关系的一个活的纪念碑，因为它有一个法国负责人拉布什-阿雷，他与世界著名的英国商业公司巴林兄弟公司有着密切的联系。原棉似乎也不怎么稀缺，特别是由于通过里斯本、莱贡和的里雅斯特等地中海港口的进口。然而，其中第一个港口由于1807年秋天对葡萄牙的征服而消失了，第二个港口由于在该年年底对埃特鲁里亚的占领而消失。但从拿破仑的角度来看，荷兰仍然是一个重要的漏洞。在他1807年12月的第二项米兰法令中，他认为不存在中立国这样的东西；而且，他不能再容忍荷兰港口的美国航运。诚然，在1807-1808年之交，英国的工业产品似乎不像以前那样容易进入；但事实很快证明，拿破仑低估了两股势力的力量，即走私和新商业路线的开辟，这两股势力不断崛起，反对他的计划。

Finally, if we regard the process of development from a British standpoint, we have the evidence, already cited,l of the witnesses before a parliamentary committee that Napoleon’s many counter-measures in the late summer and autumn caused a sudden stagnation in trade with the Continent. The marine insurance premiums, which at the time of the issue of the Berlin decree had risen from 6 to 10 per cent., but had then declined to 4 per cent., were stated to have reached such amounts as 15, 20, and 30 per cent. before the middle of October 1807. In sixty-five cases during September and October vessels that had taken in cargo for the Continent had requested permission to discharge them again. If we look at the statistical material available to throw light on the matter, we can establish in a comparatively exact way the effects of the Continental blockade during 1807. It is especially noteworthy that the great exports of cotton goods show almost absolutely unaltered figures (£9,708,000, as against £9,754,000 in 1806 and an average of only £7,340,000 in the years 1801-5, all according to the ‘ official values ’, which are based upon unchanged unit prices from year to year) ; nor do the far less important exportsof yarn show any great decline (£602,000 in 1807, as against £736,000 in 1806 and an average of £666,000 in the years 1801-5). The probably less reliable figures for total exports show a somewhat more marked but nevertheless insignificant decline, namely, in relation to the year 1806 (8.1 per cent. according to the ' official values ' and only 6.4 per cent. according to ' real values ', which are also affected by changes in price). On the other hand, we can see from these statistics that the sales on the Continent were much more limited, namely, by nearly 33 per cent., according to ' real values ' in ' the north of Europe, including France ' ; and probably the exports of manufactured goods to those markets declined more than exports as a whole. This result agrees very well with what might have been expected under the restrictive measures of the last quarter of the year

最后，如果我们从英国的角度来看待这一发展过程，我们有一个议会委员会的证人所提供的证据，即拿破仑在夏末秋初的许多反措施造成了与欧洲大陆贸易的突然停滞。海上保险费，在柏林法令发布时曾从6%上升到10%，但后来下降到4%，据说在1807年10月中旬前达到15%、20%和30%这样的数额。在9月和10月期间，有65艘运往欧洲大陆的船只要求允许再次卸货。如果我们看一下现有的统计材料，我们可以比较准确地确定1807年大陆封锁的影响。特别值得注意的是，棉花商品的大量出口显示出几乎完全没有变化的数字（根据 "官方价值"的970万8千英镑，而1806年为975万4千英镑，1801-5年平均只有734万英镑，所有这些都是基于每年不变的单位价格）；不那么重要的纱线出口也没有显示任何巨大的下降（1807年为60.2万英镑，而1806年为73.6万英镑，1801-5年平均为66.6万英镑）。可能不太可靠的总出口数字与1806年相比，表现出更加明显但也无关紧要的下降（根据 "官方价值 "为8.1%，根据 "实际价值 "只有6.4%，这也受到价格变化的影响）。另一方面，我们可以从这些统计数字中看到，在欧洲大陆上的销售受到了更大的限制，即根据 "实际价值"，在 "包括法国在内的欧洲北部 "的销售减少了近33%；而且可能向这些市场出口的制成品比整体出口减少的更多。这一结果与该年最后一个季度的限制性措施下可能出现的情况非常吻合。

Next we have to consider colonial goods, which were intended to ' conquer England by excess '.The trade statistics do not show any decrease of exports at all, but rather a sbght increase ; and not even the sales to the Continent are notably diminished. But one can see from the tables in Tooke's History of Prices that the price of coffee and sugar declined slightly in the autumn of 1807. Possibly one may point to a slightly greater dislocation in one single department, namely, in the imports of Baltic goods ; and the fact is that this applies to the Baltic trade in general, evidently in consequence of the breach with Russia and Prussia, rather than through the Continental System proper. Hemp and more especially tallow, both from Russia, show a rise in prices in the course of the year, and timber from Memel exhibits violent fluctuations from the middle of 1806. But all this is a trifle ; and during 1807 there are, broadly speaking, no traces of any substantial result of the policy as regards Great Britain's foreign trade as a whole.In fact, there are considerably less than one would have expected from the diminished importation of British industrial products to the German market.

接下来，我们必须考虑殖民地商品，这些商品的目的是'通过过度征服英国'。贸易统计资料显示，出口根本没有减少，反而有可能增加；甚至对欧洲大陆的销售也没有明显减少。但从图克的《价格史》中的表格可以看出，咖啡和糖的价格在1807年秋季略有下降。也许人们可以指出，在一个部门，即在波罗的海货物的进口方面，出现了稍大的失调；而事实是，这适用于波罗的海的一般贸易，显然是由于与俄国和普鲁士之间的分歧，而不是通过大陆体系本身。来自俄罗斯的大麻，特别是牛油，在这一年中价格上涨，而来自梅梅尔的木材从1806年中期开始出现了剧烈的波动。但所有这些都是微不足道的；广义上讲，在1807年期间，就英国的整个外贸而言，没有任何政策的实质性结果的痕迹。事实上，从英国工业产品向德国市场的进口减少来看，这种情况比人们预期的要少得多。

## T**RANSMARINE MARKETS (1808)**

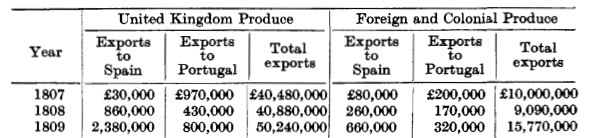
## **跨国市场（1808）**

It was important for Napoleon, accordingly, to attain during 1808 a more effective application of the measures of the preceding year, Great Britain also now encountered various new difficulties ; but the peculiar thing about them is that they had no direct connexion with Napoleon’s proceedings, but at the most with the British Orders in Council-a fact which the British opposition, as in duty bound, did not fail to point out. The truth is that they were chiefly caused by the American Embargo Act, partly through the diminished importation of American goods, and partly through the great diminution of tonnage, as explained in part 11, chapter IV. Accordingly, the result for Great Britain was a diminished importation of, and raised prices on, raw materials, which in reality did not at all correspond to Napoleon’s wishes that prices should be low in England and high on the Continent. The imports of raw cotton sank by 42 per cent., of American cotton to Liverpool by no less than 82 per cent., of wool by 80 per cent., of flax by 39 per cent., of hemp by 66 per cent., of tallow by 60 per cent., &c. Naturally enough, under these circumstances, the price of the most important kinds of raw cotton, for instance, increased in the course of the spring and summer 100 per cent. or more. Especially striking, too, was the rise in prices on goods from Scandinavia and from the Baltic countries in general : timber, hemp, flax, tallow, bristles, tar, but above all linseed, the price of which, at least according to Lord Grenville’s statement in the House of Lords, rose more than tenfold. The shortage of raw cotton reacted on the spinning industry, which did not fail to complain of its distress by a whole series of petitions to Parliament, wherein special emphasis was laid on the consequences of the breach with America. According to undisputed statements made by the opposition speakers inthe beginning of the following year, for instance, the poor law burdens in Manchester doubled in the course of 1808 ; only nine mills were running full time, thirty-one had been running half time, and forty-four had entirely suspended operations

因此，对拿破仑来说，在1808年期间更有效地实施前一年的措施是很重要的。英国现在也遇到了各种新的困难；但这些困难的特殊之处在于，它们与拿破仑的程序没有直接关系，而最多是与英国的枢密院命令有关——英国的反对派责无旁贷地指出了这个事实。事实是，它们主要是由美国禁运法造成的，部分是由于美国货物的进口减少，部分是由于吨位的大幅减少，正如第四章第11部分所解释的那样。因此，对英国来说，结果是原材料进口减少，价格上涨，这实际上完全不符合拿破仑的愿望，即英国的价格应该低，而大陆的价格应该高。实际上，原棉的进口下降了42%，运往利物浦的美国棉花下降了不少于82%，羊毛下降了80%，亚麻下降了39%，大麻下降了66%，牛油下降了60%。很自然，在这种情况下，最重要的几种原棉的价格，在春季和夏季期间上涨了100%或更多。特别引人注目的是，来自斯堪的纳维亚和波罗的海国家的货物价格也普遍上涨：木材、麻、亚麻、牛脂、鬃毛、焦油，但最重要的是亚麻籽，其价格，至少根据格伦维尔爵士在上议院的陈述，上涨了10倍以上。原棉的短缺对纺纱业产生了影响，纺纱业通过向议会提交一系列请愿书来诉说自己的苦恼，其中特别强调了与美国决裂的后果。例如，根据反对派发言人在次年年初所作的无可争辩的陈述，曼彻斯特的糟糕的法律负担在1808年期间翻了一番；只有9家工厂在全时运转，31家工厂在半时运转，44家工厂完全停业。

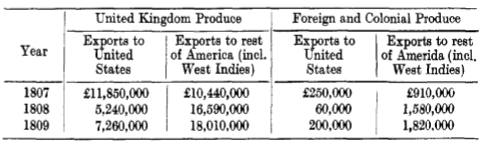
Many of these complaints, however, referred to the first months of the year. The rise in prices, on the contrary, was partly due to speculation, which began in the latter part of the year and in many respects quite revolutionized the situation. The year 1808, as it went on, came to be dominated in fact by one of the great events in the history of the Continental System-the Spanish uprising. But the direct economic significance of this movement was not primarily what Napoleon once stated, namely, that it gave to England a ' considerable amount of sales on the Iberian peninsula '.2 What a limited part this matter played can be most easily perceived from the following export figures taken from the British trade statistics (' real values ').

然而，这些抱怨中有许多是针对这一年的头几个月的。相反，价格上涨的部分原因是投机，投机始于该年下半年，并在许多方面彻底改变了情况。1808年，大陆体系历史上的一个重大事件——西班牙起义主导了投机。但这场运动的直接经济意义并不像拿破仑曾经说过的那样，即它给英国带来了 "在伊比利亚半岛的大量销售"。



As appears from this table, the Pyrenean states after 1807 do not figure very largely in the total exports of Great Britain, despite the fact that the increase for Spain is very large in itself ; and a good deal, even, of the amount which is included is the direct opposite of new sales, being really supplies for the maintenance of the British troops and the insurgents. Moreover, it is inseparable from the geographical position of the country that the Iberian peninsula could not be suited for what Great Britain chiefly needed on the Continent, namely, an entrance gate for its goods. The smuggling which now began across the Pyrenees into France cannot have weighed very heavily, as is shown by the figures in the tables themselves. The establishment of the new relations with Spain in 1808, like the flight of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil in the preceding year, was principally important in quite another way, namely, in that it placed Great Britain in very close connexion with the transmarine markets. The West Indian possessions of Spain, especially Cuba and Porto Rico, thus transferred the trade in colonial goods to England, while the mainland colonies in South America and Mexico created a large new market for British industrial products. It is easy to understand that in British eyes this new position seemed to open up the possibility of circumventing the whole of Napoleon's laboriously constructed rampart against British trade ; and this was all the more welcome because at the same time the United States had shut herself off from the rest of the world. The very peculiar British export figures to America for these years show the following fluctuations (' real values ') :

从这个表中可以看出，1807年以后，尽管西班牙的出口增长幅度很大，但比利牛斯群岛各州在英国的出口总额中占的比重并不大；甚至有相当一部分被列入的数额与新的销售直接相反，实际上是用于维持英国军队和起义军的物资。更为重要的是，从该国的地理位置来看，伊比利亚半岛不适合作为英国在欧洲大陆最需要的地方，即作为其货物的入口门。正如表中的数字所示，现在开始穿越比利牛斯山脉进入法国的走私活动不会太严重。1808年与西班牙建立的新关系，就像前一年葡萄牙王室逃往巴西一样，主要是在另一个方面具有重要意义，即它使英国与跨洋市场有了非常密切的联系。西班牙的西印度属地，特别是古巴和波多黎各，因此将殖民地商品的贸易转移到了英国，而南美洲和墨西哥的大陆殖民地则为英国工业产品创造了一个巨大的新市场。不难理解，在英国人眼里，这种新的地位似乎为绕过拿破仑费尽心机建造的反对英国贸易的整个壁垒提供了可能；而这更值得欢迎，因为与此同时，美国已经将自己与世界其他地区隔绝开来。这些年英国对美国的出口数字非常奇特，显示出以下的波动（"实际价值"）：



The whole of this striking transformation, which caused the exports to Central and South America to become a more than abundant compensation for the very great reduction in exports to the United States, was wont to be cited by theBritish government speakers as evidence that the Orders in Council had not injured the exports of the country, but had only caused 8 transition to direct trade with the former markets instead of sales to the North Americans as intermediaries. The mouthpieces of the opposition, however, maintained, and with more reason, that this new trade was really a new conquest brought about by the Spanish uprising and consequently no result of the destruction of trade with the United States by the Orders in Council.

这种引人注目的转变，使对中美洲和南美洲的出口成为对美国出口大幅减少的一种更充分的补偿，英国政府的发言人经常引用这种转变来证明枢密院令并没有损害该国的出口，而只是导致了向与以前市场的直接贸易过渡，而不是向作为中间商的北美人销售。然而，反对派的喉舌坚持认为，而且更有理由认为，这种新的贸易实际上是西班牙起义带来的新的征服，因此不是枢密院令破坏与美国贸易的结果。

## **BRITISH SPECULATION IN SOUTH AMERICA**

## **英国在南美的投机活动**

The new outlet for sales which thus seemed to offer itself gave rise to a violent speculation with all the distinctive characteristics of a boom-general optimism, great sales, industrial activity, and rising prices in the articles of speculation. As early as 1806 Sir Home Popham, the second in command of a naval expedition, had made of his own accord an attack on the mouth of the Plata and had taken Buenos Aires, upon which he sent home eight wagon-loads of silver accompanied by a boastful circular addressed to the manufacturing towns of England together with a list of all the goods that could find a ready sale in his conquest ; but as ill luck would have it, Buenos Aires had to be evacuated before the goods had yet arrived. Now that access to those markets was secured, merchants were attracted, by the memory of the hope aroused by Popham’s circulars and the loads of silver, into incredibly bold ventures in the way of exports. McCulloch, the political economist, describes the frenzy, after a contemporary source, as follows :

这样看来，新的销售渠道引起了剧烈的投机活动，其具有繁荣的所有明显特征——普遍的乐观情绪、巨大的销售量、工业化的活动和投机物品的价格上涨。早在1806年，一个海军远征队的第二指挥官霍姆·波法姆爵士就主动攻击了普拉塔河口，并占领了布宜诺斯艾利斯，之后他运送了八辆马车的白银回国，附上了一封写给英国制造业城镇的自吹自擂的通告，以及一份在他征服期间可以买到的所有商品的清单；但由于运气不好，在货物到达之前，布宜诺斯艾利斯就被清空了。现在，进入这些市场的机会得到了保证，商人们被波普汉姆的通告和白银的负载所激起的希望所吸引，在出口方面进行了令人难以置信的大胆尝试。政治经济学家麦卡洛克根据当代的资料，对这种狂热进行了如下描述：

*We are informed by Mr. Mawe, an intelligent traveller resident at Rio Janeim, at the period in question, that more Manchester goods were sent out in the course of a few weeks than had been consumed in the twenty years preceding ; and the quantity of English goods of all sorts poured into the city was so very great, that warehouses could not. be provided sufficient to contain them, and that the most valuable merchandise was actually exposed for whole weeks on the beach to the weather, and to every sort of depredation. But the folly and ignorance of thosewho had crowded into this speculation was still more strikingly evinced in the selection of the articles sent to South America. . . Some speculators actually went so far as to send skates to Rio Janeiro*

我们从居住在里约热内卢的一位聪明的旅行者马威先生那里得知，在几个星期内运出的曼彻斯特货物比之前20年消耗的还要多。涌入该城市的各种英国货物的数量如此之大，以至于无法提供足够的仓库来容纳它们，实际上最宝贵的商船停留在在海滩上，暴露在恶劣天气和各种掠夺之下整整几个星期了。但是，在送往南美的物品的选择上，那些挤进这一投机活动的人的愚蠢和无知表现得更为突出……某些投机者居然将溜冰鞋送到里约热内卢。

The final consequences of these speculations could not be advantageous, but for the time being the situation seemed flourishing, The total exports during 1808 exhibit approximately unaltered figures, but the exports of cotton goods rose by 29 per cent,, irrespective of the change in price. But this did not hold good of Central and Northern Europe, where the British trade statistics indicate a very heavy decline for both British goods (from £5,090,000 to £2,160,000)and colonial goods (from £5,730,000 to £3,270,000). This, however, is largely counterbalanced by a corresponding rise in exports to the Mediterranean countries ; and other information points to considerably larger exports to the north of Europe, as shall be shown shortly

这些投机的最终结果不可能是有利的，但就目前而言，情况似乎很好。1808年期间的出口总额大致不变，但不考虑价格的变化，棉花商品的出口上升了29%。但中欧和北欧的情况并非如此，英国的贸易统计显示，英国商品（从590万镑降至216万镑）和殖民地商品（从573万镑降至327万镑）都出现了非常严重的下降。然而，这在很大程度上被对地中海国家的出口的相应增长所抵消；其他信息表明，对欧洲北部的出口大大增加，这一点将很快显示出来。

If we examine the position on the mainland and especially in Germany somewhat more closely, we find the grestest change in 1808 to be a unique rise in the price of raw cotton and a shortage in the supplies, which were obtained mainly from the sale of captured cargoes. At the Michaelmas Fair in Leipzig the price of Brazilian cotton (Pernambuco) rose 223 per cent. above the normal ; and, as before, this was especially felt in France, where the textile industry in Nantes was enabled by government loans to go over from cotton to wool, As Great Britain herself suffered from a shortage of raw cotton, this can only in part be ascribed to the Continental self-blockade. With regard to its efficaciousness, Napoleon was able to record an advance in one quarter, namely, in Switzerland, where the smuggling of British goods ceased after 1808 ; but Holland, which was far more important from this point of view, was still a tender spot. It is true that King Louis, as early as January,did something to bring about an effective barring of the coast ; but the smuggling went on so openly that, according to the evidence of Louis himself, the shops of Leyden displayed without disguise quantities of British manufactures. By decree of September 16, 1808, Napoleon, who a little earlier had asserted that there were people who had pocketed 20,000,000 francs through smuggling in Holland, had recourse in violent indignation to themeasure of closing the frontier of France to all colonial goods from Holland. This seems to have had a certain effect, as one can see from the fact that the imports of British yarn and British manufactures, which last had already been insignificant, to Leipzig through Holland ceased entirely at this time. A month later (October 23, 1808) there was issued an extremely draconic Dutch decree as to the closing of the ports. This decree was so outre that it bears every mark of applying the principle suaviter in re, fortiter in modo [[35]](#footnote-34): all exports were prohibited until further notice ; no commercial vessels, domestic or foreign, might put in at any Dutch ports, under any pretext, on pain of being fired at ; fishing vessels were to return to their port of departure, but were to be confiscated on the least sign of intercourse with the enemy, &c.

如果我们更仔细地研究欧洲大陆，特别是德国的情况，就会发现1808年原棉价格的奇特上涨和供应的短缺，这些供应主要是通过出售捕获的货物获得的。在莱比锡的米迦勒博览会上，巴西棉花（伯南布哥）的价格比正常价格上涨了223%；和以前一样，这种情况在法国尤其明显，南特的纺织业通过政府贷款得以从棉花转向羊毛。就其效力而言，拿破仑能够在一个地区，即在瑞士取得进展，1808年后，那里停止了英国货物的走私；但是，从这个角度来看，荷兰要重要得多，它仍然是一个脆弱的地方。的确，路易国王早在一月份就采取了一些措施，有效地封锁了海岸线；但走私活动如此公开地进行着，根据路易本人的证据，莱顿的商店里陈列着大量的英国产品以示掩饰。通过1808年9月16日的法令，拿破仑（他在稍早的时候曾断言有人在荷兰通过走私将2000万法郎收入囊中）在激烈的移民活动中诉诸于关闭法国边境，禁止所有来自荷兰的殖民地货物。从英国纱线和英国制造品的进口中，可以看出这似乎产生了一定的影响：尽管上次通过荷兰向莱比锡的进口已经是微不足道的程度了，但此时进口已经完全停止。一个月后（1808年10月23日），荷兰颁布了一项极其苛刻的关闭港口的法令。这项法令太离谱了，主打一个笑里藏刀：在进一步通知之前，所有出口都被禁止；任何国内或国外的商船都不得以任何借口在任何荷兰港口停靠，否则将被开火；渔船将返回其出发港口，但只要有与敌人交往的最低迹象，就会被没收，等等。

## **NEW TRADE ROUTES VIA HELIGOLAND AND SWEDEN (1808)**

## **经由黑尔戈兰和瑞典的新贸易路线（1808）**

The effect of this, however, was a new change in the channels followed by trade. To begin with, Heligoland now showed its immense importance as an emporium or base for the smuggling of British goods into north Germany. In 1808, according to Rist’s dispatches, Great Britain expended £500,O00 in building a port, fortifications and warehouses on the little island covering about 150 acres. A number (stated to be 200) of British merchants and representatives of commercial houses settled there and formed a special chamber of commerce ; and this peculiar centre of trade was jestingly called ‘ Little London ’.According to the statements of the British merchants themselves, during three and a half months (August-November 1808) nearly 120 vessels discharged their cargoes there, and the yearly imports were estimated-though, to judge by the commercial statistics, this estimate was almost certainly too highat ;£8,000,000, or nearly a sixth of the total exports of Great Britain for 1808 (£50,000,000). It is not surprising, therefore, that great quantities of goods had to lie exposed to wind and weather, and that there was scarcely standing room on the island, The difficulty consisted, of course, in smuggling the goods into the mainland afterwards ; but the Continental blockade had again been weakened by the fact that in the beginning of the year Napoleon had been obliged to evacuate Oldenburg out of regard to his Russian ally, who was related to the Duke of Oldenburg. It is difficult to determine from accessible sources what routes the goods afterwards followed. From Bremen a certain amount reached Leipzig for the Easter Fair, but after that nothing ; and both the shipping of Hamburg and the trade of Bremen had, according to their own sources, almost ceased to exist. But there were many possibilities left, especially through Holstein, where the population and the officials alike did their best to neutralize the loyalty of the Danish government to the system. They succeeded admirably, and it is certain that there are no symptoms at all of decline in the traffic via Heligoland.

然而，这样做的结果是，贸易渠道发生了新的变化。首先，黑尔戈兰现在显示出它作为向德国北部走私英国货物的集散地或基地的巨大重要性。1808年，根据里斯特的报道可知，英国花费了50万英镑在这个占地约150英亩的小岛上建造港口、防御工事和仓库。一些英国商人和商业机构的代表（据说有200人）在那里定居，并组成了一个特殊的商会；这个特殊的贸易中心被开玩笑地称为 "小伦敦"。根据英国商人的陈述，在三个半月内（1808年8月至11月），有近120艘船在那里卸货。虽然其商业数据中的进口总额大概率是被高估了，但其每年的进口量估计为800万镑，或几乎占1808年英国出口总额（5000万镑）的六分之一。因此也就不奇怪能见到，大量的货物不得不暴露在风吹日晒之下，岛上几乎没有站立的空间。当然，困难主要在于如何事后将货物偷运到大陆；但大陆封锁已经再次被削弱，因为在这一年年初，拿破仑出于对他的俄罗斯盟友（他与奥尔登堡公爵有关系）的考虑，不得不疏散奥尔登堡。从可获得的资料中很难确定这些货物后来走了什么路线。从不来梅到莱比锡参加复活节博览会的货物有一定数量，但之后就消失了。根据他们自己的消息，汉堡的航运和不来梅的贸易几乎已经不复存在。但还有很多可能性，尤其是在荷尔斯泰因，那里的民众和官员都尽了最大努力来消除丹麦政府对该制度的忠诚。他们取得了令人钦佩的成功，可以肯定的是，经由黑尔戈兰的交通量丝毫没有下降的迹象。

During 1808, moreover, Sweden had begun to serve as a storing place for British goods, The Swedish trade statistics had previously shown an excess of exports during the century, especially as regards Great Britain ; but during 1808 there was a complete reversal, so much so that the imports from there amounted to 6,650,000 riksdaler, as against exports amounting to 2,610,000 riksdaler. It was colonial goods that went this way, for the most part through Gothenburg, the position of which as one of the foci of the commerce of the world had, to judge by its export statistics, been coming into view even in the previous year. Imports more than doubled in one year.What were for the circumstances of the time very considerablequantities of sugar and coffee (!2,900,000 Ib. and 1,300,000 lb., respectively) were exported from there in 1808 ; and when Admiral Saumarez was in the town, in May, he wrote to his son : ' Gothenburg is a place of great trade at this time ; at least 1,800 sail of vessels of different nations are in the port.' From there the goods tried to find their way into Germany through the South Baltic ports.

此外，在1808年期间，瑞典开始成为英国货物的储存地，瑞典的贸易统计数字在本世纪以来一直显示出出口过剩，特别是对英国而言；但在1808年期间，情况完全逆转，以至于从英国进口的货物达到665万里克斯（当时的瑞典银币），而出口则达到261万里克斯。大部分是通过哥德堡进口的殖民地货物，从其出口统计数据来看，哥德堡作为世界商业中心之一的地位甚至在前一年就已经开始显现。1808年，在当时的情况下，相当数量的糖和咖啡（分别为290万磅和130万磅）从那里出口；5月，海军上将索马雷兹在该镇时，给他的儿子写信说："哥德堡目前是一个巨大的贸易场所；至少有1800艘不同国家的船只处于该港口。从那里，货物试图通过南波罗的海港口进入德国。

Thus Napoleon was still far from his goal, and the Spanish rising in particular was to carry him farther and farther away. As early as October 1,1808, his brother Louis-who was always pessimistic, it is true-wrote to the eldest of the brothers, Joseph Bonaparte, the newly created King of Spain : ' Far from settling down, matters get more and more tangled, and perhaps I speak too much as a Dutchman, but I find something revolutionary in the way in which war is made on commerceit seems to me that they never will attain the object that they have set before them '. At the same time as Spain and Portugal, he thinks, South America and Mexico have thrown themselves open to the English ; ' and for a chimerical system the whole Continent is losing its trade and shipping, while that of England grows prodigiously '

因此，拿破仑离他的目标还很远，特别是西班牙的崛起会让他越走越远。早在1808年10月1日，他的兄弟路易，一个总是很悲观的家伙，就给兄弟中的老大，西班牙的新国王约瑟夫·波拿巴写道：“事情非但没有安定下来下来，反而变得越来越复杂，也许我作为荷兰人说得太多了，但我发现在商业上发动战争的方式有些革命性，在我看来，他们永远无法实现他们所设定的目标”。他认为，在西班牙和葡萄牙的同时，南美和墨西哥也向英国人敞开了大门。“为了一个荒诞的体系，整个欧洲大陆的贸易和航运正在丧失，而英国的贸易和航运却在大幅增长”

## **DIMINISHED VIGILANCE DURING THE AUSTRIAN CAMPAIGN (1809)**

## **奥地利战役期间警惕性下降（1809）**

This line of development was especially marked in 1809 when Napoleon's campaign against Austria and the Spanish uprising also made heavy demands on him and his troops, while trade under a neutral, that is to say, American flag, again became possible through the Non-intercourse Act, bringing it about that the importation of raw materials into Great Britainagain became normal and the possibilities of smuggling into the Continent grew greatly. Great Britain could also now rejoice in the highest prosperity in the new trade she acquired through the Spanish uprising, as is most plainly shown by the tables given above.1 The British exports of cotton goods show a unique rise : manufactured goods from S12,500,000 to ~18,400,000 and yarn from S470,OOO to ~1,020,000 (‘ official values ’, that is to say, irrespective of changes in prices). The former thus underwent an increase of nearly 50 per cent., and the latter of more than 100 per cent., as compared with the in themselves high figures of 1808.

这一发展路线在1809年尤为明显，当时法国与奥地利的战役以及西班牙的起义对拿破仑和他的军队提出了沉重的要求，而在中立国，即美国国旗下的贸易通过《不进口法》再次成为可能，这使得英国的原材料进口再次变得正常，向欧洲大陆走私的可能性大大增加。英国现在也可以为她通过西班牙起义获得的新贸易的最高繁荣而感到高兴，正如上面的表格所显示的那样。因此，与1808年的高数字相比，前者增长了近50%，后者增长了100%以上。

This was not solely an effect of the possession of new markets. On the contrary, all our sources are agreed in attributing it to the diminished watchfulness on the North Sea, where the self-blockade was alleged-with some exaggeration, it is true-to have in reality ceased ; and it was considered that trade was being carried on almost as in time of peace. This is made visible, indeed, by a rise in the figures for British exports to North Europe from £2,160,000 to £5,700,000 for British goods, and from £3,270,000 to no less than £8,870,000 for colonial goods. With a zeal that infallibly reminds us of the saying, ‘ When the cat’s away the mice will play,’ all Napoleon’s tools on the North Sea coast took advantage of his absence in Austria to relax the bonds and to let in vessels, especially those under the American flag. As early as the middle of March 1809, King Louis of Holland declared to the Emperor that his country was ‘ physically unable to endure the closing of the ports ’ in combination with the closing of the Franco-Dutch frontier ordered by Napoleon in the previous September ; and accordingly he made certain relaxations in the blockade by sea at the close of the month. When Napoleon, at the beginning of June, rescinded his September decree, his brother embraced the opportunity to rescind the order prohibiting American vessels to put in at Dutch ports. This caused Napoleon to put the barring of the frontier in force again in the middle of July; but not only the showers of abuse which Napoleon poured overhis unhappy brother, but also his brother's correspondence with the Dutch ministers, show distinctly enough how smuggling was going on in Holland itself throughout the entire year.

这并不仅仅是拥有新市场的结果。相反，我们所有的消息来源都一致认为，这是因为北海的警惕性降低了，据说那里的自我封锁实际上已经停止了，不过这多少有点夸张的成分。人们认为，贸易几乎是在和平时期进行的。事实上，从英国对北欧的出口数字从216万镑上升到570万镑，殖民地货物从327万镑上升到不少于887万镑，就可以看出这一点。拿破仑在北海沿岸的所有下属都利用他不在奥地利的机会，放宽债券，让船只，特别是悬挂美国国旗的船只，进入北海，这种热情让人不禁想起一句话：“猫不在，老鼠就会玩”。早在1809年3月中旬，荷兰国王路易就向皇帝宣称，他的国家 "在身体上无法忍受港口的关闭"，以及拿破仑在前一年9月下令关闭法荷边境的行为。因此他在月底对海上封锁作出了某些放松。当拿破仑在6月初取消了他9月份的法令时，他的兄弟抓住机会取消了禁止美国船只在荷兰港口停靠的命令。这使得拿破仑在7月中旬再次对边境实施封锁；但是，不仅拿破仑对其不高兴的弟弟大肆谩骂，而且他弟弟与荷兰部长的通信也清楚地表明，在整个一年中，走私活动是如何在荷兰本身进行的。

Farther to the north smuggling through Oldenburg continued into the following year. A sudden fall in the price of cotton yarn in northern Germany was caused in February 1809, by the large stocks that the Manchester manufacturers had laid up in Heligoland ; and as an example of the scope of the traffic which was carried on from that island, it may be mentioned, on the authority of the statements of the Heligoland merchants, that sixty-six vessels and seventy smaller boats were able, during nineteen days in June 1809, to land on the coast goods to the value of several hundred thousand pounds. According to French reports, the guards along the Elbe and the Weser, too, were now reduced to a few untrustworthy Dutch soldiers and gendarmes under the command of a drunken officer. If we cross to Schleswig-Holstein territory, we find there the same phenomenon, namely, a huge expansion of the colonial trade. What is called the second Tonning period, which is marked by these American visits, began in June 1809, and lasted to the end of the year. The traffic all along the line was formally facilitated by the British goveriment by means of the new Order in Council of April 26, which restricted the declaration of blockade in the north to the River Ems, at least in so far as the German North Sea coast was not reckoned as a dependency of France, which, of course, is just what it actually was. In reality, however, this meant comparatively little, inasmuch as the old regulations were in practice applied by the issue of the British government Kcences, which shipping was scarcely able to do without.

再往北，通过奥尔登堡的走私活动一直持续到次年。1809年2月，曼彻斯特制造商在赫利戈兰囤积了大量库存的棉纱，导致德国北部的棉纱价格突然下跌值得一提的是，作为从该岛运输的范围的一个例子，根据赫利戈兰商人的说法，在1809年6月的19天里，有66艘船和70艘小船能够在海岸登陆，运送价值几十万英镑的货物。根据法国的报告，易北河和威悉河沿岸的守卫如今也只剩下一些不值得信赖的荷兰士兵和宪兵，还是由一个醉酒的军官指挥的。如果我们穿越到石勒苏益格-荷尔斯泰因境内，我们会发现那里有同样的现象，即殖民贸易的巨大扩张。以这些美国人的访问为标志的所谓第二个汤宁时期，从1809年6月开始，一直持续到该年年底。英国政府通过4月26日的新枢密院令，正式为沿线的交通提供了便利，该命令将北方的封锁声明限制在埃姆斯河，至少在德国北海海岸不被视为法国的属地时是如此，当然，这只是它的实际情况。但实际上，这并不意味着什么，因为旧的规定实际上是通过签发英国政府的许可证来实施的，而航运业几乎不可能没有许可证。

At the same time English trade was being transferred to Gothenburg and the Baltic ports. In Gothenburg the British set up, in 1809, special warehouses and stores on Foto immediately opposite the entrance to the harbour. The reexports of raw sugar almost trebled, while the exports of coffee, like the shipping of the port in general, more than doubled. The Prussian and the Pomeranian ports now became regulargates of entry for the importation of goods ; and the Baltic coast came to be the centre of trade to such an extent that the Jierante, the Jewish traders of Eastern Europe, went to Konigsberg and Riga, instead of Leipzig, in order to cover their requirements of British manufactures. Finally, great quantities of British yarn came to Trieste and Fiume before the AustroFrench war, and even after its close, from the repurchased parcels

同时，英国的贸易也被转移到哥德堡和波罗的海港口。在哥德堡，英国人于1809年在港口入口正对面的福托建立了专门的仓库和商店。原糖的再出口量几乎增加了三倍，而咖啡的出口量增加了一倍多，等同于港口的一般航运的增加幅度。普鲁士和波美拉尼亚港口现在成了进口货物的固定入口；波罗的海沿岸成为贸易中心，以至于东欧的犹太商人杰兰特（Jierante）去了柯尼斯堡和里加，而不是莱比锡，以满足他们对英国产品的需求。最后，在法奥战争之前，大量的英国纱线来到的里雅斯特和菲奥梅，甚至在战争结束后，从回购的包裹中也有大量的英国纱线。

## **REES-BREMEN BARRIER (SCHONBRUNN DECREE OF JULY 18, 1809)**

## **里斯-不来梅屏障（1809年7月18日熊布朗条约）**

Obviously this development did not escape the notice of Napoleon. On the contrary, he was kept informed by a veritable army of spies as to what was happening both within and without his empire, and it is clear that he did not wish to let it go on without taking steps to stop it. He did not even delay his counter-measures until the close of the Austrian campaign, but limited them in the main to the attempt to isolate Holland, which in his eyes was the most serious breach of all in the system. At the same time as he renewed, as has been mentioned above, the closing of the frontier against France, he suddenly ordered, by the decree of Schonbrunn on July 18,1809, a corresponding closing of the frontier on the side of Germany and caused this to become operative at once without even informing the ' protected ' princes in the Confederation of the Rhine who were affected by the blockade, &x., his brother Jerome, King of Westphalia, and the Grand Duke of Berg. The smuggled goods were considered ,by the French director-general of customs, Collin de Sussy, to go direct up the Rhine and the Ems, and then to go by land through the Grand Duchy of Berg, practically corresponding to the Ruhr district, to the whole Confederationof the Rhine. At the close of July, French customs officers were moved into the country, forming a chain from Bremen through Osnabruck down to the Rhine at Rees close to the Dutch frontier, which was thereby cut off from connexions eastward. This cordon was made threefold, consisting of troops, gendarmes and customs officers. According to one statement, one of the lines went along the Dutch frontier from Varel, near the beach of Jade, to Emmerich on the Rhine immediately north of Rees. The violence with which the whole thing was carried out, however, caused great confusion. The local authorities refused to assist the customs officers and protested against their movements ; the gendarmes were at times positively hostile to them ; and to crown all, the customs officials were sometimes corrupt, so that the blockade of the non-French part of the Continent still continued to be practically a failure on well-nigh all points. The unbroken severity of the action that Napoleon followed in Holland, especially by the incorporation of the region south of the Waal in March 1810, seems not to have borne any great fruit either. At any rate, as late as May of the same year King Louis wrote sourly to Marshal Oudinot, Duke of Reggio : ' I have received the letter in which you inform me that smuggling is going on to a great extent on the coast of my kingdom. Like you, I believe that it goes on wherever there are coasts, in Germany as in Holland, and even in France.' The complete annexation of Holland in July created a new situation here, but at the same time it made the barrier between Holland and Germany somewhat purposeless.

显然，拿破仑注意到这一发展。一支名副其实的间谍部队不断向他通报帝国内外正在发生的事情，而且很明显，他打算采取措施阻止这一情况继续发生。他甚至在奥地利战役结束时就推行了他的反措施，不过这些措施主要限制在孤立荷兰的企图上。在拿破仑看来，荷兰是体系中最严重的漏洞。在他如上文所述重新关闭针对法国的边界的同时，他突然通过1809年7月18日的勋伯格法令，下令相应地关闭德国一侧的边界，并使之立即生效，甚至没有通知莱茵河联盟中受封锁影响的"受保护国"的王子，如他的兄弟威斯特伐利亚国王杰罗姆和伯格大公。法国海关总署署长科林·德·苏西（Collin de Sussy）认为，这些走私货物直接沿莱茵河和埃姆斯河而上，然后通过伯格大公国（实际上相当于鲁尔区）从陆路进入整个莱茵河联盟。7月底，法国海关官员进入该国，形成了一条从不来梅经奥斯纳布吕克到靠近荷兰边境的里斯的莱茵河的锁链，从而切断了与东部的联系。这条封锁线由三部分组成，包括军队、宪兵和海关官员。根据一份声明，其中一条警戒线沿着荷兰边境，从玉石滩附近的瓦雷尔，到紧靠里斯北部的莱茵河畔的埃默里希。然而，整个行动的暴力造成了极大的混乱。地方当局拒绝协助海关官员，并抗议他们的行动；宪兵有时对他们怀有敌意；最重要的是，海关官员有时还很腐败，因此，对欧洲大陆非法国部分的封锁实际上仍然在几乎所有方面都是失败的。拿破仑在荷兰的行动，特别是1810年3月对瓦尔河以南地区的并入，其严厉程度似乎也没有取得任何重大成果。无论如何，直到同年5月，路易国王还在给雷焦公爵欧迪诺元帅的信中酸溜溜地写道："我已经收到了你的信，你在信中告诉我，在我的王国的海岸上，走私活动正在大量进行。和你一样，我相信只要有海岸的地方就会发生这种情况，在德国，在荷兰，甚至在法国。”7月，完全吞并荷兰的行为在这里创造了一个新的局面，但同时也使荷兰和德国之间的屏障变得有些毫无意义。

During the first half of the year 1810, therefore, the situation was not greatly changed. Frankfurt, in particular, could rejoice in an entirely undiminished trade in colonial goods, which came in through the ports of. the North Sea and the Baltic, and were conveyed thence to northern Ita.ly, southern France, and even to Holland and eastern France. The then minister of Prussia in this capital of the Confederation of the Rhine actually declared at the beginning of the year that the town had never before played such a part in the trade of Europe nor been so full of colonial goods ; and the trade seems further to have increased in the course of the summer. As regards Leipzig, to be sure, it was stated before and during the Easter Fair in 1810 that the imports through the North Sea ports, especially of English yarn, had practically ceased. But to make up for this, the transfer of the trade to the Baltic ports was now definitive, helped with the best of good-will by Prussia, and also by Sweden and Mecklenburg, to circumvent the Continental System in every conceivable way, and, for that matter, with useful help from the corrupt French consuls in the ports. Konigsberg above all, but to a great extent the other towns on the south coast of the Baltic-Rostock, Stralsund, Stettin, Memel, and even Riga-now took the place of the Hanse Towns and the Dutch ports ; and there began a unique importation of American cotton, which attained its highest level during the summer. The whole of the Confederation of the Rhine, Austria, Switzerland, and even France, were provided from there at a time when spinning mills were springing up on the Continent like mushrooms from the ground. At the Michaelmas Fair in 1810 the value of the supplies of colonial goods in Leipzig was estimated at 65,500,000 francs ; and although only a sixth part remained in the town, all cellars, vaults, and storehouses were full to overflowing, chiefly with cotton, but also with coffee, sugar, and indigo

因此，在1810年上半年，情况没有发生很大变化。尤其是法兰克福，它可以为完全没有减少的殖民地货物贸易感到高兴。这些货物通过北海和波罗的海的港口进入，然后被运往伊塔莱北部、法国南部，甚至荷兰和法国东部。当时普鲁士驻莱茵河联盟首府的部长在年初就宣称，该城在欧洲的贸易中从未发挥过如此大的作用，也从未有如此多的殖民地货物；在夏季，贸易似乎进一步增加。至于莱比锡，可以肯定的是，在1810年的复活节博览会之前和期间，有人说，通过北海港口的进口，特别是英国纱线的进口，实际上已经停止了。但为了弥补这一点，在普鲁士以及瑞典和梅克伦堡的善意帮助下，如今将贸易转移到波罗的海港口，以各种可以想象的方式规避大陆体系的做法是可行的，而且在这方面，腐败的法国驻港口领事提供了有益的帮助。柯尼斯堡最为重要，但在很大程度上，波罗的海南海岸的其他城镇——罗斯托克、斯特拉松德、斯德丁、梅梅尔，甚至于里加，现在都取代了汉萨同盟和荷兰的港口。在那里开始了独特的美国棉花进口，在夏季达到了最高水平。整个莱茵河联邦、奥地利、瑞士，甚至法国，都是在那里进口货物，当时欧洲大陆上的纺纱厂像地上的蘑菇一样涌现。在1810年的米迦勒博览会上，莱比锡殖民地商品的供应价值估计为6550万法郎；虽然只有六分之一留在城里，但所有的地窖、地窖和仓库都满载而归，主要是棉花，还有咖啡、糖和靛蓝

## D’IVERNOIS’S EPIGRAM

Naturally enough, people in England, especially in government circles, took a very optimistic view of the situation. The new Order in Council of April 1809, however modest was its modification of the paper blockade, is an evidence of this fact. Reasons are found for it in ‘ different events and changes which have occurred in the relations between Great Britain and the territories of other powers ’, which meant, of course, the Iberianpeninsula. In February 1809, Lord Liverpool, formerly Lord Hawkesbury, who was home secretary at the time, spoke in the House of Lords about ‘ the flourishing state of commerce ’ ; and as late as May 1810, the British budget debate was marked entirely by a feeling of booming trade and prosperity, so that even on the side of the opposition Huskisson considered that the country was in a happy state of development. Especially seductive was the roseate description given by Perceval as chancellor of the exchequer ; and Rose, the vice-president of the Board of Trade, said that he was unable, to be sure, to explain how it could be so, ‘ but somehow it appeared, that from, the industry and ingenuity of our merchants every prohibitory measure of Bonaparte’s had utterly failed of its object. In fact, our trade, instead of being limited by it, had rather been extended, in spite of the hostile proceedings of the enemy.’The same idea was expressed with a touch of vPps in a contemporary epigram placed on the title-page of a pamphlet by Sir Francis d’Ivernois, a Swiss naturalized in England, entitled Effets du blocus continental :

很自然地，英国的人们，特别是在政府圈子里，对局势持非常乐观的看法。1809年4月的新枢密院令，无论其对纸质封锁的修改多么温和，都是这一事实的证明。在"英国与其他国家领土关系中发生的不同事件和变化"中找到了原因，这当然是指伊比利亚半岛。1809年2月，利物浦勋爵（原霍克斯伯里勋爵，当时担任内政大臣）在上议院谈到了'商业的蓬勃发展'；而迟至1810年5月，英国的预算辩论充斥着贸易繁荣的情绪，因此，即使在反对派一方，胡斯基森也认为国家处于一种快乐的发展状态。尤其诱人的是珀斯瓦尔作为财政大臣所做的玫瑰色描述；贸易委员会副主席罗斯说，他肯定无法解释为什么会这样，“但不知为什么，从我们商人的工业和聪明才智来看，波拿巴的每一项禁止的措施都完全没有达到其目的。事实上，尽管有敌人的敌对行动，我们的贸易非但没有受到限制，反而得到了扩展”。同样的想法在Francis d'Ivernois爵士的一本小册子的扉页上，以一种淡淡的表达出来，他是一位归化在英国的瑞士人，题为《大陆效果》的小册子：

Votre blocus ne bloque point,

et grace a votre heureuse adresse

ceux que vous affamez sans cesse

ne periront que d’embonpoint.

你的封锁不算阻挡，

感谢你快乐的地址

那些你想使之饥饿的人

只会因超重而死亡。

## CHAPTER III

## 第三章

## SMUGGLING AND CORRUPTION ; FISCALISM AND LICENSING

## 走私和腐败；财政主义与许可

THE tendencies described in the last chapter made it increasingly clear to Napoleon during the year 1810 that he must find new expedients if he was ever to succeed in making the Continental self-blockade effective; and he also had another reason for reshaping his policy, in the great inconveniences which had revealed themselves both in his finances and in French economic life. In order to form a clear idea of this second phase of the history of the Continental System, however, we must consider in a little more detail the smuggling and the system of bribery.

上一章所描述的趋势使1810年的拿破仑越来越清楚地认识到，如果他要成功地使大陆的自我封锁有效，他必须找到新的权宜之计。此外还有另一个理由推动他重新制定政策，那就是在他的财政和法国的经济生活中显现出来的巨大不便。然而，为了清楚地了解大陆制度历史的第二阶段，我们必须对走私和贿赂制度进行更详细的研究。

## **SMUGGLING**

## **走私**

Concerning the prevalence of smuggling under the Continental System lengthy books might be written, for it flourished throughout Europe to an extent of which the world since then, and perhaps even before then, has rarely seen the like. Coercive measures in the sphere of commercial policy have at all times found a palliative in smuggling, But that palliative was used to an infinitely larger extent now that coercion acquired a range previously undreamt of ; and at the same time it was felt to be unendurable in a quite different way thanformerly, owing both to the increased importance of international intercourse and to the fact that outside the limits of France proper it represented a foreign dominion and lacked moral support in all classes of the community. The purely external forms of the smuggling are of relatively subordinate importance in this connexion. The examples that have been mentioned in the preceding pages, and that will be mentioned in the following pages, may here be supplemented by a couple of contemporary descriptions. One of these by Bourrienne refers to the year 1809 and has a more or less anecdotal character.

在大陆体系下走私活动的盛行可以写成长篇大论，因为它在整个欧洲的盛行程度，是自那时以来，甚至在此之前，世界上很少见到过的。商业政策领域的强制措施在任何时候都能被走私所缓和，但现在这种缓和办法的使用范围大大增加了，因为强制措施达到了以前无法想象的程度；同时，由于国际交往的重要性增加，也由于在法国本土以外，走私代表着一种外国统治，因此其在社会各阶层中缺乏道义上的支持，人们感到此时的走私与以前完全不同，是无法忍受的。在这方面，纯粹的外部走私形式相对来说是次要的。在前几页中已经提到的以及将在下几页中提到的同时代的例子，可以对其加以补充。其中布列纳写的是1809年的事，或多或少带有轶事的性质。

## **Bourrienm’s Anecdote**

## **布列纳的轶事**

*To the left of the short road leading from Altona to Hamburg there lies a field that had been excavated in order to get gravel for building houses and roads. The intention was to repair the broad and long street in Hamburg running to the Altona gate. During the night the hole from which the gravel had been taken was filled up ; and the same carts which as a rule conveyed the gravel to Hamburg were filled with raw sugar, the colour of which resembles sand. They contented themselves with covering the sugar with a layer of sand an inch thick. The pikes of the customs officials easily penetrated this thin layer of sand and the sugar underneath it. This comedy went on for a long time, but the work on the street made no progress. Before I knew the cause of this slowness I complained about it, because the street led out to a little country place which I owned near Altona, and where I used to go daily. Like myself, the customs officials at last found out that the work of road-making took rather a long time, and one fine day the sugar carts were stopped and seized. The smugglers then had to devise some other expedients.*

*在从阿尔托纳通往汉堡的小路左侧，有一片被挖掘过的田地，挖掘的目的是为了获得建造房屋和道路所需的砾石，从而修缮汉堡通往阿尔托纳大门的那条又宽又长的街道。夜里，挖砂石的洞被填平了，往汉堡运砂石的车也装满了原糖，但它们的颜色像沙子，因为走私者满足于在糖上覆盖一层一英寸厚的沙子，但海关人员的长矛很容易穿透这层薄薄的沙子和沙子下面的糖。这场闹剧持续了很长时间，但街道上的挖掘工作却毫无进展。在我还不知道挖掘缓慢的原因之前，我就对此抱怨过，因为这条街通向我在阿尔托纳附近拥有的，一个我每天都要去的乡下小地方。和我一样，海关官员在最后也发现筑路工作需要很长时间，于是在一个晴朗的日子里，糖车被拦截并扣押。于是走私者不得不想出其他办法。*

*In the region between Hamburg and Altona, on the right bank of the Elbe, there is a little suburb inhabited by sailors, dock-labourers, and a very large number of house-owners, whose burial ground is in the churchyard of Hamburg. One now saw more often than usual hearses with their adornments and decorations, processions, burial hymns and the usual ceremonies. Amazed at the enormous and sudden mortality among the inhabitants of Hamburgerberg, the customs house officiaIs at length ventured to examine one of the deceased at close quarters and discovered sugar; coffee, vanilla, indigo, &c. This, accordingly, was another expedient which had to be abandoned ; but others remained.*

*在易北河右岸汉堡和阿尔托纳之间的地区，有一个小郊区，住着水手、码头工人和很多房主，他们的墓地在汉堡的教堂墓地里。现在，人们比往常更经常地看到带着装饰品和装饰物的灵车、游行队伍、葬礼赞美诗和通常的仪式。海关官员对汉堡堡居民突然大量死亡感到惊讶，终于冒险近距离检查了一名死者，发现了糖、咖啡、香草、靛蓝等。因此，这又是一个不得不放弃的权宜之计；但其他办法仍然存在。*

## **Rist's Description of Hamburg Smuggling**

## **里斯特对汉堡走私的描述**

With this may be compared the more informative and certainly quite trustworthy account given by Rist, the representative of Denmark, of the position at Hamburg a year after the period with which we are chiefly concerned here, namely, at the beginning of 1811.

与此相比，丹麦代表里斯特在我们这里主要讨论的时期一年后，即1811年初，对汉堡的情况作了更翔实的、当然也是相当可信的描述。

*For some time there had developed a peculiar and flourishing contraband traffic which was carried on from Hamburgerberg with varying success in full daylight and under the eyes of the customs officers. About this I wish to speak, because it was not only peculiar in its kind, but also not without influence upon the manners of the people and later events, and even became the subject of a genuinely humorous popular poetry.*

*有一段时间，在海关人员的眼皮底下，汉堡的走私业出现了奇特的蓬勃发展。关于这一点我想谈谈，因为它不仅在种类上很特别，而且对人们的风俗习惯和后来的事件也不无影响，甚至成为真正幽默的通俗诗歌的主题。*

*The abundance of cheap colonial goods in Altona, which could not be prevented by any prohibitions or other measures from this side of the frontier, and the similarly unpreventable connection with Hamburgerberg, macle this last-named place a regular emporium for contraband goods. Speculators in that line of business had at that time hit upon the idea of entrusting to all kinds of low-class people, chiefly women, boys and girls of the rabble, the task of carrying the forbidden goods in small quantities through the customs guard stationed at the town gates. The attempt had been successful and was soon continued on a large scale. The city gate was thronged with all kinds of canaille coming in and going out in a steady stream. Behind some wooden sheds near the city gate one saw the arsenal of this curious army and its equipment, which was at once disgusting and laughable. There women turned up their dresses in order to shake coffee beans down in their stockings and to fasten little bags of coffee everywhere under their clothes ; there boys filled their ragged trousers with pepper in the sight of everybody ; others poured syrup in their broad boots ; some even claimed to have seen women conceal powdered sugar under their caps in their black tangled hair. With these burdens they at once started off, and afterward delivered over their goods in certain warehouses located near the city gate and received their pay. In this way immense quantities of goods were brought in ; and agreements with these petty dealers, based solely on good faith, seem seldom to have been broken on either side.*

*阿尔托纳盛产廉价的殖民地商品，任何禁令或其他措施都无法阻止这些商品从边境的这一侧进入，也同样无法阻止其与汉堡的联系，因此这个最后被命名的地方成了违禁品的固定集散地。当时，这一行的投机商们想出了一个主意，委托各种下层人民，主要是妇女、男孩和女孩，携带少量违禁品通过驻扎在城门口的海关守卫。这一尝试取得了成功，并很快得到大规模推广。城门口挤满了各式各样的愚民，进出者络绎不绝。在城门附近的一些木棚后面，人们看到了这支奇特军队的兵工厂及其装备，既恶心又可笑。在那里，妇女们撩起裙子，把咖啡豆抖落在丝袜里，并在衣服下面到处塞满了装咖啡的小袋子；在那里，男孩们当着所有人的面，在他们的破裤子里塞满了胡椒粉；还有人在他们宽大的靴子里倒糖浆；有些人甚至声称看到妇女们把糖粉藏在她们帽子下面的黑发里。他们带着这些包袱立即出发，然后到城门附近的一些仓库，交接货物并领取报酬。通过这种方式，大量的货物被运入；与这些小商贩的协议完全建立在诚信的基础上，似乎双方都很少违反协议。*

*This trickery could not long remain concealed from the customs officers ; and there is no doubt but that they could soon have checked it. Rut this does not seem to have been the intention at all. This ' filtration '-that was the technical term-was regarded as a happy huntingground, which was preserved as a means of enabling officers always to cover their requirements from it. If the officials seized every third or fourth ‘ bearer (Truger)-that was the people’s technical term-and kept his or her load, they derived a fine income from it ; but the traffic was not at all disturbed by this, for losses were part of the business, and the customs officials had simply to hold out their hands to get all that they needed. Many of them were also well bribed by the principal participators in the traffic. If an unknown face appeared on duty, recourse was had to strategical measures : a dense column was formed, some heavily armed persons in the van were sacrificed, and the others burst through like a whirlwind, to the great joy of the spectators. The manifold incidents and perils which surrounded this Schuckeln or Tragen, the spirit of good-fellowship with which the trade was carried on, and the gallows humour that it created, inspired a poet, and by no means contemptible poet of his kind, from this or some neighbouring department to indite some ‘ Schuckeln ditties ’, which for some time were in everybody’s mouth and were highly characteristic. It is certain that this business was for several years in succession a source of good earnings for the poorest elements of the population and considerably diminished mendicity. When the poor law officials asked parents receiving support about their children’s means of livelihood, their answer as a rule was : ‘ Hee [or see] drigt ’ (he-or she-bears). This offscum of society had suddenly appeared as if sprung out of the soil, and in the same way it afterwards vanished.*

*这种伎俩不可能长期瞒过海关官员；毫无疑问，他们很快就会制止这些行为。但这似乎不符合他们的意愿。这种 "过滤"——一个专业术语——被认为是一个快乐的狩猎 ，因此被保留下来，作为一种使官员们满足要求的手段。如果海关官员每抓获三、四个 "扛货人"（特鲁格）——又一个专业术语——并保留他们的货物，他们就能从中获得一笔可观的收入，而走私丝毫不受影响，因为走私者事前就预料到了损失，因此海关官员只需伸手就能得到他们所需要的一切。走私愚民中的许多人还受到主要参与者的贿赂。如果有不认识的人出现在执勤点，就会采取战略措施：排成密集的纵队，牺牲一些全副武装的人，其他人像旋风一样冲过去，这让观众非常高兴。围绕着舒克尔恩或特鲁格的各种事件和危险，这种交易进行时的友好精神，以及它所创造的绞刑架幽默，激发了一位诗人，而且绝不是同时代那种可鄙的诗人，从这里或邻近的部门，创作了一些 "晃悠悠小调"，这些小调在一段时间内传遍了每个人的口中，并且极具特色。可以肯定的是，走私生意连续几年为最贫穷的人带来了丰厚的收入，并大大减少了贫困现象。当贫困法官员向接受资助的父母询问其子女的谋生手段时，他们的回答通常是："搬东西"（他或她携带的）。这种社会丑恶现象突然出现，就像从泥土里蹦出来一样，随后又以同样的方式消失了。*

All this was by no means peculiar to Hamburg, although the fact that Hamburgerberg and country residences and places of amusement lay on the Holstein side rendered control very difficult and led to the rudest and most repulsive corporeal searchings of both women and men in the middle of the open road. Rist says that it was an especially difficult time for the corpulent, just as seems to have been the case during the recent World War on the. shores on the Sound. On the North Sea coast the smuggling was still more systematic in Bremen, which, according to Max Schafer, the latest describer of its fortunes under the Continental System, was a ‘ smuggling metropolis ’. It derived special advantage from what Vandal has called the amphibious nature of the coast, in that, thanks to Die Watten (the numerous islands lying flush with the water), goods could be smuggled in direct from the British. From English sources we learn how raw sugar was sent when refined sugar wasprohibited, and eau swrde when raw sugar was prohibited ; how coffee went in as horse-beans, sugar as starch ; and how the names of pepper were legion. The same system flourished, however, from Gothenburg in the northwest around all the coasts of Europe to Saloniki in the southeast, without any great variation in the methods. Probably the most primitive. expedients were resorted to on the Balkan peninsula. Here sugar was packed in small boxes weighing at the most 200 kilograms, so that they could be transported ,on horses and asses ; in this way it was conveyed by armed bands through Bosnia, Serbia and Hungary to Vienna. France proper was undoubtedly the most closely guarded country, but even there, according to both English and French witnesses, smuggling flourished to a very large extent. At the very same time when the Berlin decree was flung out, when the new prohibitive customs ordinance was enforced for France herself, the English Monthly Magazine, following the,statements of experts, described how British goods of different kinds were exported on French orders to France everywhere along the frontiers and could easily be insured up to the place of their destination, and how immediately after their arrival they were stamped as of French manufacture and made to serve as evidence of the high level attained by French industry. A well-informed and intelligent French-American traveller, Louis Simond, who visited Great Britain in 1810-11, relates how the English goods ' are packed in small packages, fit to be carried by hand, and made to imitate the manufactures of the country to which they are sent, even to the very paper and outward wrapper, and the names of the foreign manufacturers marked on the goods.' On pieces of broadcloth in Leeds, for instance, he observed the mark of Journaux Freres of Sedan.

这一切绝非汉堡所独有，尽管汉堡、乡间别墅和娱乐场所位于荷尔斯泰因一侧这一事实使得控制变得非常困难，并导致在开阔的道路中央对男女进行最粗鲁、最令人厌恶的搜身。根据里斯特的说法，那是一个对体形肥胖的人来说特别困难的时期，就像最近的世界大战期间在峡湾海岸发生的情况一样。在北海沿岸，不莱梅的走私活动更加系统化，据马克斯·舍费尔（大陆制度下不莱梅命运的最新描述者）所说，不莱梅成了 "走私大都会"。它从范德尔所说的海岸的两栖性质中获得了特殊的优势，由于迪瓦滕（与水齐平的众多岛屿），货物可以直接从英国走私进来。在英国的资料中我们可以了解到，在精制糖被禁止的情况下，原糖是如何被运入的；在原糖被禁止的情况下，花露水又是如何被运入的；咖啡是如何被当作马豆运入的，糖是如何被当作淀粉运入的；胡椒的名称又是如何层出不穷的。从欧洲西北部的哥德堡到东南部的萨洛尼卡，同样的制度盛行一时，方法却没有任何大的变化。巴尔干半岛可能采用了最原始的方法。在这里，糖被装在最重200公斤的小箱子里，以便用马匹和驴子运输；通过这种方式，糖被武装团伙穿过波斯尼亚、塞尔维亚和匈牙利运往维也纳。法国本土无疑是守卫最严密的国家，但据英国和法国的目击者称，即使在法国，走私活动也非常猖獗。就在柏林法令颁布的同时，就在新的海关禁令在法国本土实施的同时，英国的月刊，根据专家们的陈述，描述了英国的各种货物是如何根据法国的订单出口到法国边境的各个地方，并且可以很容易地投保到目的地，以及它们是如何在到达后立即被盖上法国制造的印章，成为法国工业达到高水平的证明。一位消息灵通的法裔美国旅行家路易·西蒙于1810-1811年访问了英国，他讲述了英国商品是如何 "被装在适合用手搬运的小包装里，模仿被运往国家的制造商，甚至连包装纸和外包装都模仿了，以及货物上标明的外国制造商的名称。例如，在利兹的宽布上，他看到了色当的弗莱雷斯报纸的标记。

On the sea the smuggling is said to have started principally from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight. Here the goods were packed into hermetically sealed chests, which were afterward thrown into the water, chained to little buoya, like fishing nets, and safely hauled ashore on the French side by the inhabitants under the very eyes of the patrolling vessels. If we may credit an active French customs officer at the time, Boucher de Perthes,the use of British textile goods came very close to the Emperor’s person. According to him, Napoleon learned, in the course of a journey with. Josephine, that her trunks were crammed with the forbidden goods, and made the customs authorities mercilessly seize them all.

据说，海上走私主要是从怀特岛的考斯开始的。在这里，货物被装进密封的箱子里，然后被扔到水里，拴在像渔网一样的小船上，由居民在巡逻船的眼皮底下安全地拖到法国一侧的岸上。如果我们相信当时一位活跃的法国海关官员布歇·德·彼尔特的话，那么英国纺织品的使用与皇帝本人关系密切。据他说，拿破仑在与约瑟芬的一次旅行中得知，她的行李箱里装的是英国的纺织品。约瑟芬的行李箱里塞满了违禁品，于是拿破仑让海关当局无情地将它们全部扣押。

## **Normality of Smuggling**

## **走私的常态化**

Through this all-pervading system smuggling acquired a stamp of normality, which was of great importance, especially for Napoleon’s subsequent policy, and which forms yet another significant example of the general contrast between appearance and reality by which the policies were dominated. On both sides the smugglers were used as ordinary means of commercial intercourse in cases where it was not desired to recognize a traffic which could not be done away with. In this case the French made use of the English word in the slightly corrupted form of ‘ smoggler ’. Boucher de Perthes, who was sub-inspector of customs at Boulogne in 1811 and 1812, in a letter. from there defines them as ‘ contrabandists of their (the British) nation, who are attached to our police and who at the same time carry on a traffic in prisoners of war and guineas, people of the sack and the rope, capable of everything except what is good’. In another letter he relates how they smuggled French brandy into Great Britain, as well as guineas out of that country, besides acting as spies for both sides. Two or three letters from Napoleon are particularly striking as to the normality of these transactions. In a warning that has already been mentioned,l one of the many received by King Louis of Holland, the Emperor writes (April 3, 1808) : ‘ If you need to sell your gin, the English need to buy it. Settle the points where the English smugglers are to come and fetch it, and make them pay in money but never in commodities.’ In a letter two years later (May 29, 1810) to Gaudin, his minister of finance, he develops in the following way the trade which is carried on with the help of the ‘ smogglers’ : ‘ My intention is to favour the export of foodstuffs from France and the import of .money from abroad.At the same time it should be possible to impose a pretty stiff fee, which should be fairly profitable . . . For that matter I should be very much inclined to let the smugglers in only at Dunkirk, unless current practice required that they should also be received at Flushing.’ Thus the whole line of thought as it appears in this letter is almost grotesque ; the influx of money is to be effected by smugglers, who are to be treated with such consideration that even their habits are respected. This last is especially striking when compared with Chaptal’s account of Napoleon’s behaviour toward the legitimate trade, how he wished to command it like a battalion and ruthlessly directed it now here, now there. But the smugglers were necessary for the prosperity of Dunkirk and made that town exempt from the general crippling of economic life in the ports ; it was therefore a serious matter for the town to see the smugglers moved from there, as Napoleon threatened to do in 1811

通过这种无处不在的制度，走私仿佛成了一种正常的制度，这对拿破仑后来的政策具有重要意义，也构成了表象与现实之间普遍反差的又一个重要例子，而这种反差正是政策的主导因素。双方都把走私者作为普通的商业往来手段，在他们不希望承认那些不能取消的贸易的情况下使用。在这种情况下，法国人使用了英语单词 "smoggler "这一略带讹误的形式。布歇·德·彼尔特在1811年和1812年担任布洛涅的海关副督察，他在那里写的一封信中将走私者定义为 "他们（英国）国家的违禁品贩子，隶属于我们的警察，同时贩卖战俘和金币，他们是麻袋和绳子上的人，除了好事之外什么都能干"。在另一封信中，他讲述了这些人如何将法国白兰地走私到英国，以及如何将几尼[[36]](#footnote-35)从英国走私出去，此外他们还充当双方的间谍。有两三封拿破仑的信特别引人注目，说明这些交易是正常的。在已经提到的，荷兰国王路易（Louis）收到的许多警告之一（1808年4月3日），拿破仑如此写道："如果你需要出售你的杜松子酒，你要知道英国人有购买它的需求。确定英国走私者前来取货的地点，让他们用金钱支付，但绝不能用商品支付。”在两年后（1810年5月29日）写给财政部长高丹的信中，他对在 "走私者 "的帮助下进行的贸易作了如下阐述："我的意图是促进法国食品的出口和国外货币的进口……同时，应该可以征收相当高的费用，这应该是相当有利可图的……。……为此，我非常倾向于只让走私者在敦刻尔克入境，除非目前的做法要求在法拉盛也接待他们。”因此，在这封信中出现的整个思路几乎是怪诞的：资金的流入是通过走私者来实现的，他们将受到如此体贴的对待，甚至他们的习惯也会受到尊重。这一点与夏普塔尔（Chaptal）关于拿破仑对合法贸易的行为的描述作对比尤其令人震惊，拿破仑希望像指挥一个营一样指挥合法贸易，他无情地指挥着合法贸易，一会儿在这里，一会儿在那里。但走私者是敦刻尔克繁荣的必要条件，他们使敦刻尔克免于港口经济生活的普遍瘫痪；因此，拿破仑在1811年威胁要把走私者从敦刻尔克迁走，这对敦刻尔克来说是件大事。

Naturally enough, this good-will toward the smugglers was displayed only when they served the interests of the government policy ; apart from this there prevailed a war to the knife. On the other hand, the normality was not limited to these cases, but held good over the whole line; and the governments maintained an unequal struggle against the smugglers. In one passage Mollien speaks of the futility of the efforts of 20,000 customs officials, whose posts were known, to guard a frontier threatened by more than 100,000 smugglers, who were supposed to have good connexions in Paris and were favoured by the population besides. According to Bourrienne’s statement, there were no fewer than 6,000 smugglers in Hamburg alone, a figure, of course, which can make no higher claims than those of Mollien to express anything more than a general notion of the enormous scope of the smuggling.

当然，只有当走私者符合政府政策的利益时，政府才会对他们表现出善意；当这个条件没有达成时，政府是会对走私者开战的。另一方面，这种常态并不局限于这些情况，而是贯穿始终；政府与走私者保持着不平等的斗争。莫利安在一段话中提到，两万名海关官员（他们的岗位是众所周知的）保护受十多万走私者威胁的边境是徒劳无益的，这些走私者与巴黎有着联系，而且还受到民众的青睐。根据布里安的陈述，仅在汉堡就有不少于6000名走私者，当然，这个数字并不比莫利安的数字更能说明走私的巨大规模。

## **Commercial Organization of Smuggling**

## **走私的商业组织**

Of special importance is the organized, or, to express it better, the commercial, character of the smuggling. In Naples an economic writer, Galanti, spoke of it as ‘ a useful trade, inasmuch as it prevents the ruin of the state ’ ; and in various places Napoleon’s organs complain that it is regarded as a quite honourable occupation. Smuggling had also quite lost the character of managing by chance to break through the customs barrier on the chance of profit. It was based on definite business practices, with fixed commissions that varied with the degree of certainty surrounding a successful result or the difficulties in the way of getting through to different places or with different goods. In Strassburg there were ‘ insurers ’ of different grades, the chief of which charged a commission of from 44 to 50 per cent. ; in 1809 it was considered that the expenses of passing the frontier of France were, as a rule, 30 per cent., while the above-mentioned new customs line between Rees and Bremen could be broken through for 6 or 8 per cent. ; and at about the same rate it was possible to smuggle any commodity whatever from Holstein into Hamburg. A convincing impression of the business-like character of the smuggling is also given by Napoleon’s Fontainebleau decree (October 18, 1810), where a careful distinction is drawn between leaders or undertakers-in Adam Smith’s sense-(entrepreneurs), insurers (assureurs), shareholders (interesses), managers of the practical work (chefs de bade, directeurs et conducteurs de rdunions de fraudeurs), and finally ‘ ordinary bearers ’ (simples porteurs), in which we bd a complete hierarchy ranging downwards from the directors of the smuggling enterprises through the capitalists and officials to the unskilled workers.

特别重要的是走私的有组织性，或者说是商业性。在那不勒斯，一位经济作家加兰蒂（Galanti）把走私称为 "一种有用的贸易，因为它可以防止国家的毁灭"；而在许多地方，拿破仑的机构抱怨说，走私被认为是一种相当光荣的职业。走私也完全失去了侥幸闯关牟利的特征。它是基于明确的商业惯例，有着固定的佣金，佣金随着成功率或困难程度而变化，这些困难往往是因为通往地区与走私商品的不同造成的。在斯特拉斯堡，有不同等级的 "保险人"，其中最主要的收取44%至50%的佣金；1809年，人们认为通过法国边境的费用通常为30%，而突破上述里斯和不来梅之间的新海关线只需6%或8%，以差不多相同的费率，就可以从荷尔斯泰因走私任何商品到汉堡。拿破仑的枫丹白露法令（1810年10月18日）也让我们对走私的商业性质留下了深刻印象，其中对亚当-斯密意义上的领导者或经营者（entrepreneurs）、保险人（assuranceurs）、股东（interesses）作了细致的区分、在这里，我们可以看到一个完整的等级体系，从走私企业的董事到资本家和官员，再到非熟练工人。

But there was a marked difference with regard to the ease with which the different kinds of goods could be smuggled.British industrial products, it is true, came in on a large scale, though, to judge by a statement from Leipzig, principally yarn ; but their entrance was resisted by the different governments even in most of the vassal states of France, because they wished to exclude British manufactures on protectionist grounds. The situation was quite different with regard to colonial goods. In this respect all people, from the crowned ruler down to the day labourer, were of one mind and thought in their desire to break the iron band of the Continental System ; and the smuggling of these goods accordingly met with nothing but assistance and support

英国的工业产品确实大规模地进入了法国，但根据莱比锡的一份声明判断，主要是纱线；但它们的进入甚至遭到了法国大多数附庸国政府的抵制，因为它们希望以保护主义为由排斥英国的制造业。殖民地商品的情况则完全不同。在这方面，上至王室统治者，下至普通工人，都同心同德，希望打破大陆制度的铁箍。

## **OFFICIAL CORRUPTION**

## **官员腐败**

But the unevenness of the struggle with the great organization at the disposition of the smugglers was enormously increased by the thorough-going corruption which was also distinctive of all branches of administration at the time, especially those branches which had to deal with the blockade.

但是，由于当时所有行政部门，尤其是那些必须处理封锁问题的部门，都存在彻底的腐败现象，与走私者所支配的庞大组织所斗争的不平衡性大大增加。

In part the system of bribery in earlier times undeniably formed simply a kind of pay for the servants of the state, although of the most objectionable kind possible ; and the he between perquisites and bribes was often as fine as a hair. With regard to Bremen, for instance, we are told how the constant exactions of money for commandants, war commissaries and consuls-for non-dutiable goods, certificates of origin, and all kinds of lawful intercourse-took the form of bed fees with definite names ; thus the fees for certificates of origin, for instance, increased tenfold during the first six quarters after the issue of the Berlin decree. There was scarcely a place in the territories occupied by France or under French control where similar tactics were not employed. In the autumn of 1810 Napoleon wrote to Marshal Davout instructing him not to let the commander at Danzig, General Rapp, tolerate any corruption, although ‘everybody takes bribes ’. Hamburg seems to have been especially exposed to people of this type. Marshal Brune, Consul Lachevardiere, and almost more than anybody else, Bourrienne, were perfect virtuosi in this respect. As regards Bourrienne, Napoleon is alleged to have said that he (Bourrienne) would have been able to find a silver mine in the garden of the Tuileries if he had been left alone there ; and at the beginning of 1811 the Emperor calculated that his former secretary had made seven or eight million francs at Hamburg. The Emperor’s letters are full of embittered outbursts against his corruption, which seems to have been carried on quite systematically with the connivance of sub-agents of different sorts, and which finally led, first to his being prohibited to sign certificates of origin, and then to his being removed from office. But these are only isolated examples of things that occurred everywhere.

在一定程度上，早期的贿赂制度无可否认地只是国家公仆的一种报酬，尽管是最令人反感的报酬。津贴和贿赂之间的差别往往细如发丝。以不莱梅为例，我们可以看到，司令官、军需官和领事不断索要非应税货物、原产地证书和各种合法交往的费用，其形式是有明确名称的床位费；因此，例如，在柏林法令颁布后的前六个季度，原产地证书的费用增加了十倍。法国占领或控制的领土上，几乎没有一个地方不采取类似的策略。1810年秋天，拿破仑写信给达武元帅，指示他不要让但泽的指挥官拉普将军容忍任何腐败 ，尽管此时"人人都受贿"。汉堡似乎特别容易受到这种人的影响。布伦元帅、拉谢瓦迪埃尔领事以及布里安，几乎比任何人都更善于这方面的工作。关于布里安，据说拿破仑曾说过，如果把他（布里安）单独留在杜伊勒利宫的花园里，他就能在那里找到银矿。1811年初，皇帝计算出他的前秘书在汉堡赚了七八百万法郎。皇帝的信中充满了对他贪污行为的愤慨，他的贪污行为似乎是在各种掮客的纵容下有计划地进行的，最终导致他先是被禁止签署原产地证明，然后又被免职。但这些只是各地发生的个别例子。

Rist, who, like the purely Hamburgian writers, fully confirms the French statements as to the corruptibility of Bourrienne and his associates, does not represent the conduct of his Holstein compatriots in any better light. Moreover, passing to another country, we are informed that in Geneva eighty customs officials had to be dismissed in seven months for complicity in malversation ; and from the Rhine frontier we have further information that the director of customs and his relations directly helped the illicit trade in the smuggling centre of . Strassburg, and that the customs lieutenants on the Rhine lived on bribes when they had no British pension.

和纯粹的汉堡作家一样，里斯特完全证实了法国人关于布里安及其同伙的腐败行为的说法，却没有更好地描述他荷尔斯泰因同胞的行为。此外，我们还得知，在另一个国家——日内瓦，有80名海关官员在7个月内因共谋渎职而被解职。我们还从莱茵边境得到进一步的消息说，海关关长和他的关系人直接帮助了斯特拉斯堡走私中心的非法贸易，莱茵河畔的海关中尉在没有英国退休金的情况下靠贿赂过活。

However oppressive a corrupt administration may be to the population, yet the bribery system would scarcely have led Napoleon to change his policy, if the whole thing had been limited to exactions above those allowed by laws and ordinances. From the standpoint of the Continental System, however, the unfortunate thing was that at least as much, and probably more, could be gained by facilitating or actually encouraging-always for a consideration-precisely the traffic which the Continental System aimed to annihilate by every possible means. For such illegalities on the part of the officials the people were willing to pay munificently, and they were, ifanything, somewhat more amiably disposed than before toward their foreign rulers. One of the very few persons who from the beginning to the end really made the resolute execution of the Continental System the lodestar of all his conduct, namely, Narshal Davout, Prince of Eckmiihl, the last French GovernorGeneral of Hamburg-an ever reliable sword in the Emperor’s hand, and, as far as one can see,a man of the same type as the German generals who during the recent war governed occupied territories-for that very reason brought upon himself perhaps a stronger hate than any of Napoleon’s other tools ; and among the inhabitants of Hamburg he passed under the name of Marshal ‘ Wuth ’ (Fury).

无论这腐败的管理对人民如何压迫，但如果贿赂制度仅限于法律和条例所允许的范围之外，拿破仑几乎不会改变他的政策。然而，对大陆体系不幸的是，尽管大陆体系旨在通过一切可能的手段消灭商品流通，但出于实际考量，暗地里促进或鼓励商品流通可以得到等同或更多的好处。对于官员们的这种非法行为，人民愿意付出丰厚的代价，而且他们对外国统治者的态度也比以前友好了一些。自始至终真正把坚决执行大陆制度作为自己一切行为准则仅有极少数人，其中之一即最后一任法国总督、汉堡将军、埃克米尔亲王纳沙尔·达武，皇帝手中永远可靠的利剑。据人们所见，在最近的战争中，他与近年来统治被占领土的德国将军们是同一类型的人，因此他给自己带来了可能比拿破仑的其他下属都更强烈的仇恨。在汉堡的居民中，他被称为 "伍斯"（愤怒）元帅。

## **FISCALISM**

## **财政主义**

But it was not enough that the Continental System was rendered illusory by the ever-present smuggling, which was constantly assisted sub rosa by the corruptibility of the officials. That smuggling involved another disadvantage in that Napoleon at the same time lost for himself and for France the benefits which an openly conducted traffic of the same scope would have brought with it. This was primarily a matter which concerned the finances of the state ; and such a development could not fail to irritate the Emperor, who, of course, always had difficulties in obtaining sufficient revenue, especially as he would not openly have recourse to loans. The customs receipts which a system of imports that were allowed, but made subject to duties, would have yielded, and even, under the former and milder rhgime, had actually yielded, now fell into the hands of the smugglers and dishonest officials. The customs receipts of France herself, which in 1806 had been 51,200,000 francs and in 1807 had even risen to 60,600,000 francs, declined in 1808 to less than one-third of that amount, or 18,600,000 francs ; and in 1809 they declined still further to the insignificant sum of 11,600,000 francs. The powerful head of the French customs system, Collin de Sussy, and also Montalivet, who was somewhat later home secretary, then conceived the characteristic idea that the state might be able to enter into what was literallya competition with the smugglers. This was to be arranged in such a way that in some form or other the importation of the hitherto forbidden goods was to be permitted, but only on payment of a duty that exactly corresponded to an amount which, as we have seen, the smuggling business had previously cost. In that ,case no more goods would come into the country than had been the case beforehand, but the profit would fall to the state instead of to the smugglers.

但是，仅仅走私的存在是不足以使得大陆体系变得虚幻的。走私的另一个弊端是，拿破仑同时也使自己和法国失去了公开进行同样规模的贸易所能带来的利益。这主要涉及到国家的财政问题；这种事态的发展必然会激怒皇帝，当然，皇帝在获得足够的财政收入方面总是困难重重，尤其是在他不会公开求助于贷款的情况下。允许进口、但要缴纳关税的制度本来可以带来海关收入，甚至在以前比较温和的制度下实际上已经带来了海关收入，但现在却落入了走私者和不诚实的官员手中。法国本身的海关收入，1806年为5120万法郎，1807年甚至上升到6060万法郎，但在1808年下降到不足三分之一，即1860万法郎；1809年进一步下降到微不足道的1160万法郎。当时，法国海关系统的强势首脑科林·德·苏西和蒙塔利维，也就是后来的内政大臣，提出了一个很有特色的想法，即国家可以与走私者进行竞争。这种竞争的方式是：允许以某种形式进口迄今为止被禁止的货物，但必须缴纳与走私成本完全一致的税款。在这种情况下，进入该国的货物不会比以前多，但利润将归国家而不是走私者所有。

Such a device could not fail to appeal to Napoleon with his cynical sense of reality for everything that had to do with means ; but what he shut his eyes to till the last was the great extent to which this means damaged his great end. As a matter of fact, this meant that fiscalism had definitively gotten the upper hand over the Continental System, at least in one-half of its range. The object was no longer to exclude goods, but to make an income by receiving them instead ; and no sophistry in the world could make the latter compatible with the fotmer. But we cannot maintain that Napoleon in this respect consciously acted in opposition to his objects. His line of thought was as inconsistent as that which is still constantly found outside the circle of professional economists, in which the fact is ignored that the more prohibitive or protectionistic a customs tariff, the less it brings in, and consequently that that part of a customs duty which keeps goods out brings in no money to the treasury. This duality of conception in Napoleon finds a very typical expression in a letter addressed to his brother Jerome, King of Westphalia, on October 3, 1810, in which he first points out how advantageous the new system would be for this young prodigal by bringing him in a larger income ; and after that he goes on to say : ' It will also be a great advantage in othei respects, since the continental customers of the English merchants will not be able to pay for them (the goods), and the consumption of colonial goods, which will be rendered dear in this way, will be diminished. They will thus be exposed toattack and at the same time driven out of the continent.’ The representatives of Napoleon used the same language in dependent countries.So far, therefore, the reshaping of the Continental System aimed at no real increase in its efficacy, but rather at the reverse, inasmuch as Napoleon acquired a direct interest in the admission of goods into the country.

这样的策略一定吸引了拿破仑的注意力，因为他对于一切与手段有关的事情都抱有冷峻的现实感。但他直到最后都选择对其视而不见，这对他的最终目标造成了极大的损害。事实上，这意味着财政主义在大陆体系中占据了绝对的上风，至少超过一半的范围。大陆体系的目的不再是排斥商品，而是通过接受商品来获得收入；世界上任何诡辩都不能使后者与前者相容。但是，我们不能说拿破仑在这方面的行为是有意与他的目标背道而驰的。他就像我们经常能从专业经济学家圈子之外的人发现的那样思路前后矛盾，在这种思路中，人们忽视了这样一个事实，即关税的禁止性或保护性越强，它带来的收入就越少，因此，关税中把货物拒之门外的那一部分就不会给国库带来任何收入。拿破仑的这种双重观念在1810年10月3日写给他的弟弟威斯特伐利亚国王杰罗姆的信中得到了非常典型的体现：“这在其他方面也有很大的好处，因为英国商人的大陆客户将无法支付他们（货物）的费用，殖民地货物的消费也将因此而减少，因为这种方式会使殖民地商品变得昂贵。这样，他们就会受到攻击，同时被赶出大陆。”拿破仑的代表们在附属国也使用了同样的措辞。因此，到目前为止，对大陆制度的重塑并没有真正提高其效力，而是相反，因为拿破仑在货物进入该国方面获得了直接的利益。

On paper, however, no departure from the principles of the Continental System was ever acknowledged, inasmuch as the Berlin and Milan decrees were retained unchanged to the last ; and Napoleon zealously impressed on his stepson Eugene, the Viceroy of Italy, the necessity of not letting the goods in ‘ to the detriment of the blockade ’, But in his inexhaustible supply of expedients Napoleon found a simple means of circumventing his own system in fact, namely, by granting exceptions from the prohibition on import in the matter of captured goods

然而，拿破仑从未在纸面上偏离大陆体系的原则，因为柏林和米兰的法令一直保持不变。拿破仑热切地向他的继子意大利总督尤金灌输了不让货物“损害封锁”的必要性，但在他取之不尽、用之不竭的权宜之计中，拿破仑找到了一个简单的方法来绕过他自己的制度，即在俘获物的进口禁令方面给予例外。

## **Prize Decree (January 12, 1810)**

## **战利品法令（1810年1月12日）**

By a law issued at the very beginning of the year 1810 (January 12), it was laid down that goods the importation of which was forbidden (with the exception of certain kinds of cotton fabrics and hosiery) might be introduced into the country on payment of a customs duty of 48 per cent. when ~ey came from prizes captured from the enemy by war vessels or licensed privateers. This was called ‘ permitted origin ’ (wigines permises). But the exception here established with regard to cotton goods was developed still further in the course of the year; and in this process Napoleon skilfully took advantage of the different feeling that prevailed on the Continent with regard to colonial goods and English industrial products. In accordance with this, the new system involved a relentless prohibition of British goods, but made concessions with regard to colonial goods, which were admitted on payment of huge duties, So far as the system in this form could be enforced, Napoleon contrived at least not to favour British industry, but only British trade. That the exception was in formrestricted to prize goods was in reality of no importance. It is true that Napoleon declared, in a letter to Eugene, that all colonial goods which had not been captured or seized should remain excluded ; but according to Thiers, express orders were given in the correspondence of the Customs Department that this should not be strictly observed-and there can be no doubt about the practical extension of the concession to all colonial goods.

1810年年初（1月12日）颁布的一项法律规定，那些禁止进口的货物（某些棉织品和袜子除外）可以在缴纳48%的关税后进口到国内，这些货物来自战船或特许私掠船从敌方缴获的战利品。这被称为 "原产地允许"。但在这一年中，关于棉花商品的例外情况得到了进一步的发展；在这个过程中，拿破仑巧妙地利用了欧洲大陆对殖民地产品和英国工业产品的不同看法。根据这种看法，新制度无情地禁止英国产品，但对殖民地产品作出了让步，允许它们在支付巨额关税后进入。形式上例外仅限于战利品，实际上并不重要。拿破仑在给尤金的一封信中确实宣布，所有未被俘获或扣押的殖民地货物都不应包括在内；但根据梯也尔的说法，海关总署的来往公文中有明文规定，不应严格遵守这一规定——毫无疑问，这一优惠实际上扩大到了所有殖民地货物。

As regards the customs rates, the principle, as has been said already, was that they should correspond to the costs of smuggling. When Holland was incorporated with France on July 9, 1810, it was laid down, in approximate conformity with the above-mentioned law of January, that the large stocks of colonial goods in that country should be admitted to the empire on payment of a duty which in the decree of incorporation was fixed at 50 per cent. of the value, but which, according to a somewhat later declaration, was to be 40 or 50 per cent., according to the time of the declaration. This principle was applied not only to France, but also to all the vassal states, which now became the object of the same merciless pressure with regard to the new system as they had formerly been with regard to the Continental decrees and which, as a rule, formally submitted at least as obediently as then. But to make assurance doubly sure, every stock of colonial goods which was as much as four days' journey from the French frontier was to be regarded as intended to injure France, and was therefore to be subjected to examination by French troops ; in fact, French troops were actually employed for the purpose. In order that the right degree of pressure should be attained, it was the intention that the new order should be carried through simultaneously over the whole Continent, so that there would be no country to which the goods could fly in order to escape these heavy burdens ; consequently Eugene at least received orders to keep the new instructions secret for the present. Principallyout of regard for the captors, but not exclusively in their favour, it was conceded that the duty might be paid in kind, that is to say, by means of a corresponding part of the goods which were to come in, and also in promissory notes ; and without this concession it is certain that in many cases such large amounts could not have been gathered in. Every holder of colonial goods was bound to declare them, so that, as Thiers expresses it, the whole was taken in any attempt at barratry and half in case of honest declaration.

至于关税税率，如前所述，其原则是应与走私成本相对应。1810年7月9日荷兰与法国合并时，大致按照上述1月的法律规定，该国的大量殖民地货物应在缴纳关税后进入帝国，关税在合并法令中规定为价值的50%，但根据稍后的一项声明，关税为40%或50%。这个原则不仅适用于法国，也适用于所有的附庸国。现在，这些国家在新制度方面受到了无情的压力，就像它们以前在大陆法令方面受到的压力一样，而且通常与以前一样顺从地屈服。但为了更好地保证，每批殖民地货物，只要距离法国边境有4天的路程，就会被视为意图损害法国，因此要接受法国军队的检查；事实上，动用法国军队就是为此目的。为了造成适当的压力，新命令应在整个欧洲大陆同时执行，这样就没有任何一个国家的货物可以逃到别处去逃避这些沉重的负担；因此，尤金至少接到了暂时对新指示保密的命令。这主要是出于对捕获者的考虑，但也不完全是为了他们好，他们同意可以用实物支付关税，即用相应部分的货物和期票来支付；如果没有这一让步，在许多情况下，肯定不可能凑齐这么大的数额。每一个殖民地货物的持有者都必须申报，因此，正如梯也尔所说，如果企图讹诈，则全部被拿走，如果诚实申报，则拿走一半。

## **Trialton Tarifl (August 5, 1810)**

## **特里亚尔顿·塔里弗（1810年8月5日）**

The whole of this arrangement has taken its name from the Trianon tariff of August 5, 1810, which is one of the fundamental laws of the new system. This does not provide for customs duties based on a percentage of the values, but laid down specific duties by weight (per 100 kilograms) on the different kinds of colonial goods. Duties of 40 and 50 per cent. still seem to have been applied, however, for prize goods and goods imported by licence, respectively. How high these rates were may perhaps be more clearly set forth by comparing with the highest rates of duty, namely, those on goods from nonFrench colonies, in the tariff of 1806, to which reference has already been made; and yet the 1806 duties had already formed 'the corner-stone of a whole series of rises in customs duties. The duties at different dates are tabulated in appendix ii, which will perhaps afford the clearest view of the amount of the increase. The most violent was the rate on raw cotton, which as late as 1804 was assessed at only one franc per 100 kilograms, In 1806 this rate was raised to not less than sixty francs, notwithstanding that raw cotton had become the foundation of a main department in the new industrial development which began under the Empire. These rates, however, dwindle into insignificance when compared with what was now enacted. According to the Trianon tariff, South American and longstapled Georgia cotton had to pay 800 francs ; Levantine cotton, if imported by sea, 400 francs, and if passing through the custom-houses on the Rhine, WOO francs ; other cotton, except Neapolitan, 600 francs. This classification was evidently intended to hit hardest the goods which were most dependent on English imports. We have already mentioned the fact that all goods from French (Dutch) colonies, with the corresponding vessels, were free, and that the direct imports by American vessels only paid one quarter of the amount, a matter which in reality meant nothing, as the British blockade prevented all such direct imports. Indigo was raised from 15 francs (1803) to 900 francs, after which (in January, 1813) there followed a new rise to 1,100 francs ; cloves from 3 francs (1806) to 600 francs ; tea from 3 francs (besides, in certain cases, 10 per cent. of the value) to 600 francs for green tea and 150 francs for ot,her kinds ; coffee and cocoa from 150 francs and 200 francs, respectively (1806), to 400 francs and 1,000 francs ; while he cinnamon, cochineal and nutmeg, which had not been specified in the older tariffs, all paid 2,000 francs per 100 kilograms. Some thirty new headings were added to the tariff by a supplementary schedule of September 27 of the same year.

1810年8月5日颁布的《特里亚侬关税法》（Trianon tariff）是新制度的基础法律之一。它不是按价值的百分比征收关税，而是规定了按重量（每100公斤）对不同种类的殖民地商品征收的具体关税。然而，对战利品和凭许可证进口的货物似乎仍分别征收40%和50%的关税。与1806年关税中的最高税率（即来自非 法国殖民地的货物的税率）进行比较，也许可以更清楚地说明这些税率有多高。实际上，1806年的关税已经构成了 "一系列关税上涨的基石"。通过附录二列出的不同日期的关税，也许可以更清楚地看出增加的数额。增加幅度最大的是原棉的价格，直到1804年，原棉价格仅为每100公斤1法郎。1806年，尽管原棉已经成为帝国时期开始的新工业发展的主要部门的基础，但这一比率还是提高到了不低于60法郎。但这些税率与现在颁布的税率相比就显得微不足道了。根据特里亚侬关税，南美棉花和格鲁吉亚长绒棉要付800法郎；通过海运进口的黎凡特棉花，要付400法郎，如果通过莱茵河上的海关，要付100法郎；其他棉花，除那不勒斯棉花外，要付600法郎。这种分类显然是为了最严厉地打击那些最依赖英国进口的商品。我们已经知道根据规定，来自法国（荷兰）殖民地的所有货物和相应的船只都是免除关税的，而美国船只直接进口的货物只需支付四分之一的关税金额。但这实际上毫无意义，因为英国的封锁阻止了所有此类直接进口。靛蓝从15法郎（1803年）涨到900法郎，之后（1813年1月）又涨到1100法郎；丁香从3法郎（1806年）涨到600法郎；茶叶从3法郎（在某些情况下还加收价值的10%）涨到600法郎。咖啡和可可分别从150法郎和200法郎（1806年）升至400法郎和1,000法郎；肉桂、胭脂红和肉豆蔻在旧税则中未作规定，但每100公斤均为2,000法郎。同年9月27日的补充税则增加了约30个新税目。

## **Fontainebleau Decree (October 18, 1810)**

## **枫丹白露法令（1810年10月18日）**

But as a new road was now in reality opened for the legitimate importation of colonial goods, it was important for Napoleon not only to strike still harder at the illicit importation of those goods, but also to make the sale of British industrial products impossible. It is this idea which lies at the bottom of the immense increase in the rigour of the customs laws which is marked by the Fontainebleau decree of October 18,1810, the last of the great laws in this department. Both the penalties now introduced and the treatment of the goods themselves involved a reversion to the most violent methods of the prohibitive system. First as regards the prohibited goods, that is to say, manufactured products, the smuggling leaders of different grades were punished with ten years’ penal servitude and branding, while the lower-grade tools might under extenuating circumstances get off with a milder kind of punishment (peiws correctionnelles) and 5 to 10 years' police supervision. The smuggling of the goods specified on the tariff, that is to say, colonial goods, involved as much as four years' penal servitude, while ' simple smuggling,' that is, smuggling ' without any agreement or obligation of a kind to form an undertaking or insurance,' did not lead to penal servitude.

但是，由于现在合法进口殖民地商品有着一条新的道路，拿破仑不仅要更加严厉地打击这些商品的非法进口，而且要让英国工业产品的销售成为不可能。1810年10月18日的枫丹白露法令是海关法的最后一部重要法律，它标志着海关法的严厉程度大大提高，无论是现在引入的惩罚措施还是对货物本身的处理，都是回归到封锁制度中最粗暴的方法。首先，关于违禁品，也就是制成品，不同级别的走私头目被判处10年的劳役和品牌，而较低级别的下属在情有可原的情况下可能会受到较轻的惩罚（惩罚）和5至10年的警方监管。而 "简单走私"，即 "无任何协议或义务的承诺或保险 "的走私，则不会被判处刑罚。

The regulations as regards the treatment of the goods were carried to still greater lengths than the punishment for smugglers. As regards colonial goods the penalty was limited, as before, to confiscation, the goods to be sold by auction every six months ; but with regard to prohibited goods Napoleon now went to the extreme and ordered that they should be publicly burned or otherwise destroyed after a list had been made of them with prices attached. Here Napoleon was following precedents which were to be found in English legislation of the seventeenth century, and which was repeated as late as the beginning of the reign of George III. For the whole of this draconic legislation there were erected special customs courts (cours prevotales des douanes), the operations of which have stood out to later generations as the culmination of the oppression involved in the Continental System.

关于货物处理的规定比对走私者的惩罚更为严厉。对于殖民地的货物，处罚和以前一样，仅限于没收，货物每六个月拍卖一次；但对于违禁品，拿破仑现在采取了极端的做法，下令在列出货物清单并标明价格后，将货物公开焚烧或以其他方式销毁。在这方面，拿破仑遵循了英国17世纪立法中的先例，这些先例一直延续到乔治三世统治初期。在整个严厉的立法过程中，建立了专门的海关法庭（cours prevotales des douanes），其运作在后世看来是大陆体系压迫的顶峰。

## **Napoleon's Complicity**

## **拿破仑的共犯**

The system of corruption created by Napoleon's tools under the old order of things could not, however, be abolished simply by the fact that the Emperor himself introduced fiscalism instead of the complete blockade. On the contrary, we fmd proportionally a still larger number of examples of bribery and embezzlement after the Trianon and Fontainebleau decrees than before. But Napoleon, on his side, had to a great extent changed his treatment of them, in accordance with his new fiscalist tendencies. His method became simply to demand a share of the bribes of the dishonest officials, and in that way convert them into sponges with which to soak up revenue from the illicit trade. The resemblance to the Trianon system is thus striking. Two or three cases from the beginning of 1811 are particularly characteristic in this connexion.One of the most fully compromised officials was the French consul at Konigsberg, Clérembault, who released fourteen British ships in the Baltic, belonging to a large flotilla which Napoleon had pursued the whole autumn-of which more anon-with a cargo worth 2,800,000 francs, and was stated to have obtained the magnificent sum of 800,000 francs on this affair alone and 1,500,000-1,600,000 francs altogether. At the same time the malversations of Bourrienne and Consul Lachevardiche still went on in Hamburg. With reference to this Napoleon wrote to his foreign minister, Champagny, a hghly characteristic New Year's letter to the effect that Clérembault was to hand over to the Foreign Office all that he had received ; and he also declared his intention to compel Bourrienne to pay in 2,000,000 francs in the same fashion, while LachevardiBre was to pay 500,000 francs to the sinking-fund of the French government. His intention was that the first two amounts should be employed for the erection of a residence for the foreign minister ; and the letter ends : ' You will see that I shall get the money for a really handsome palace which will cost me nothing.'l This was not a mere idle fancy ; on the contrary, it turned out that Clérembault had already anticipated matters by paying of his own accord 500,000 francs to the Emperor's privy purse (caisse de l'extraordinaire), and that he had still earlier paid200,000 francs into the cash box of the Foreign Office. In this manner the Continental System was perverted into a gigantic system of extortion, for naturally this was no way to cut off the Continent from the supply of goods.

然而，拿破仑的下属在旧秩序下制造的腐败体系，并不会因为皇帝本人实行了财政主义而非全面封锁就被废除。相反，在特里亚侬和枫丹白露法令颁布后，我们发现贿赂和贪污的事例比颁布前更多。但拿破仑在很大程度上根据他的新财政主义倾向改变了对他们的处理方式。他的方法变成了简单地向不诚实的官员索要一部分贿赂，这样就把他们变成了吸收非法贸易收入的海绵。这一点与特里亚侬制度十分相似。在这方面，1811年初的两三个案件特别有特点。让步最彻底的官员之一是在柯尼斯堡的法国领事克莱朗博，他在波罗的海释放了14艘英国船只，这些船只属于拿破仑整个秋天都在追捕的一支庞大的船队，船上装有价值280万法郎的货物，据说仅在这件事上就获得了80万法郎的巨款，总共获得了150万-160万法郎。与此同时，布里安和拉谢瓦迪什领事的骗局在汉堡仍在继续。拿破仑为此给他的外交大臣尚帕尼写了一封极具特色的新年信，大意是让克莱朗博把他收到的所有款项交给外交部。他还宣布打算以同样的方式迫使布里安支付200万法郎，而拉谢瓦迪布尔则要向法国政府的偿债基金支付50万法郎。他的意图是把前两笔钱用于为外交部建造一座官邸：在新年信的结尾他写道："您会看到，我将得到一笔钱来建造一座真正漂亮的宫殿，而这将不会花费我一分钱。'"这并非空穴来风；恰恰相反，克莱朗博已经预料到了这一点，他主动向皇帝的私库支付了50万法郎，而且他还在更早的时候向外交部的钱箱支付了20万法郎。这样，大陆制度就变成了一个巨大的勒索制度，自然也就无法切断大陆的物资供应。

## **LICENSING SYSTEM**

## **许可证制度**

The Trianon policy is supplemented by the second great novelty which was introduced during the noteworthy year 1810 in the sphere of the Continental System, namely, the licences, It is true that these in themselves did not form any novelty, even on the part of Napoleon, and, as we know, still less on the part of Great Britain ; but on the Continent their importance had been slight, as is shown by the fact that, according to Thiers, the total value of the trade which had been carried on by licences before the Trianon tariff had amounted only to 20,000,000 francs. It was only now that they became a normal and integral part of the Continental System, in close conjunction with the general tendency of the new policy, and t.hereby contributed, just as much as the new customs regulations, to lead away from the original aim which was still officially maintained. The difference with respect to the Trianon policy in reality lies only in the fact that Napoleon here considered himself to be faithfully copying his adversary.

在特里亚侬政策的基础上，1810年在大陆制度领域又出现了第二项重大的新事物，即许可证制度。诚然，许可证本身并不构成任何新事物，即使对拿破仑来说也是如此，我们知道，对英国来说就更不是了；但在欧洲大陆，许可证的作用却微乎其微，根据梯也尔的统计，在特里亚侬关税之前，通过许可证进行的贸易总值仅为2000万法郎。只是到了现在，许可证才成为大陆制度的一个正常的、不可分割的组成部分，与新政策的总趋势紧密地结合在一起，并且与新的海关条例一样，偏离了最初仍被官方维持的目标。与特里亚侬政策的不同之处在于，拿破仑认为自己的许可证制度是在忠实地模仿他的对手。

## **Great Britain**

## **大不列颠**

In Great Britain, in fact, the licensing system had acquired an immense range, culminating in 1810 with the granting of over 18,000 licences in a twelvemonth; and, according to almost unanimous information, it was carried though to such an extent that the greater part, not only of British foreign trade, but also of the maritime trade of the whole world, was carried on with British licences. But this did not prevent the Heligoland merchants, for instance, from feeling their operations restricted by not getting so many licences as they wished. The licence system placed practically the whole power over foreign tradein the hands of the British government, more particularly in the hands of the president of the Board of Trade. This very fact was enough to provoke incessant attacks on the whole system on the part of the opposition ; and it also aroused great dislike on the part of the business world, which had already begun to regard as almost an axiom the incapacity of the state to judge commercial questions. It is true that on two different occasions, in 1805 and 1807, certain general exceptions had been granted from the current regulations, especially for importing foodstuffs and raw materials into Great Britain. But evidently the merchants considered-probably on the ground of dearly bought experience-that the commanding officers of the warships and privateers did not refrain from seizing other vessels than those which had licences in due form, and therefore continued to take out such licences even when, from a strictly legal point of view, that was superfluous.

事实上，在英国，许可证制度的范围非常广泛。1810年许可证制度达到了顶峰，在12个月内颁发了18000多份许可证；而且，根据多种几乎一致的信息，许可证制度已经发展到这样的程度：不仅英国的对外贸易，而且整个世界的海上贸易的大部分都是通过英国的许可证进行的。但这并不妨碍赫利戈兰的商人们感到他们的经营受到了限制，例如，他们不能如愿以偿地得到那么多的许可证。许可证制度实际上把对外贸易的全部权力掌握在英国政府手中，特别是掌握在贸易委员会主席的手中。这一事实足以引起反对派对整个制度的不断攻击；它也引起了商界的极大反感，因为商界已经开始把国家没有能力判断商业问题看作是一条公理。诚然，在1805年和1807年的两次不同场合，对现行的规定给予了某些普遍的例外，特别是对向英国进口食品和原材料的规定。但很明显，商人们可能是基于宝贵的经验认为，军舰和私掠船的指挥官不会不扣押那些拥有正当形式执照的船只以外的其他船只，因此，即使从严格的法律角度来看是多余的，他们也会继续吊销这些执照。

In the opinion of the opposition, this state of affairs could not cease until the laws had been repealed from which the licences granted freedom in individual cases. Thus the opposition regarded the licensing system as a further inconvenience of the Orders in Council and as subject to the same condemnation as they. In the House of Commons the chief speakers of the opposition in economic questions, especially Alexander Baring, the junior partner in the famous firm of Baring Brothers & Co., Henry Brougham, the barrister, and Francis Horner, the originator and chairman of the famous Bullion Committee of 1810, were therefore indefatigable in their attacks on the licensing system. The first two named, together with the lawyer J. Phillimore, author of a pamphlet entitled ReJlectim on the Nature and Extent of the License Trade (1811 ), carried on the campaign outside Parliament too-Baring especially, by his pamphlet entitled An Inquiry into the Causes and Conseqwnces of the Orders in Council (1808). The attacks of the opposition, however, were met by the government with the assertion that licences would be quite as necessary, even if the Orders in Council and the blockade were entirely revoked, to serve as a form of dispensation from the prohibition oftrading with the enemy. In 1812,for instance, Lord Castlereagh, then foreign secretary, declared that not a fifth of the licences were due to the Orders in Council ; and as it was generally considered to be equally self-evident that this trade with the enemy should be forbidden by law and encouraged in reality, the government so far had the better of the argument.

反对派认为，这种情况不能停止，直到在个别情况下授予许可证自由的法律被废除。因此，反对派认为许可证制度是枢密院令的又一不便之处，应受到与枢密院令同样的谴责。在下议院，反对派在经济问题上的主要发言人，特别是著名的巴林兄弟公司的小合伙人亚历山大·巴林、大律师亨利·布鲁厄姆和1810年著名的金银委员会的发起人和主席弗朗西斯·霍纳，都不遗余力地抨击许可证制度。前两人以及律师J.菲利摩尔，即一本名为《关于许可证贸易的性质和范围》（1811年）的小册子的作者，也在议会外开展运动，特别是巴林那本名为《对枢密院令的原因和后果的调查》的小册子（1808年）。然而，反对派的攻击遭到了政府的回应，政府声称即使枢密院令和封锁被完全废除，也同样需要许可证来作为禁止与敌国通商的一种豁免形式。例如，1812年，时任外交大臣的卡斯特里勋爵宣称，只有少于五分之一的许可证是由于枢密院令的缘故颁布的；由于人们普遍认为，与敌国的这种贸易在法律上应该禁止而在实际上应该鼓励，这点是不言而喻的。因此，到目前为止，政府在争论中占了上风。

But the opposition to the licences was nourished by the looseness with which the whole thing was managed by the incompetent administrators who were at that time guiding the destinies of Great Britain. In one case, for instance, two licences granting an otherwise refused right to import spirits were given out, according to the statement of the minister concerned, Rose, owing to a purely clerical error on the part of the official in the Board of Trade who made out the papers. One of these licences by itself was said to have brought in to the fortunate owner no less than $4,000 ; and Baring, ' perhaps the first merchant in the Kingdom, or perhaps in the world ', declared that he would gladly pay $15,000 for such a licence. On another occasion it was alleged without contradiction in Parliament that 2,000 guineas had been paid for two licences to trade with the Isle-de-France (Mauritius) and Guadeloupe, and that bribes were openly given for the purpose, though not to the Board of Trade itself. That British licences were openly bought and sold, not only in Great Britain, but also all over the Continent, was a fact known to all the world; they were a mere trade commodity not only in Gothenburg and Norway but even in French maritime towni, such as Bordeaux and Amsterdam. The opposition, which naturally insisted upon the rights of Parliament as against the government, also objected-in the same way as was the case in Sweden during the recent war-that the licensing system gave the government revenue outside the control of Parliament and was therefore unconstitutional.

但是，当时指导英国命运的无能的行政人员，对整个事情的松散管理助长了对许可证的反对。例如，根据有关部长罗斯的声明，在一个案例中，两份本该被拒绝的烈酒进口许可证被签发了，这完全是因为签发文件的贸易委员会官员的文书错误。据说其中一张许可证本身就给幸运的所有者带来了不少于4000美元的收入。而巴林，"也许是王国，也许是世界上第一个商人"，宣称他很乐意为这样一张许可证支付15000美元。在另一个场合，有人在议会中毫无反驳地声称，有人为两张与法兰西岛（毛里求斯）和瓜德罗普岛进行贸易的许可证支付了2000几尼，而且为此目的公开行贿，尽管不是向贸易委员会本身行贿。不仅在大不列颠，而且在整个欧洲大陆，英国的许可证都被公开买卖，这是全世界都知道的事实；不仅在哥德堡和挪威，甚至在法国的海滨城市，如波尔多和阿姆斯特丹，它们都是纯粹的贸易商品。反对派自然坚持议会对政府的权利，他们也反对许可证制度，认为它使政府的收入不受议会的控制，因此是违宪的。

On the other side, the licences formed a manifest advantage, not merely for the British government but also for British external policy in general, by permitting a regulation of foreign trade according to circumstances, without the proclamation of more or less disputable principles of international law ; and so far they accorded pretty well with the general attitude of horror displayed in British public life toward all doctrines and declarations of principle. It was really the licensing system that rendered possible the formal concession with regard to the original Orders in Council which was effected by the new Order in Council of April 26, 1809, in that the old regulations could in reality be maintained without being put on paper, simply by being made the condition for the granting of licences. This found quite open expression, for instance, in the letter which the Marquis of Wellesley, as foreign secretary, wrote to the new British Minister at Washington, Foster, in 1811, and in which, among other things, he says : ' You will perceive that the object of our system was not to crush the trade with the Continent, but to counteract an attempt to crush the British trade. Thus we have endeavoured to permit the Continent to receive as large a portion of commerce as might be practicable through Great Britain "of which there is not a word in the only Order in Council of 1809 then in force-' and that all our subsequent regulations, and every modification of the system by new orders or modes of granting or withholding licences, have been calculated for the purpose of encouraging the trade of neutrals through Great Britain.'

另一方面，许可证制度不仅对英国政府，而且对英国的一般对外政策都有明显的好处，因为它允许根据具体情况对对外贸易进行管理，而不必宣布或多或少有争议的国际法原则；到目前为止，许可证制度与英国公共生活中对一切理论和原则声明所表现出的一般恐怖态度相当一致。实际上，正是许可证制度使1809年4月26日的新枢密院令在形式上对原来的枢密院令作出让步成为可能，因为旧的规定实际上可以不写在纸上而保留下来，只需将其作为颁发许可证的条件即可。例如，威尔斯利侯爵作为外交大臣在1811年写给新任英国驻华盛顿公使福斯特的信中就公开表达了这一点，他在信中说："你会发现，我们的制度的目的不是为了压制与欧洲大陆的贸易，而是为了抵制压制英国贸易的企图。因此，我们努力允许欧洲大陆在可行的情况下尽可能多地通过英国进行贸易，"当时唯一有效的1809年枢密院令对此只字未提"，"我们后来的所有规定，以及通过新的命令或颁发或扣留许可证的方式对该制度进行的每一次修改，都是为了鼓励中立国通过英国进行贸易"。

The licences were thus, in the first place, a flexible means of carrying through the policy that had been marked out once for all. It is true that this did not prevent them, as we have seen, from coming to serve quite other purposes through the inefficiency and laxity of the officials ; but these abuses did not imply that the British government had altogether lost its control over the licensing system. Thus, for instance, the ease with which the Norwegians obtained licences in 1809-11, despite the fact that the Dano-Norwegian monarchy was at war with Great Britain, was due to the British need of Norwegian timber. Later on, when pressure was regarded as desirable for political reasons-it was just at the time when Norway was suffering immensely from shortage of foodstuff$-the granting of licences in effect ceased entirely, although under the form of a claimfor security to amounts which it was not possible to achieve (£3,000-4,000 per licence).

因此，许可证首先是执行一劳永逸的政策的灵活手段。诚然，正如我们所看到的，这并不妨碍它们因官员的低效和松懈而达到其他目的；但这些滥用并不意味着英国政府完全失去了对许可证制度的控制。例如，1809-1811年间，尽管多瑙河-挪威君主国正与英国交战，挪威人仍能轻而易举地获得许可证，这是因为英国需要挪威的木材。后来，由于政治原因，压力被认为是可取的，而此时挪威正因食品短缺而遭受巨大损失——许可证的发放实际上完全停止了，尽管是以担保索赔的形式进行的，但担保金额却无法达到（每个许可证3000-4000英镑）。

Even in its consistent form, however, the licence system led to embittered 'resistance in many quarters of Great Britain, especially in the seaports. In 1812 Hull, Sunderland, South Shields, Scarborough, Aberdeen, &c., overwhelmed Parliament with petitions against the licensing system, largely for reasons opposite to those usually alleged by the opposition. Here the attitude adopted was that the neutrals, with the object of maintaining connexion with the self-blockaded ports of the mainland, were admitted to too large a share in trade and shipping, and further that British subjects, contrary to the Navigation Act, were allowed to ship cargoes in neutral vessels. In this way these, petitions alleged, it was unintentionally made possible for Napoleon himself and his allies, under a neutral flag and withBritish licences, to take part in trade with impunity. Thus one example was cited when thirty-seven vessels were allowed, in 1810, to go without hindrance from Archangel to Holland ; but this was due evidently to the usual carelessness in the application of the system. With regard to admitting foreign vessels and sailors, on the other hand, the government could point to the insufficiency of the British shipping for all purposes and to the advantage of penetrating to the markets of the Continent under a neutral flag when it could not he done under a British flag. This last was an idea which was strongly confirmed by Napoleon's view of the matter. On the whole, the British licences, despite their luxuriance of growth, remained, at least in principle, what they had been from the beginning, namely, a means of combining the formal British blockade of the Continent with the real mercantilist aims of the policy, as has been described in part I of this book.This found expression, among other things, in regulations which really placed a premium on exports, namely, in the form that the granting of a licence to import was made dependent on making exports to the same value, either in general or for certain goods ; e,g., the granting of licence for the importation of wine in return for an engagement to export colonial goods. And although licences were often sold for high sums on the Continent (700 Rigsdaler in Norway, it is said, and 500 florins in Amsterdam) and in Great Britain itself were supplied by the state at such a considerable price as $13 or S14 apiece for individual licences, with the addition of a guinea for each licence when a large number were in question-on some occasions, however, higher charges did occur-yet the opposition, so far as I know, despite its repudiation of the whole system on constitutional grounds, never insinuated that the state was influenced by fiscal points of view, but only alleged abuses in favour of individuals. Even if one accepts the highest number of licences for a twelvemonth, about 18,000 for the year 1810, and the highest conceivable average amount per licence (Le., H4;which is assuredly too hgh an estimate), the highest annual amount would only be about 250,000 or 6,250,000 francs.

然而，即使在其一贯的形式下，许可证制度在大不列颠的许多地区，特别是在海港，也引起了激烈的 "反抗"。1812年，赫尔、桑德兰、南希尔兹、斯卡布罗、阿伯丁等地向议会递交了反对许可证制度的请愿书，其理由大多与反对派通常声称的相反。在这里，他们的态度是，中立国为了与大陆上自我封锁的港口保持联系，被允许在贸易和航运中占有过大的份额。此外，英国臣民被允许用中立国的船只装运货物，这违反了《航海法》。请愿书称，通过这种方式，拿破仑本人及其盟友在中立国旗和英国许可证的掩护下，可以不受惩罚地参与贸易。例如，1810年有37艘船只被允许不受阻碍地从阿尔汉格尔港口驶往荷兰；但这显然是由于在实施这一制度时通常的粗心大意造成的。另一方面，关于接纳外国船只和水手的问题，政府可以指出英国航运在所有方面的不足，并指出在中立旗帜下商品渗透到欧洲大陆市场的优势，而在英国旗帜下则没有这种优势。拿破仑对此事的看法有力地证实了这一点。总的说来，英国的许可证尽管发展得很迅速，但至少在原则上没有偏离一开始的样子，即把英国对欧洲大陆的正式封锁与该政策的真正重商主义目的结合起来的一种手段，正如本书第一部分所描述的那样.这种重商主义的目的，除其他外，表现在真正重视出口的条例中，即进口许可证的颁发取决于一般或某些商品的出口达到同样价值的形式；例如、进口葡萄酒许可证的颁发是为了换取出口殖民地商品的承诺。尽管许可证在欧洲大陆经常以高价出售（据说在挪威为700里希特达勒，在阿姆斯特丹为500弗罗林），而在大不列颠，国家也以每张13或14英镑的高价向个人提供许可证、然而，据我所知，反对派尽管以宪法为由否定了整个制度，却从未暗示国家受到财政观点的影响，而只是声称存在有利于个人的滥用。可即使我们接受12个月的最高许可证数量，即1810年的约1.8万个，以及可以想象的每张许可证的最高平均金额（每张15镑，这是往高了估计），每年的最高金额也只有约25万英镑或625万法郎。

### FALSE SHIPS’ PAPERS (BROUGHAM’S DESCRIPTION)

### 伪造的船舶文件（布鲁厄姆的描述）

But the licences in Great Britain had also another object which, from the standpoint of the Continental System, was more important than all the matters we have just dealt withnamely, that of providing trade and shipping with an opportunity of circumventing Napoleon’s commercial prohibitions without thereby being exposed to capture by British ships, which undoubtedly would have been the consequence if the formal British regulations had been applied. What had to be done was to avoid both Scylla and Charybdis ; and on both sides the regulations had been brought to such a pitch that this was absolutely impossible without a dispensation. What the licences rendered possible, in this particular, was a completely systematic and commercially organized traffic with false ships’ papers designed to show the continental authorities both the non-British origin of the goods and the departure of the vessels from non-British ports-a parallel to the case of smuggling. The best and most graphic description of the whole business is perhaps contained in a speech made by Brougham in the House of Commons on March 3, 1812, the relevant part of which may therefore be quoted in extenso. It will hardly be thought necessary to draw special attention to the priceless business letter in the forgery line which concludes this account.

但是，从大陆体系的角度来看，大不列颠的许可证还有另一个目的，它比我们刚刚处理的所有问题都更重要，即为贸易和航运提供一个绕过拿破仑商业禁令的机会，而不会因此遭到英国船只的捕获。如果适用英国的正式规定，毫无疑问会导致这样的后果。他们必须做到避免腹背受敌，并且双方的规定都已经达到没有特许是绝对不可能的地步。在这种情况下，许可证使一种完全系统化和商业化的有组织贩运成为可能，这种贩运使用伪造的船舶证件，目的是向大陆当局显示货物的非英国原产地和船只从非英国港口出发——这与走私的情况类似。1812年3月3日，布鲁厄姆在下议院发表演讲，对整个事件进行了最生动的描述，因此我们可以全文引用演讲的相关部分。我们基本上没有必要特别注意这篇报道的结尾处，那封伪造的价值连城的商业信函。

*But the last and most deplorable consequence of this licensing system, is the effect which it is producing on the morals of the trading part of the community of this country. Here I implore the attention of the House, and the attention of the hon. gentlemen opposite (would to God I could appeal to them in a more effectual manner), and intreat them to consider the consequences of giving continuance to a traffic which has so often been described as ‘ a system of simulation and dissimulation from beginning to end ’. These are the words of the respectable Judge who presides in our Courts of Admiralty [Sir William Scott], who as he owes in that capacity allegiance to no particular sovereign, is bound to mete out justice equally to the subjects of all nations who come before him. This is the language of the right hon. and learned gentleman alluded to, but in my opinion, it would be still more accurate to say that it is a system which begins with forgery, is continued by perjury, and ends in enormous frauds. I will ,read a clause from the first license that comes to my hand-for it is in them all -in 18,000 licenses a year-and it is a clause which demands the most serious attention of the House. What are we to say when we find that the government of the country lends the sanction of its authority to such expressions as the following, in the licenses from port to port : ‘ The vessel shall be allowed to proceed, notwithstanding all the documents which accompany the ship and cargo may represent the same to be destined to any neutral or hostile port, or to whomsoever such property may appear to belong.’ Notwithstanding, says his Majesty in Council-at least his Majesty is made to use such language-notwith-standing, says this paper, which is countersigned by his Majesty’s Secretary of State 18,000 times in a year, this trade is carried on by fraud and perjury, we will sanction that foulness, and we will give orders that these ships shall be enabled to pass through the British fleets. Perhaps the full import of this clause is not known to the House. It is proper they should be informed that papers are put on board stating the actual place from which the ship cleared out, signed in the proper and usual manner, with letters from the ship-owner to the proper persons ; and that these real documents form what is called the ship’s papers. By this license the captain is enabled to take on ‘board another set of papers, which are a forgery from beginning to end, and in case his vessel happens to be overhauled by our cruizers, he escapes detention. If the ship happen to clear from London, it is perhaps said to clear from Rotterdam, and the proper description is made out, as nearly as possible, in the hand-writing of the Custom-house officer at Rotterdam, and if it be necessary that the paper should be signed by a minister of state, as is the , case in Holland, his handwriting must be forged, frequently that of the duke of Cadore [Champagny], or perhaps, as I happened to see the other day, that of Napoleon himself. Not only are the names forged, but the seal is also forged, and the wax imitated. But this is not enough. A regular set of letters is also forged, containing a good deal of fictitious private anecdote, and a good deal of such news from Rotterdam as might be supposed to be interesting to mercantile people, and a letter from a merchant in Rotterdam to the ship-owner. Thus provided, the vessel sails, and the object of the clause in the license which I have just read, is to prevent her from being seized by any of our cruizers who may intercept her.*

*This is what is meant by the general expression of- ‘ Notwithstanding all the documents which accompany the ship and cargo may represent the same, &c. &c.’ So much for the system of forgery on which this license trade rests ; but all this is not enough. All this must be done with the privity of the merchant here, and of his clerks. That most respectable branch of society, and these young men, whom they are initiating into trade, are no longer at liberty to follow the system, by which our Childs and our Barings have risen to such respectability and eminence ; but from their very outset in life, are now to be initiated in the humiliating mysteries of this fraudulent commerce. All these forgeries, too, are confirmed by the solemn oaths of the captain and crew when they arrive at their destined port. They are obliged to swear in words, as awful as it is possible to conceive, that alI these documents and letters are genuine. Every sort of interrogatory is put to the captain and the whole crew, which is calculated to discover what is the real port from which the vessel sailed, and to the truth of the answers to all these interrogatories the captain and the whole crew are obliged to swear. They are obliged to declare from what quarterthe wind blew when they left Rotterdam (although they were never near the place) when they took a pilot on board, and a number of other particulars, which they are obliged to asseverate on the most solemn oath which it is possible to conceive ; knowing at the same time that they sailed from London and not from Rotterdam, that they took no pilot on board, and that their other statements are utterly false. So that, under this system, the whole crew and captain are under the necessity of perjuring themselves, if they wish to act up to their instructions. In confirmation of these statements, I will read to the House a letter of a most curious description which has been put into my hands, written to an American merchant, of the highest respectability, the contents of which would be extremely ludicrous, if the contemplation of them were not accompanied by a feeling of disgust at the moral depravity it displays. It is written by a professional man, not that he is either a lawyer, a physician, or a divine, for he would be a disgrace to any of these honourable occupations ; but he is a man who has made the forgery of ships’ papers a regular and organized profession. I shall omit the names of any of the parties, because I should be sorry to injure individuals, whose only connection with the writer has been, that he has dared to send them this most atrocious circular. It is as follows :*

*但是，这种许可证制度最后，也是最令人痛心的后果，是它对这个国家的贸易界的道德所产生的影响。在此，我恳求议院和对面的先生们注意（但愿我能以更有效的方式呼吁他们），并恳求他们考虑继续实行这种经常被描述为 "从头到尾都是模拟和欺骗的制度 "的交易的后果。这是我国海事法院可敬的主审法官[威廉-斯科特爵士]所说的话，因为他不效忠于任何特定的君主，所以他有义务对来到他面前的所有国家的臣民一视同仁。这就是这位博学的先生所提到的话语，但我认为，更准确的说法是，这是一种以伪造开始，以伪证继续，以巨大的欺诈结束的制度。我将宣读我手中第一份许可证上的一个条款，一个在所有许可证上都有的条款，每年有18 000份许可证上都有这个条款，而且这个条款需要议会给予最严肃的关注。当我们发现国家政府在港口与港口之间的许可证中以其权威认可如下表述时，我们该说些什么呢：'尽管船舶和货物附带的所有文件可能表明其目的地是任何中立或敌对港口，或该财产可能属于任何人，但应允许船舶继续航行。"尽管国王陛下在枢密院中说——至少国王陛下被要求使用这样的语言——尽管这份一年中由国王陛下的国务大臣副署18000次的文件说，这种贸易是通过欺诈和伪证进行的，我们将认可这种肮脏的行为，我们将下令使这些船只能够通过英国舰队。也许众议院并不知道该条款的全部含义。应该告诉他们，船上有文件，说明船只清关的实际地点，以适当和通常的方式签署，并附有船主给适当人员的信；这些真实的文件构成所谓的船舶文件。有了这个许可证，船长就可以把另一套从头到尾都是伪造的文件带上船，万一他的船碰巧被我们的巡洋舰检修，他就可以逃脱拘留。如果船刚好从伦敦清关，也许就说是从鹿特丹清关，并尽可能用鹿特丹海关官员的笔迹写出适当的说明，如果需要由国务大臣在文件上签字，就像荷兰的情况那样，他的笔迹必须是伪造的，经常是卡多雷[尚帕尼]公爵的笔迹，也许就像我前几天碰巧看到的那样，是拿破仑本人的笔迹。不仅名字是伪造的，印章也是伪造的，蜡也是仿造的。但这还不够。还伪造了一套固定的信件，其中包含大量虚构的私人轶事，大量来自鹿特丹的消息，这些消息可能是商人们感兴趣的，还有一封鹿特丹的商人写给船主的信。这样，该船就启航了，我刚才宣读的许可证条款的目的是防止它被任何可能拦截它的我国巡洋舰扣押。这些意思一般被表述为“尽管随船的所有文件和货物可能代表同样的情况”等等的话语。这就是这种许可证贸易所依赖的伪造制度；但所有这些还不够。*

*所有这些都必须在这里的商人和他的办事员的私下进行。这个最值得尊敬的社会阶层，以及这些年轻人，他们正在引导他们进入这个行业，他们再也不能自由地遵循我们的查尔兹（Childs）和我们的拜林（Barings）所赖以升迁到如此体面和显赫的制度；而是从他们人生的一开始，现在就要开始学习这种欺诈性商业的可耻的奥秘。当船长和船员们到达目的地港口时，他们庄严的宣誓也证实了所有这些伪造的事实。他们不得不用可怕到无法想象的语言发誓，这些文件和信件都是真的。船长和全体船员必须对所有这些问题的答案的真实性发誓。他们必须声明离开鹿特丹时（尽管他们从未靠近过鹿特丹）风是从哪个方向吹来的，他们在船上何时带了一名领航员，以及其他一些细节，他们必须以所能想象到的最庄严的宣誓来证明这些细节；同时他们知道他们是从伦敦而不是鹿特丹启航的，他们在船上没有带领航员，他们的其他陈述完全是虚假的。因此，在这种制度下，全体船员和船长如果想按照他们的指示行事，就必须作伪证。为了证实这些说法，我将向众议院宣读我手中的一封信，这封信的内容非常奇特，是写给一位美国商人的，这位商人德高望重，如果不对这封信所显示的道德沦丧感到厌恶的话，那么这封信的内容将是极其可笑的。这本书的作者是一位职业人士，他既不是律师，也不是医生，更不是神职人员，因为他对任何一种光荣的职业来说都是一种耻辱；但他是一位把伪造船舶文书作为一种正规的、有组织的职业的人。我将省略任何当事人的姓名，因为我很抱歉伤害那些与作者有唯一联系的人，因为他竟敢向他们发出这份最残暴的通告。内容如下：*

*Liverpool,————*

*GENTLEMEN——we take the liberty herewith to inform you, that we have established ourselves in this town, for the sole purpose of making simulated papers [Hear, Hear I] which we are enabled to do in away which will give ample Satisfaction to our employers, not only being in possession of the original documents of the ships’ papers, and clearances to various porta, a list of which we annex, but our Mr. G--B--”having worked with his brother, Mr. J--B--, in the eame line, for the last two years, and understending all the necessary languages.*

*Of any changes that may occur in the different places on the continent, in the various oustom house and other offices, which may render a change of signatures necessary, we are careful to have the earliest information, not only from our own connections but from Mr. J--B--”, who has proffered his assistance in every Way, and who has for some time past made simulated papers for Messrs B--and P--, of this town, to whom we beg leave to refer you for further information. We remein, &c,*

*Then follows a long list of about twenty places from and to which they can forge papers (having all the clearances ready by them, from the different public agents) the moment they receive intelligence that any merchant may need their assistance in this scheme of fabrication.*

*利物浦,————*

*先生们--我们在此冒昧地通知你们，我们已经在这个城市建立了自己的公司，其唯一的目的就是制作模拟文件[听着，听着我]，我们有能力制作出让我们的雇主非常满意的文件，我们不仅拥有船舶文件的原件，以及各个港口的许可证（我们附上了这些文件的清单），而且我们的G--B--"先生在过去两年里与他的兄弟J--B--先生一起从事同样的工作，并且懂得所有必要的语言。G--B--"和他的兄弟J--B--先生在同一条船上工作了两年，掌握了所有必要的语言。*

*关于大陆不同地方、不同的海关和其他办事处可能发生的任何变化，可能导致有必要更换签名，我们不仅从我们自己的关系，而且从J--B--"先生那里得到最早的信息，J--B--"先生在各方面都提供了帮助，他在过去一段时间里为本镇的B--P--先生制作了模拟文件，我们希望您向他了解更多信息。我们对此表示感谢、*

*随后，他们列出了一份长长的清单，上面列有大约二十个地方，一旦他们收到任何商人可能需要他们在这一伪造计划中提供帮助的情报，他们就可以从这些地方或前往这些地方伪造文件（他们已经从不同的公共代理人那里准备好了所有的许可）。*

## **France**

## **法国**

That part of this which made an impression upon Napoleon must above all have been the last-mentioned side of the licence system, for it evidently enabled the British to evade his blockading decrees with success. But the whole fashion of saying one thing, and meaning and doing another, accorded exquisitely with his general bent and created a possibility, which was particularly welcome under the then prevailing circumstances, of altering his rwe in fact without formally repealing ‘ the fundamental law of the Empire ’ before the English had given way. It was only natural, therefore, that the licensing system on the British side should encourage imitation on the side of Napoleon. Accordingly, the Continental System during its last years developed into a huge system of jugglery on both sides, when neither side honestly applied its own regulations, but both broke them with a capriciousness that to some extent increased the sufferings of the already more than sufficiently harassed peoples.

给拿破仑留下深刻印象的首先应该是我们最近提到的许可证制度的那一面，因为它显然使英国人能够成功地逃避他的封锁法令。但是，说一件事是一回事，意思和行动又是另一回事的这种风气，也完全符合他的一般倾向，并创造了一种可能性，在英国人让步之前，不正式废除"帝国的基本法律"，而在事实上改变他的统治，这在当时的情况下是特别受欢迎的。因此，英国方面的许可证制度自然会鼓励拿破仑效仿。因此，大陆制度在其最后几年发展成为双方都在玩弄的庞大制度，双方都不老实地执行自己的规定，而是任性地破坏这些规定，这在一定程度上加重了本已饱受骚扰的人民的痛苦。

But this external resemblance between the tactics of Great Britain and Napoleon concealed a fundamental internal dissimilarity. In this case there is an unusual amount of truth in the old dictum quum duo fmiunt idem, non est idem[[37]](#footnote-36). The licences created, or at least had the power to create, a perfectly consistent application of the policy that Great Britain wished to pursue, namely, the promotion of trade with the Continent. For Napoleon, on the other hand, every licence, his own no less than his opponent’s, meant a breach in the self-blockade of the Continent and in the isolation of Great Britain, and thus drove one more nail into the cofh of the Continental System. For Napoleon the licences were an integral part of the new order of things, the other half of which was the Trianon regime ; and like that, the licences on his side contributed greatly to the more and more dominant fiscalism, which was not the case, to any notable extent, in Great Britain. In this way the licensing system in Great Britain acquired its real importance for the Continental System by kveigling Napoleon into an imitation which removed him still further from his great aim.

但是，大不列颠和拿破仑的策略在外表上的相似之处掩盖了内在的根本不同。在这种情况下，古老的 "当两个人做同样的事情时，它就不是同一件事了"的说法就有了不同寻常的真实性。英国希望推行的政策是促进与欧洲大陆的贸易，而许可证创造了这一政策，或至少有能力创造这一政策。另一方面，对拿破仑来说，每一个许可证，包括他自己的许可证和他的对手的许可证，都意味着对欧洲大陆自我封锁和大不列颠孤立的突破，从而给大陆体系的核心又钉上了一颗钉子。对拿破仑来说，许可证是新秩序的一个组成部分，而另一半组成部分则是特里亚侬政体。拿破仑的许可证与特里亚侬政体一样，也极大地促进了日益占主导地位的财政主义，但在英国的情况却并非如此。就这样，英国的许可证制度在大陆制度中获得了真正的重要性，它使拿破仑陷入模仿的境地，使他进一步偏离了自己的伟大目标。

Sometimes this fact fmds very open expression in Napoleon’s copious explanations of the licensing system, alternating with highly confusing and obscure accounts of its significance. ‘ In this place it is necessary to tell you again what you already understand,’ runs an unusually explicatory letter to Eugene, Viceroy of Italy (September 19,1810), ‘ namely, what is meant by a licence. A licence is a permission, accorded to a vessel that fulfrls the conditions exacted by the said licence, to import, or export a certain kind of merchandise specified in that licence. For those vessels the Berlin and Milan decrees are null and void.’

在拿破仑对许可证制度的大量解释中，有时会非常公开地表达这一事实，有时又对其意义进行非常混乱和晦涩的描述。1810年9月19日，拿破仑在给意大利总督尤金的一封解释性信件中写道："在这里，有必要再告诉你一遍你已经明白的东西，即许可证的含义。许可证是给予符合许可证规定条件的船只的许可，允许其进口或出口许可证中规定的某种商品。柏林法令和米兰法令对这些船只无效。

### LICENCE DECREE JULY (25, 1810)

### 七月许可证法令（1810年7月25日）

What an almost all-embracing range this suspension of the Continental decrees attained is shown by an express order, the so-called ‘ Licence decree,’ of July 25,1810, and also by a number of confirmatory measures adopted by Napoleon during the subsequent period. Thus it was laid down in the licence decree that beginning on August 1,1810, no vessel bound for a foreign port might leave French ports without a licence signed by Napoleon’s own hand. If the vessel was bound for any of the ports of the Empire, or was engaged in coasting traffic in the Mediterranean, a more general permit (acquit-d-caution) was required, but also a written bond which was not annulled until evidence could be furnished of the vessel’s arrival at the French. port. All vessels that were devoted to le grand commerce or la grande navigation were therefore obliged to have a licence ; and for this procedure there was given the hghly significant justification that no such traffic was possible without calling at a British port or at least being examined by the British-which, according to the Milan decree, involved ‘denationalization ’ and confiscation. Despite the fact that both the Berlin and Milan decrees strictly forbade all intercourse with England and all calling at English ports, Napoleon now went so far as to make it a point of honour that French vessels should visit English waters, and go to London, even though they were under a neutral flag. ‘ Under this disguise England receives them, and I make laws for her owing to her pressing need of commercial intercourse.’ It was not surprising that such a change of front, which in 1812, for instance, led to a licence for the importation of rice from London, befogged many people completely

1810年7月25日的一项明文命令，即所谓的"许可证法令"，以及拿破仑在其后的一段时期内采取的一系列确认措施，都表明了大陆法令的推迟几乎达到了无所不包的程度。许可证法令规定，自 1810 年 8 月 1 日起，任何驶往外国港口的船只，如无拿破仑亲笔签名的许可证，不得离开法国港口。如果船只要驶往帝国的任何一个港口，或在地中海从事沿海运输，则需要更普通的许可证，但也需要书面保证书，在提供船只抵达法国港口的证据之前，保证书不会失效。因此，所有专门从事大贸易或大航海的船只都必须持有许可证；对于这一程序，有一个非常重要的理由证明，如果不在英国港口停靠或至少接受英国人的检查，就不可能进行此类运输，根据米兰法令，这涉及到 "剥夺国籍 "和没收。尽管柏林法令和米兰法令都严格禁止与英国的一切往来和停靠英国港口，但拿破仑现在竟然把法国船只访问英国水域和前往伦敦作为一种荣誉，即使它们悬挂的是中立旗帜。在这种伪装下，英国接待了它们。“由于她迫切需要商业往来，我为她制定了法律”，这样的前线变化并不奇怪，例如在 1812 年，从伦敦进口大米就获得了许可证，这让许多人完全摸不着头脑。

It goes without saying, however, that licences were not given for nothing, either for visits to England or for any other purpose. At first they had to be paid for, as a rule at very high prices. At an early period we hear of 30 or 40 napoleons (600 or 800 francs) ; at a later period 40 napoleons (800 francs) plus 30 francs per ton of wheat, and 15 francs per ton of rye, was regarded as cheap for exports from the Hanse Towns. Import licences for colonial goods from England fetched as much as 300 napoleons or 6000 francs, that is to say, much higher amounts than the British licences. Nor did Napoleon make any secret of the fact that they were intended to yield him un revenu considerable.

然而，不言而喻的是，无论是为了访问英国还是其他目的，许可证都不是白给的。起初，这些许可证通常需要支付高昂的费用。早期的价格是 30 或 40 拿破仑（600 或 800 法郎）；后来，40 拿破仑（800 法郎）外加每吨小麦 30 法郎、每吨黑麦 15 法郎，被认为是汉斯城镇出口商品的廉价价格。从英国进口殖民地商品的许可证价格高达 300 拿破仑或 6000 法郎，也就是说，比英国的许可证价格要高得多。拿破仑也不讳言这些许可证会给他带来可观的收入。

### OBLIGATION TO EXPORT

### 出口义务

But further the licences were intended to serve Napoleon’s aims in the sphere of trade policy. In this connexion the main thing was to encourage the exportation of French, and to some extent also Italian, industrial products and, in good years, foodstuffs from both countries, as well as from Danzig and other granaries. In exchange for this there was granted, as a rule, the importation of colonial goods, which was simultaneously regulated by the Trianon policy, either generally or with special reference to Levantine and American products. But there were also stricter rules where nothing was to be brought back to France except ship-building materials or precious metals, and specie, which were in constant request, and which Napoleon, in consonance with his well-known views, was always seeking to draw from England. Thus from 1809 on there was a long series of varying types of licence, which differed widely in detail, but do not offer many points of interest. One of the most significant types is the combined one which permitted vessels to take corn from German ports in Napoleon’s empire to Dunkirk and thence to England, provided the corn was discharged in England and naval stores were taken as return freight to Dunkirk, where French wine, silks, and manufactures had to be taken on board and conveyedto Hamburg. One of the most stringent conditions for licences was that imports into France, and to some extent also into Italy, of whatever kind they might be-apart from foodstuffs during years of famine, as in 1812"required from the importing vessel a return cargo of French goods from France or Italian goods from Italy of at least the same value. Such return freight was particularly silk and other French textiles, but also wine and brandy, and, in good years, natural produce, especially from Italy. All this was to be in proportions which varied a great deal from time to time, but were usually determined in great detail. This very far-reaching system, which also had something, though on a smaller scale, corresponding to it on the British side, as has already been mentioned,l had developed from a regulation introduced into the French customs ordinance of 1803 as a kind of punishment for vessels whose papers were not above suspicion in respect of the innocent origin of their cargo. This even applied to incorporated territories, such as the Hanse Towns, when importing to 'the old departments '.

此外，许可证的目的还在于为拿破仑的贸易政策服务。在这方面，主要是鼓励出口法国的工业产品，在一定程度上也鼓励出口意大利的工业产品。在丰收的年份，还鼓励出口两国的食品以及但泽和其他粮仓的食品。作为交换条件，通常允许进口殖民地产品，这些产品的进口同时受到特里亚侬宫政策的管制，无论是一般的还是特别针对勒旺和美国产品。但同时也有更严格的规定，除了造船材料、贵金属和不断需要的货币外，任何东西都不得带回法国，而拿破仑根据他众所周知的观点，一直在寻求从英国获取这些东西。因此，从 1809年起，出现了一长串不同类型的许可证，这些许可证在细节上差别很大，但没有太多的共同利益。其中最重要的一种是综合许可证，它允许船只将玉米从拿破仑帝国的德国港口运往敦刻尔克，然后再运往英国，条件是玉米在英国卸货，海军物资作为回程货物运往敦刻尔克，法国葡萄酒、丝绸和制成品必须装船运往汉堡。最严格的许可条件之一是，进口到法国，在某种程度上也进口到意大利，不管是什么种类的货物——除了饥荒年代的食品，比如在1812年——“进口船只必须从法国运回一批法国货物，或从意大利运回一批意大利货物，价值至少相同。”这些回程货物主要是丝绸和其他法国纺织品，还有葡萄酒和白兰地，在丰收年，还有天然产品，尤其是来自意大利的天然产品。所有这些货物的比例有时变化很大，但通常都有详细的规定。这一影响深远的制度，在英国方面也有一些相应的规定，虽然规模较小，但如前所述，它是由 1803 年法国海关条例中的一项规定发展而来的，作为对那些货物来源不明的船只的一种惩罚。这甚至适用于并入的领土，如向 "旧省 "进口的汉萨同盟。

It may be said at once that this attempt on the part of Napoleon to transform the Continental System from a gigantic plan of blockade against Great Britain to an in itself less noteworthy method of augmenting the exports of France, led to an almost complete fiasco. The goods were taken on board, of course, but as their importation was prohibited in England, and as, moreover, they were not in a position to compete with British manufactures, there could be no sale, And it is in the very nature of things that the method of circumventing such export ordinances must be still more varied than in regard to obstacles in the way of imports, and the dodges invented were all the more numerous. On the whole, it may be regarded as a general rule that purely coercive laws in the sphere of economics have far fewer possibilities of being made effective in a positive direction than in a negative one. In most cases, in fact, it is almost impossible that the positive law can effect anything more than the external forms of economic transaction, while the negative regulation or prohibition can much soonermake the transaction impossible both in substance and in form. Of course, goods were exported when their exportation was ordered ; but as it was difficult to fix the quality of the goods in the law, the consequence was that people bought up every conceivable kind of rubbish-articles long since out of fashion or useless from t.he very start-in the French idiom ‘ nightingales ’ (roesignols), which sing only by night,-which could be purchased for a song and then priced at any -re whatever. Under these circumstances, of course, there was lesa chance than ever of effecting any real imports of goods into England, and it was stated openly, for instance, in the French Council of Commerce and Industry in 1812, and was for that matter generally known, that the goods were simply thrown into the sea. All this held good of that part of Napoleon’s policy which to some degree stood in connexion with the Continental System, namely, the trade with England. With regard to the countries incorporated or allied with the empire, the possibilities were probably greater, inasmuch as the vessels could be controlled on their arrival with the French goods ; but obviously all this was valueless as a weapon in the struggle with the enemy

可以说，拿破仑试图将大陆制度从一个针对英国的巨大封锁计划转变为一个本身并不那么值得注意，但却能增加法国出口的方法，结果几乎是彻底的失败。货物当然被运上了船，但由于英国禁止进口，而且这些货物无法与英国的制成品竞争，因此无法销售，而根据事物的本质，规避这种出口法令的方法必须比阻碍进口的方法更加多样，因此发明的规避方法也就更多。总的来说，在经济领域，纯粹的强制性法律在积极方面的效力远远低于消极方面的效力。事实上，在大多数情况下，积极的法律几乎不可能只对经济交易的外部形式产生影响，而消极的规定或禁令则可以更快地使交易在实质上和形式上都变得不可能。当然，当货物被命令出口时，它们就会被出口；但由于很难在法律中规定货物的质量，结果是人们买到了各种可以想象得到的垃圾——早已过时或从一开始就毫无用处的物品——法语用“夜莺”来形容：它们只在夜晚歌唱，人们可以用一首歌的价格买到它们，然后再以任何价格出售。在这种情况下，当然更不可能有任何真正的货物进口到英国，例如，1812 年法国工商业委员会就公开表示，货物被直接扔进大海，这也是众所周知的事情。拿破仑政策中在某种程度上与大陆制度有关的部分，即与英国的贸易，也是如此。至于与帝国合并或结盟的国家，可能会有更大的可能性，因为可以在法国货物抵达时对船只进行控制。

### FRENCH SHIPPING MONOPOLY

### 法国航运垄断

Finally, also, the licensing system was elaborated into a purely protectionist measure with regard to French shipping. In his letter to Decres, the naval minister, written on the same day as the issue of the Milan decree, Napoleon had already prescribed that all non-French vessels should be detained in his ports ; and now the licensing system was adopted to the end of creating a practically complete monopoly for the French mercantile marine. Especially openhearted in this matter is the Emperor’s commentary on the licence decree of July 25, contained in a letter to his lieutenant in Holland after the incorporation of that country, the arch-treasurer Prince Lebrua (August 20, 1810). After observing that no vessel, according to the first article of the decree, could depart to a loreign port without licence, he goes on to say : ‘ The article applies toall kinds of vessels, French, neutral or foreign ; that is to say, with the exception [&I that I do not grant licences to other than French vessels. In two words, I will not hear of any neutral vessel, and as a matter of fact there is in reality no such thing ; for they are all vessels which violate the blockade and, pay tribute to England. As to the word foreign, that means foreign to France. Thus foreign vessels cannot trade with France or leave our ports, because there are no neutrals.’ According to a previously cited letter to Eugene, of September 19,l Napoleon develops still further the idea, in that, with the sole exception of naturalized captured vessels, he requires that the vessels shall even be built in France. It is true that all this did not apply without exception, for in some individual cases licences were granted to vessels of allied or neutral states. Likewise the Hanse Towns, which belonged to Napoleon, Danzig, and towns in Italy, received licences, though only upon payment of unusually high fees ; as a rule, however, allies were excluded as rigorously as neutrals. Especially hard did the system strike against France’s most faithful ally, Denmark, who saw all her vessels in the ports of Napoleon seized and detained, despite endless negotiations and the support of Davout ; and when the vessels were finally released, in the spring of 1812, at which time there were still eighty left, their release was conditioned upon exportation of huge quantities of French silks, which was an absolute impossibility. We obtain the right background for these tactics when we take into consideration the fact that Denmark had also to submit to supplying other vessels for the transport of corn to Holland and at the same time to place officers and sailors at Napoleon’s disposal for the naval expedition that he was then equipping on the Scheldt against England.

最后，许可证制度还被发展成为针对法国航运的纯粹保护主义措施。拿破仑在颁布米兰法令的同一天写给海军大臣德克拉斯的信中已经规定，所有非法国船只都应被扣留在他的港口；现在又采用了许可证制度，目的是为法国商船创造一个几乎完全垄断的市场。在这一问题上，皇帝对7月25日许可证法令的评论尤其开明，他在荷兰公司之后写给驻荷兰副官、总管勒布鲁亚亲王的一封信（1810 年 8 月 20 日）中对这一法令进行了评论。他指出，根据法令的第一条规定，任何船只未经许可不得驶往外国港口，接着他说："该条适用于所有类型的船只，无论是法国船只、中立船只还是外国船只；也就是说，除了法国船只之外，我不会向其他船只发放许可证。换句话说，我不会听到任何中立船只，事实上也没有这样的船只；因为它们都是违反封锁并向英国进贡的船只。至于 "外国 "一词，对法国来说其他国家就是外国。因此，外国船只不能与法国进行贸易，也不能离开我们的港口，因为“没有中立国”。根据前面提到的9月19日给尤金的信，拿破仑进一步发展了这一想法，除了唯一的例外，他要求被俘获的归化船甚至必须在法国建造。诚然，这一切并非毫无例外，因为在某些个别情况下，盟国或中立国的船只也获得了许可证。同样，隶属于拿破仑的汉斯城镇、但泽和意大利的城镇也获得了许可证，尽管需要支付异常高昂的费用；但通常情况下，盟国与中立国一样被严格排除在外。这一制度对法国最忠实的盟友丹麦的打击尤为严重，尽管进行了无休止的谈判并得到了达武的支持，但丹麦在拿破仑港口的所有船只都被扣押和扣留；1812 年春，当这些船只最终被释放时（当时还剩下80艘），释放的条件是出口大量的法国丝绸，而这是绝对不可能的。当我们考虑到丹麦还必须向其他船只提供玉米运输到荷兰的物资，同时将军官和水手安排在拿破仑的指挥下进行海军远征时，我们就获得了这些策略的正确背景，当时拿破仑正在斯海尔德河的舍尔德号上对抗英格兰。

Thus there can be no doubt that the Continental System had missed its mark in several decisive respects. Instead of hitting the enemy, it had partly shot past him and become a means of promoting the interests of France-correctly or incorrectly conceived-at the expense of her own helpers in the struggle against Great Britain. The customs policy proper had had this tendency from the very beginning; and its later development, which continued along the same lines, will be described in connexion with the effects of the system on the Continent, in part rv of this book. To what extent all this had driven Napoleon into the very course that the British in reality aimed at from start to finish, is shown with unusual clearness by a statement made in the autumn of 1811 by General Walterstorff, the Danish minister in Paris at the time, to the effect that France had no other trade except with England and, of course, wished to keep that for herself Here we find the position described in words almost the same as those employed by the British ministers with regard to the object of their policy.So far the success of the system was almost incontestable-for Great Britain



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因此，毫无疑问，大陆制度在几个决定性的方面失误了。它没有击中敌人，而是从敌人身旁射过，成为促进法国利益的一种手段——无论其设想正确与否——牺牲了法国在与英国斗争中的帮助者的利益。海关政策本身从一开始就有这种倾向；其后来的发展 ，将在本书第五部分中结合该制度在欧洲大陆的影响加以描述。1811年秋天，当时的丹麦驻巴黎公使沃尔特斯托夫将军发表了一份声明，大意是，除了与英国的贸易外，法国没有其他贸易，当然，法国希望保留这笔钱。在这里，我们发现用法国的措辞几乎与英国公使们在谈到其政策目标时所使用的措辞相同。到目前为止，这一制度的成功对英国来说几乎是无可争议的

## **CHAPTER IV**

## **第四章**

## **THE TRIANON AND FONTAINEBLEAU POLICY IN OPERATION (1810-12)**

## **三角贸易和枫丹白露政策的运作（1810-1812）**

## **ADMINISTRATION OF NEW POLICY**

## **新政策的管理**

FROM what has been said in the foregoing chapter it is by no means to be inferred that the Continental System had failed altogether. The Fontainebleau policy was directed primarily against the exports of British manufactures ; and here Napoleon was in deadly earnest.

从上一章的论述中，我们绝不能推断大陆制度已经完全失败。枫丹白露政策主要针对的是英国制成品的出口；在这方面，拿破仑表现得非常认真。

But there was no sharp line of demarcation between the prohibitory measures directed against Great Britain and the orders relating to the importation of colonial goods, which were, in Napoleon’s view, half repressive and half fiscal ; nor could any such line be found owing to the lack of clearness in men’s grasp of the matter. It is quite impossible, therefore, to keep them distinct in this account. The administrative organs were largely the same for both, and both were violent and detested by the people ; but there can be no doubt that the fiscal measures formed beyond comparison the most effective half of the new system, because the desire for the goods always made the people comparatively wdhg to pay, if only they could get the goods by so doing. It is true that the competition with the smugglers came far from putting an end to their traffic, that is to say, to continue the same terminology, far from giving the state the monopoly of importing prohibited colonial goods; but in any case it brought substantial sums into the public treasuries. Napoleon’s customs revenues alone rose to 105,900,000 francs in the period from the Trianon tariff to the close of 1811, this as compared with only 11,600,OOO francs in 1809; and the auctions of confiscated goods, together with the licence fees, brought in far more, to say nothing of whatthe vassal states contrived to make. We have at present no complete survey of the total yield of the new policy to the government treasuries, but a general idea of the whole situation is given by the fact that, according to Thiers, the auctions alone during the remaining months of 1810 yielded a cash return of almost 150,000,000 francs. In the contemplation of such figures it is not difficult to understand the magnitude that the fiscal side of the policy was destined to attain ; and, indeed, it was to become more and more marked during each of the remaining years.

但是，针对英国的禁止性措施和有关殖民地货物进口的命令之间并没有明确的界限，在拿破仑看来，这些命令一半是镇压性的，一半是财政性的；由于人们对这个问题缺乏清晰的认识，找不到两者之间的明确界限。因此，要在本篇作品中将它们区分开来是完全不可能的。二者的行政机构大体相同，而且都受到人民的强烈憎恶，但毫无疑问，财政措施是新制度中最有效的一部分，这一点是毋庸置疑的，因为人们对商品的渴望总是使他们相对愿意付出代价，只要他们能通过这样做得到商品。诚然，与走私者的竞争远没有结束他们的贩运，也就是说，远没有延续同样的说法，远没有让国家垄断进口被禁止的殖民地商品；但无论如何，它给国库带来了巨额收入。从特里亚侬关税到1811年年底，仅拿破仑的海关收入就增加到1亿590万法郎，而1809年只有1160万法郎；没收货物的拍卖和许可证费用带来的收入要多得多，更不用说附庸国的收入了。目前，我们还没有对新政策给政府国库带来的总收益进行完整的调查，但根据梯也尔的说法，1810 年剩余几个月中，仅拍卖一项就获得了近 1.5 亿法郎的现金收益，这一事实可以让我们对整个情况有一个大致的了解。考虑到这些数字，我们就不难理解财政政策注定要达到的规模；事实上，在接下来的几年里，这种规模会越来越大。

The corner-stone of the new building, visible to all the world, was formed by the incorporation with France of the Hanse Towns and Oldenburg and the rest of the North Sea coast. This took place about the turn of the year 1810-11, and brought it about that the new measures, both administrative and military, struck by far the hardest on the North Sea. It is true that from the beginning this involved a great limitation in effectiveness, inasmuch as the centre of gravity of the British continental traffic had already been moved definitely from there to the Baltic coasts and Gothenburg.

汉萨同盟、奥尔登堡和北海沿岸的其他地区与法国合并，为这座全世界都能看到的新建筑奠定了基石。这发生在1810-1811年，新的行政和军事措施对北海的打击最大。诚然，从一开始，这就极大地限制了其有效性，因为英国大陆交通的重心已经明确地从那里转移到了波罗的海沿岸和哥德堡。

The special regulations that were issued in the early part of October concerning the payment of customs duties for goods between the coast and the old Rees-Travemiinde line are of less interest ; and their relations to the Trianon tariff are not clear in all details. Of the greatest importance, rather, are the new judicial system-if such a fair-sounding word can be used-and the new military barrier.

10 月上旬颁布的关于海岸线和旧里斯-特拉韦米因德线之间货物关税支付的特别条例并不是那么引人关注：这些条例与特里亚侬关税的关系在所有细节上都不明确。最重要的是新的司法制度（如果可以用这样一个听起来公平的词的话）和新的军事屏障。

## **CUSTOMS COURTS AND THE MILITARY CORDON**

## **海关法庭和军事警戒线**

It was on the North Sea coast that the new customs courts were of the most importance, and it was there that they proceeded with all the cruelty and contempt for private rights that invariably characterize an unscrupulous police. The new customs staff, which is represented as a rabble scraped together from different countries, penetrated bg day and night into dwelling houses, and espionage flourished more than ever.With grim irony Eudel, the former head of the customs system in Hamburg who was tolerably well hated by everybody, was able, according to Bourrienne, to prophesy that he and his greencoats would be positively missed : ' Hitherto,' he said, ' they have seen only roses.' Rist, on whose evidence what has been just said is partly based, furnishes the following information of greater value :

在北海沿岸，新的海关法庭最为重要，也正是在那里，他们以肆无忌惮的警察所特有的残忍对私人权利进行蔑视。新的海关工作人员被描绘成一群从不同国家拼凑起来的乌合之众，他们日夜不停地深入民宅，间谍活动比以往任何时候都更加猖獗。具有严峻讽刺意味的是，据布里安说，虽然汉堡海关系统前负责人尤德尔预言自己和他的绿衫军将被彻底怀念，实际上他受到了所有人的憎恨。“到目前为止，”他说，“他们只看到了玫瑰。”里斯特提供了以下更有价值的信息，刚才所说的部分基于他的陈述：

*A tribunal of blood, the prevostal court, the most frightful tool of fiscal despotism, was soon domiciled in Hamburg. In defiance of common law, the unfortunate accused here became a victim to the unlimited caprice of his merciless tyrants. Le Grand Prdvdt, half customs official and half judge, here settled matters of life and death ; and as a kind of mockery against every notion of honour, this bastard offspring of civil and military authority had received the same rank as the prefect and the president of the supreme court of justice. Everybody shunned his presence ; and, for my own part, I have never been able to meet without a sense of loathing ahis, as far as one can judge, quite worthy holder of such an office.*

*一个血腥的法庭，一个最可怕的财政专制工具——预审法庭，很快在汉堡落户。无视了基本的法律，不幸的被告在这里成为无情暴君无限任性的牺牲品。这里的大法官，一半是海关官员，一半是法官，在这里解决生死攸关的问题。这个文官和武官的私生子获得了与省长和最高法院院长相同的地位，显示出对一切荣誉观念的嘲弄。每个人都对他避之不及；就我自己而言，我从未见过他而不对他产生厌恶之情。*

During one fortnight in 1812,Le Grand Prdvdt in Hamburg pronounced one hundred and twenty sentences of six months' imprisonment, all for offences against the blockade decree. The result was that in Hamburg the prison became so crowded that a hundred prisoners had to be conveyed to the galleys of Antwerp, while at Bremen the prison conditions were so bad that 22.5 per cent. of the prisoners died. Death sentences were also passed and executed, as Rist correctly states in the passage just cited, although no justification for this was to be found in the Fontainebleau decree, "he whole system became still more detestable for the reason that the licensing system was its background, Bourrienne states that the father of a family came near being shot in 1811 for having imported a small sugar-loaf in the Elbe Department, possibly at the very moment when Napoleon was signing licences for the importation of a million sugar-loaves. Moreover, in Hamburg the system gave rise to perfectly meaningless intrigues in conjunction with the usual lawless robbery on the part of the functionaries ; all of which was especially troublesome owing to the fact that Holstein was indissolubly united with Hamburg, and after the annexation of the Hanse Towns people suddenly found the border of the Empire running between Altona and Hamburg. Consequently, the most elementary economic functions had to come to a standstill owing to the prohibitive legislation. This was carried to such an extent that the Holstein peasants were at first not permitted to take back over the frontier the money they had received in payment for the foodstuffs that they had sold, because it was against the law to take money out of the country.

1812 年的两个星期里，汉堡的大法官宣判了 120 项六个月监禁的判决，这些判决都是因为违反了封锁法令。结果，汉堡的监狱变得如此拥挤，以至于一百名囚犯不得不被送往安特卫普的大帆船，而不来梅的监狱条件如此糟糕，以至于22.5%的囚犯死亡。正如刚才引用的里斯特的段落中指出的那样，死刑也被判处和执行，尽管从枫丹白露法令中找不到这样做的理由。“由于许可证制度这一背景，整个制度变得更加令人厌恶”，布里安说，1811年，一个家庭的父亲因为在易北河省进口了一个小糖面包而差点被枪杀，可能就在拿破仑签署进口一百万个糖面包的许可证的时候。此外，在汉堡，这种制度还导致了一些毫无意义的阴谋诡计，以及官吏们惯常的无法无天的抢劫行为；由于荷尔斯泰因与汉堡不可分割地结合在一起，在汉斯城镇被吞并后，人们突然发现帝国的边界就在阿尔托纳和汉堡之间，所有这一切都特别麻烦。因此，最基本的经济功能都因禁止性立法而停滞不前。这种情况甚至发展到荷尔斯泰因农民起初不被允许将他们卖出食品所得的钱款带出边境，因为将钱款带出国境是违法的。

Alongside this new system of justice on the basis of the Fontainebleau decree, Napoleon now fell back on his military resources to a greater extent than ever before. Massha’s army corps, now under the command of Oudinot, was stationed on a line from Boulogne along the coasts of Brabant . and Holland, with its strongest division at Emden to maintain the connexion with the Hanse Towns. Next came Davout’s corps, which, accordmg to Thiers, was ‘ the finest, most reliable, and best organized ’ in the army, ‘ the invincible third corps,’ the only corps in the whole of Napoleon’s army which now, during the short interval of peace upon the mainland, was kept upon a war footing. It consisted of three divisions, each composed of five regiments of infantry divided into four battalions (sixty battalions of infantry in all), with eighty cannons ; and in addition to these there was one division of cuirassiers and one division of light cavalry, a great siege train, and finally a flotilla of gunboats stationed in the mouths of the rivers. The extreme outpost of this line was General Rapp’s force at Danzig. In a letter of September 28, 1810, to Davout, the mainstay of this organization, Napoleon gave detailed instructions as to how the different generals with their forces were to be distributed, and he expressly declared that the two divisions stationed along the German North Sea coast had as their sole task the prevention of smuggling. Moreover, considerable fortifications were made along the coast with the same purpose in the last months of 1810, after a plan to capture Heligoland without maritime forces had had to be abandoned.

除了以枫丹白露法令为基础的新司法制度外，拿破仑现在比以往任何时候都更依赖于他的军事资源。马萨军团现在由乌迪诺指挥，驻扎在布伦沿布拉班特和荷兰海岸的一线，其最强的师驻扎在埃姆登，以维持与汉斯城镇的联系。接下来是达武军团，梯也尔认为该军团是 "军队中最优秀、最可靠、组织最严密的"，是 "战无不胜的第三军团"，也是拿破仑全军中唯一一支在大陆短暂的和平时期保持战备状态的军团。它由三个师组成，每个师由五个步兵团组成，分为四个营（共六十个步兵营），配有八十门大炮；此外，还有一个骠骑兵师和一个轻骑兵师，一辆大型攻城车，最后还有一支驻扎在河口的炮艇队。这条防线的最前哨是拉普将军在但泽的部队。拿破仑在 1810 年 9 月 28 日给这个组织的中流砥柱达武的信中，详细指示了如何分配不同将军及其部队，并明确宣布驻扎在德国北海沿岸的两个师的唯一任务就是防止走私。此外，1810 年的最后几个月，在放弃了在没有海上部队的情况下夺取赫利戈兰岛的计划后，为了同样的目的，在沿岸修建了大量的防御工事。

## **CONFISCATIONS**

## **没收充公**

As was to be expected, the execution of the new decrees encountered far greater obstacles in the vassal states than in the incorporated territories. According to French opinion, the Trianon decree, in the beginning at least, remained a dead letter in all the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, except Baden. Prussia, like Saxony, made an attempt to except raw materials from the tariff ; and the somewhat more independent states, such as Russia, Austria, and Sweden, never, so far as is known, introduced-the tariff as a whole. It seems as if it was just this passive resistance in August and September 1810 that contributed to bring about the issue of the Fontainebleau decree in October. The great decree (for France) that usually bears this name, dated October 18 or possibly 19, was preceded a few days before (October 14) by a decree for the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt and followed by corresponding laws promulgated by the other states of the Confederation of the Rhine, as well as by Denmark and Switzerland. The most notorious and dramatic was Napoleon’s intervention in Frankfurt. Although that town, and the Grand Duchy created for the last electoral prince of Mainz that bore the name of the town, was nominally a sovereign state, on October 17 and 18 it was suddenly entered by two French regiments of infantry without the Grand Duke being so much as informed of the event. All the gates were occupied and artillery was stationed on the great square, after which the decree was posted up and an order was given that a declaration should be made of all colonial and English goods. French customs officials searched all warehouses, sealed all vaults and seized all books and letters ; in fact, the whole of the great trade movement was stopped. For several days there was a violent agitation, as the general belief was that all the goods were going to be confiscated ; but the excitement abated somewhat when the colonial goods were released, by a new decree of November 8, on payment of duty according to the Trianon tariff. As usual, malversation occurred on a largescale ; but none the less Darmstadter, the German historian, reckons the yield to the French treasury at 9,OOO,OOO francs.

正如人们所预料的那样，新法令的执行在附庸国遇到的障碍远远大于在并入领土上遇到的障碍。法国人认为，至少在一开始，特里亚侬宫法令在莱茵邦联的所有邦国（巴登除外）都是一纸空文。普鲁士和萨克森一样，试图将原材料排除在关税之外；而俄罗斯、奥地利和瑞典等较为独立的国家，据悉从未实行过整体关税。似乎正是 1810 年 8 月和 9 月的这种消极抵抗促成了 10 月枫丹白露法令的颁布。通常以这个名字命名的伟大法令（针对法国）颁布于10月18日或可能是19日，几天前（10月14日）颁布了针对法兰克福大公国的法令，随后莱茵联邦的其他国家以及丹麦和瑞士也颁布了相应的法律。拿破仑在法兰克福的干预最为臭名昭著，也最具戏剧性。虽然法兰克福名义上是一个主权国家，但在 10 月 17 日和 18 日，法兰克福突然被两个法国步兵团攻占，而大公对此一无所知。所有的城门都被占领，大炮驻扎在大广场上，随后法令被张贴出来，并下令对所有殖民地和英国的货物进行申报。法国海关官员搜查了所有仓库，查封了所有保险库，没收了所有书籍和信件；事实上，整个贸易活动都停止了。由于人们普遍认为所有的货物都将被没收，因此一连几天都出现了剧烈的骚动；但当殖民地的货物根据11月8日的新法令，在按照特里亚侬关税缴纳税款后被放行时，骚动才有所缓解。像往常一样，出现了大规模的渎职行为；根据德国历史学家达姆施塔特的估计，这给法国国库带来不少于90万法郎的收益。

The fact that the direct intervention of France thus caused the other states to lose the profit served to stimulate the measures of those states themselves ; and externally, at least, they began to show great zeal in obeying the new decrees, so that colonial goods were seized everywhere. In Leipzig, which corresponded in eastern Germany to Frankfurt in the west, there was an unusual amount of colonial goods in the autumn of 1810, as has previously been mentioned ; but the great interest of the Saxon government in maintaining the fairs evidently prevented very forcible measures there against goods that were always in such great request. Among the most striking measures are those taken in Holstein, which had become one of the principal regions for the storage of colonial goods. In order to get them into his hands, Napoleon now conceded that for a limited time they might be imported into Hamburg on payment of the duties corresponding to the Trianon tariff ; and at the same time he caused the Danish government to impose corresponding duties within his territory, in order that the owners should not be tempted to retain their goods. From Napoleon’s point of view this move turned out better than most of the others. The final date had time after time to be moved forward until the spring of 1811, so that the enormous stores could be completely exported ; and the French treasury made 19,700,000 francs on the payments in kind alone, and 42,500,000 francs altogether. Rist describes how during the last weeks the highways from Tonning were never free of loaded carts, inasmuch as half the peasants of Holstein had deserted their fields. Thousands were lost, many thousands were stolen, and hundreds of &-loads waited all night at Hamburgerberg for the gates of the town to be opened. Cotton lay all about the fields like snow.

法国的直接干预使其他国家损失利益，这一事实刺激了这些国家本身的措施；至少在对外方面，它们开始表现出遵守新法令的极大热情，因此殖民物资在各地被没收。在莱比锡（在德国东部相当于西部的法兰克福），如前所述，1810 年秋季殖民地商品的数量不同寻常；但萨克森政府对维持集市的极大兴趣显然阻止了在那里对总是如此抢手的商品采取非常强硬的措施。其中最引人注目的措施是在荷尔斯泰因采取的措施，该地区已成为储存殖民地货物的主要地区之一。为了让这些货物落入他的手中，拿破仑现在同意在一段有限的时间内，只要缴纳与特里亚侬关税相应的关税，这些货物就可以进口到汉堡；同时，他还让丹麦政府在其领土内征收相应的关税，以免货主受到诱惑而保留货物。从拿破仑的角度来看，这一举措的结果比其他大多数举措都要好。最后日期一次又一次地被提前到了 1811 年春天，这样庞大的物资就可以全部出口了；法国国库仅实物支付一项就赚了 1970万法郎，总共赚了 425 万法郎。里斯特描述道，在最后几周里，由于荷尔斯泰因一半的农民都放弃了田地，从托宁出发的公路上从来没有停过满载货物的马车。成千上万的货物丢失，成千上万的货物被盗，成百上千的货物在汉堡堡彻夜等待城门打开。棉花像雪一样铺满了田野。

For the states of the interior there was a special difficulty in the treatment of colonial goods that had already. passed through another state in Napoleon’s sphere of power and had there paid duty according to the Trianon ‘tariff. The method adopted at first, namely, the exaction of the duty in every country, was evidently fatal for intermediary states such as Frankfurt ; and gradually an arrangement was made whereby the tariff was generally applied as a tax on consumption, not as a transit duty, but with freedom for goods that had once paid the duty. In this connexion, however, there was the usual difficulty created by the systematic measures of Prussia and Sweden (Swedish Pomerania) calculated to make the Continental System illusory, despite the most abject terms in the ordinances issued. Prussia allowed payment at par in government securities, which stood at 59.5 per cent. ; and when the goods afterwards went through to other quarters with Prussian certificates of payment, the measures once again missed their aim, This went on until in the spring and summer of 1811 the Prussian certificates were disapproved and a fresh . violent raid was made on what had been let through in the meantime. In consequence of this, the results of the new policy in Central Europe proper could not emerge clearly until the middle of 1811.

对于内陆各邦来说，在处理已经通过拿破仑势力范围内的另一个国家并在那里按照特里亚侬关税缴纳税款的殖民地货物时遇到了特殊的困难。起初采用的方法，即在每个国家都征收关税，对于法兰克福这样的中间国家来说显然是致命的；后来逐渐做出了一种安排，即关税一般作为消费税而不是过境税来征收，但对于曾经缴纳过关税的货物则免征。然而，普鲁士和瑞典（瑞典波美拉尼亚）的系统性措施造成了常见的困难，这些措施旨在使大陆制度形同虚设，尽管它们颁布的法令中规定了最卑劣的条款。普鲁士允许用政府证券按面值付款，政府证券的利率为59.5%；当货物随后凭普鲁士的付款凭证进入其他地区时，这些措施又一次失去了它们的目的，这种情况一直持续到1811年春夏，普鲁士的付款凭证不被批准，对在此期间放行的货物进行了新的猛烈袭击。因此，新政策在中欧本土的结果直到 1811 年年中才显现出来。

Owing to the confiscations which took place when nondeclared colonial goods were discovered, great auctions were arranged-preferably in towns which lay at some distance from the great smuggling places, because the prices were highest there. Foremost among these was Antwerp, but of considerable importance also were Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Strassburg, Milan, Venice and other towns near the old frontier of France. At these auctions the colonial trade was provided with goods and thus given a constant source of supply alongside the smuggled goods and the duty-paid imports ; and by this means there was created a possibility, besides smuggling, of purchasing the goods at a rate lower than the foreign price plus the customs duty

由于在发现未申报的殖民地货物时会进行没收，因此大型拍卖最好安排在距离大型走私地一定距离的城镇，因为那里的价格最高。其中最重要的是安特卫普，但法兰克福、科隆、美因茨、斯特拉斯堡、米兰、威尼斯和其他靠近法国旧边境的城镇也很重要。在这些拍卖会上，殖民地贸易获得了商品，从而与走私商品和完税进口商品一起获得了源源不断的货源；通过这种方式，除了走私之外，还创造了以低于国外价格加关税的价格购买商品的可能性。

## AUTOS-DA-FE

## 信仰之举

What we have here dealt with are the colonial goods pure and simple. British industrial products, of course, according to the Fontainebleau decree were under all circumstances condemned to destmction ; and from this rule Napoleon never, so far as is known, made an exception. But it would be a greatmistake to conclude from this that the blockade was more effective in this point than in the other. On the contrary, quite the reverse is true, and the reason is the total absence of pecuniary interest, public and private, in obedience to the latter regulations. The public burning of goods, as ordered by the decree, was a genuine auto-da-fb (act of faith), which was performed publicly to the accompaniment of military music and in the presence of all the high dignitaries of the place. But the ceremony was just as great whatever was the real value of the goods burnt at the stake ; and against the possibilities of malversation that this offered the virtue of Napoleon's officials could naturally make no resistance. It is improbable, indeed, that the autos-du-fk were 'comedies ', as Darmstadter calls them, everywhere ; but the fact that they were so in a large number of cases is shown by the accessible material, and was also admitted in cautious terms even by Napoleon himself. This was especially the case in Frankfurt, where at the first inventory, in November 1810, there was set to work an imperial commission consisting, among others, of French officers. When rolls of gold coins were placed in a drawer especially set apart for the purpose, the goods became Swiss or Saxon instead of British ; and the goods which actually came to the stake were regarded as having a value of only 800,000 francs, although they were officially valued at 1,200,000 francs. At the renewed purgation at Frankfurt, after the Prussian certificates of origin had been condemned in the spring of 1811, one firm had a whole warehouse full of British goods ; but here again the same story was repeated. A Jew from Friedberg by the name of Cassella was made a scapegoat, and only his British cottons were burnt. On this occasion the mayor wrote with refreshing candour : ' When they were spread out, there seemed to be a lot of cloth, and they could give the impression of a great quantity at the burning '-which, in his opinion, was all that was required, as the object must be ' to ward off unpleasantness from France, not to ruin 'our own population '. For other places we have less detailed statements, although a number of figures are available. It is, however, impossible to check these figures with reference to their authenticity for the autos-du-fi in North Germany. A number of them, which are given in Servihres’ account for the Hanse Towns and in M. Schafer’s account for Bremen, show the total value of goods burnt to be about 4,500,000 francs. But in addition to these many burnings took place for which we have no figures ; and besides it is very difficult to determine the truth behind the official statements.

我们在这里处理的是纯粹和简单的殖民商品。当然，根据枫丹白露法令，英国的工业产品在任何情况下都要被销毁；众所周知，拿破仑从来没有破例过。但如果由此得出结论，封锁在这一点上比在另一点上更有效，那就大错特错了。相反，事实恰恰相反，原因在于遵守后一种规定完全没有金钱利益，无论是公共利益还是私人利益。法令规定的公开焚烧物品是真正的 "信仰之举"，在军乐的伴奏下，在当地所有达官贵人的见证下公开进行的。但是，无论火刑柱上焚烧的物品的实际价值是多少，这种仪式都是同样盛大的。拿破仑官员的“美德”自然无法抵御这种可能的渎职行为。达姆施塔特所说的 "信仰之举"充满了"喜剧"的色彩，这的确是不可能的；但从可获得的材料来看，很多情况下都是如此，甚至拿破仑本人也谨慎地承认了这一点。法兰克福的情况尤其如此，在 1810 年 11 月的第一次清点中，一个由法国军官等人组成的帝国委员会开始工作。当一卷卷金币被放进专门为此目的而设置的抽屉时，货物就变成了瑞士或撒克逊的，而不是英国的；而实际到了赌注上的货物被认为只有80万法郎的价值，尽管它们的官方价值是 120 万法郎。1811 年春，普鲁士原产地证书被没收后，在法兰克福再次进行清算时，有一家公司有一整个仓库的货物都是英国货。弗里德贝格的一个名叫卡塞拉的犹太人成了替罪羊，只有他的英国棉布被烧毁。市长在信中坦率地写道："当它们被摊开时，似乎有很多布匹，在焚烧时会给人一种数量很大的感觉"。在他看来，这就是所需要的，因为目的一定是“避免法国的不愉快”，而不是毁掉'我们自己的居民'"。至于其他地方，虽然有一些数字，但我们没有那么详细的说明。不过，我们无法核实这些数字是否与北德的自卫队有关。塞尔维赫雷斯关于汉斯城镇的账目和舍费尔先生关于不来梅的账目中提供的一些数字显示，被烧毁的货物总价值约为 450 万法郎。但除此之外，还发生了许多我们没有数字的焚烧事件；此外，我们也很难确定官方声明背后的真相。

Nevertheless, these burnings of British goods formed the most striking and amazing feature of all in the new system, as the conflagrations, especially during the last months of 1810 and the beginning of 1811, blazed in hundreds of towns from one end to the other of the territory of Napoleon and his allies, with the sole exception of Denmark. Undoubtedly these blighting scenes produced a tremendous though altogether exaggerated impression of the Emperor’s dogged determination to follow out his plans for the economic overthrow of England, regardless of anything else ; and consequently they were a very cunning display of power. Even now it is impossible to read the Moniteur without being impressed by the incessantly recurring inventories and details concerning British goods committed to the flames, sometimes in a dozen different places on a single day. The French Chambers of Commerce and Industry naturally struck up what one of them appositely calls ‘ a concert of blessings ’ that the Emperor in this unusually direct way had freed them from an overwhelming competitor, although it is true, as the German historian Zeyss has shown, that some of these blessings were conferred in consequence of orders from high places.

然而，这些焚烧英国商品的行为构成了新制度中最引人注目、最令人吃惊的特征，因为这些大火，尤其是在1810年的最后几个月和1811年的年初，在拿破仑及其盟国的领土上，从这一端到那一端，数以百计的城镇都燃起了熊熊大火，只有丹麦例外。毫无疑问，这些肆虐的景象给人留下了巨大的印象，尽管这种印象完全被夸大了，即拿破仑皇帝不顾一切地坚决执行其经济上推翻英国的计划。因此，这些景象是一种非常狡猾的权力展示。即使是现在，阅读《通报》[[38]](#footnote-37)也不可能不被那些不间断地，有时一天之内就有十几个不同地方的英国商品被付之一炬的清单和细节所打动。法国工商会自然而然地提出了一个恰当的说法——"一致的祝福"，即皇帝以这种异常直接的方式将他们从压倒性的竞争者手中解救出来，尽管正如德国历史学家泽伊斯所指出的那样，其中一些祝福确实是由于高层的命令而赐予的。

## NEW COMMERCIAL ROUTES (1810-12)

## 新商业路线（1810-1812）

The most remarkable consequence of the new system was a new arrangement of the trade routes, which took place in two directions. In the first place, the sea route was again brought officially into favour by the licence system, as it had not been since the Berlin decree. This change evidently was mainly important for France herself, where smuggling had always encountered the greatest difficulties ; and it put an end, for instance, to the prosperity which Strassburg had enjoyed as a staple for French imports, both legitimate and illegitirnate.In the second place, and this was the most important, the whole of this trade in colonial goods and British manufactures shifted from Central Europe proper-the regions of the Rhine, Weser, Elbe and Oder-to Eastern Europe and the Danube basin. Beginning with the summer of 1811, there was a practical cessation in the supply of British goods to the Leipzig fairs, and even colonial goods declined there to an insignificant proportion of what they had been. Curiously enough, Frankfurt suffered less, comparatively speaking. This was evidently due to the fact that a genuine good-will to obey the system existed to a considerably greater extent in Saxony than in the other states of the Confederation of the Rhine ; and this, in turn, is partly explained by the fact that the great and flourishing textile industries of Saxony profited by the measures against British competition, while Frankfurt in particular had nothing similar to gain by those measures. But at all events, this development shows an increasing efficacy of the blockade in great parts of Germany. The question naturally arises, however, why Leipzig did not take advantage of the licence system with regard to colonial goods ; but the answer seems to be that imports through the Baltic ports could not penetrate to Leipzig after the Prussian certificates of payment had been disapproved. But this does not imply any general success for the new policyin Germany, so long as the Baltic coast could only be barred ineffectively. Consequently, the chief effect, in fact, still.was to cut’ off Western Europe itself, while making Germany the purveyor of smuggled goods.

新制度最显著的结果是贸易路线的新安排，它发生在两个方向。首先，通过许可证制度，海路再次受到官方的青睐，这是自柏林法令颁布以来从未有过的。这一变化显然主要是对法国本身来说是重要的，因为在法国走私一直遇到最大的困难发生在海上；例如，海运的困难结束了斯特拉斯堡作为法国合法和非法进口商品的主产地所享有的繁荣。第二，也是最重要的一点，殖民地商品和英国制成品的全部贸易从中欧本土（莱茵河、威悉河、易北河和奥得河地区）转移到了东欧和多瑙河流域。从 1811 年夏天开始，莱比锡博览会上的英国商品供应实际上停止了，甚至连殖民地商品也减少到了原来微不足道的部分。奇怪的是，相对而言，法兰克福受到的影响较小。这显然是由于萨克森州比莱茵联邦的其他州有更多的人真正愿意遵守这一制度；而这又可以部分地解释为，萨克森州繁荣的纺织业从反对英国竞争的措施中获益，而法兰克福却没有从这些措施中得到任何类似的好处。但无论如何，这种发展 ，表明封锁在德国大部分地区越来越有效。然而，人们自然会问，为什么莱比锡没有在殖民地商品方面利用许可证制度；但答案似乎是，在普鲁士的付款证明不被批准后，通过波罗的海港口的进口商品无法进入莱比锡。但这并不意味着新政策在德国取得了任何普遍的成功，因为只要波罗的海沿岸的封锁是无效的。因此，其主要效果实际上仍然是切断了西欧本身的联系，同时使德国成为走私货物的提供者。

### Bacher’s Account

### 巴切尔的叙述

The main thing, however, is the changed trade route which Napoleon thus brought about. With unusual insight and openness the course of developments was predicted as early as October 2, 1810, in a report (printed by Schmidt in his work on the Grand Duchy of Berg) by Bacher, Napoleon’s minister to the Confederation of the Rhine. This seems to give such an excellent picture of the situation that it may be reproduced, as regards its main part, instead of a special account. If the reader will go to the trouble of placing a map of Central Europe before him, Bacher’s reasoning will prove extremely instructive.

然而，最重要的是拿破仑由此改变了贸易路线。早在 1810 年 10 月 2 日，拿破仑驻莱茵河邦联公使巴切尔就在一份报告（施密特在其关于伯格大公国的著作中刊印）中以非凡的洞察力和开放眼界，预测了事态的发展。这份报告似乎很好地描绘了当时的局势，因此，我们可以转载其中的主要部分，而不作专门叙述。如果读者能不厌其烦地在面前摆上一张中欧地图，巴切尔的推理将被证明是极具启发性的。

*The new direction which colonial goods take, now that the coasts of Holland and the Hanse Towns as far as the Oder are no longer accessible, is stated to have created such activity on all roads leading from different places in Russia to Prussia on one side and through Poland and Moravia to Vienna on the other, as also from the Turkish provinces to the Austrian empire with regard to British goods discharged in the Levantine ports, that the Danube will now take the place of the Rhine as the channel through which the states of the Confederation of the Rhine will in future be able to provide themselves. The German merchants consider that this sweeping change in trade that has reduced Holland and Lower Germany to commercial nonentity will lead to active new connexions between Russia, Austria, and Bavaria, and consequently serve to create secure routes, which will convey not only colonial goods, but also British products, as far as the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, and from there to the Rhine and even to Switzerland, as soon as the price there covers the costs of transport. Even if one should admit that the connexion between the Rhine and the Elbe has been really cut by the threefold cordon created by the measures taken in hwer Saxony and Westphalia, which is far from being the case, still the effect would be nothing but the increase of the supply of colonial goods from Russia through Konigsberg and Leipzig.*

*据说，由于荷兰海岸和汉萨同盟（最远到奥得河）不再通行，殖民地商品据说在从俄罗斯不同地方通往普鲁士、穿过波兰和摩拉维亚通往维也纳的所有道路上，以及从土耳其各省通往奥地利帝国的所有道路上都创造了新走向。由于英国货物在黎凡特港口卸货，多瑙河现在将取代莱茵河，成为莱茵联邦各邦今后能够为自己提供货物的渠道。德国商人认为，贸易中的这一巨大变化使荷兰和下德意志沦为无商业价值的地方，它将导致俄国、奥地利和巴伐利亚之间积极建立新的联系，并最终有助于开辟安全的路线，只要那里的价格能够支付运输费用，这些路线不仅将把殖民地的货物，而且将把英国的产品运送到莱茵联邦各州，并从那里运往莱茵河，甚至运往瑞士。即使我们承认莱茵河和易北河之间的联系由于在萨克森和威斯特伐利亚采取的措施所形成的三重封锁线而被真正切断了（事实远非如此），但其结果也不过是通过柯尼斯堡和莱比锡增加了来自俄国的殖民地商品的供应量。*

*Even supposing that the King of Saxony, who has spent very considerable sums in encouraging the muslin, calico, and cotton factories and printing works that are now so flourishing in his territories, might be willing to extend the customs cordon from Wittenberg to the frontier of Bohemia, and at the same time be induced to place a tax on raw cott,on, which is in conflict with his interest in procuring the best conditions and qualities for his mills, nevertheless this painful sacrifice, which would reduce the whole of the mountainous part of Saxony [Erzgebirge, the chief seat of the calico industry] to the deepest misery, would be no profit to France. It would only enrich the government and merchants of Austria, who would derive benefit from the customs duties on imports and exports and a substantial profit on the transit of colonial goods, which one could never prevent from penetrating as contraband.*

*即使萨克森国王花费巨资鼓励在其领土上蓬勃发展的薄纱、花布、棉布工厂和印刷厂，他也可能愿意将海关警戒线从维滕贝格延伸到波希米亚边境，同时诱使他对生棉征税，因为这与他为其工厂采购最佳条件和质量的利益相冲突、然而，这种痛苦的牺牲将使整个萨克森山区[埃尔茨格比尔格，花布业的主要产地]陷入最深重的苦难之中，对法国毫无益处。它只会使奥地利政府和商人富裕起来，他们将从进出口关税中获益，并从殖民地货物的转运中获得可观的利润，而这些货物作为违禁品渗透进来是永远无法阻止的。*

*Through Bohemia into Voigtland, Bayreuth, and the Upper Palatinate, and through Upper Austria. and Styria into Salzburg [which at that time belonged to Bavaria] and Berchtesgaden. For these have always been corridors through which French and other prohibited goods have passed into the empire of Austria [that is to say, in the opposite direction], despite all vigilance on the part of the customs officials of that empire.*

*违禁品可以通过波希米亚进入伏伊特兰、拜罗伊特和上普法尔茨行政区，通过上奥地利和施蒂里亚进入萨尔茨堡[当时属于巴伐利亚]和贝希特斯加登。因为这些地方一直是法国和其他违禁品进入奥地利帝国[也就是相反方向]的通道，尽管奥地利帝国的海关官员对此一直保持警惕。*

*The cotton trade workers would be compelled to emigrate from Saxony and Voigtland, and even from Bavaria, Baden, and Switzerland, in order to seek their livelihood in the Austrian factories erected and managed by Englishmen, who by this means would again overwhelm the states of the Confederation of the Rhine with their products. In this way France during and since the Revolution has lost a valuable part of the masters and workmen who in their time contributed to make famous the manufactures of Lyons, St. ztienne, Sedan, and Verviers, and the departments of Ourthe and Roer, but who afterwards enriched Austria, Moravia, and also Saxony.*

*棉花贸易工人将被迫从萨克森和伏伊特兰，甚至从巴伐利亚、巴登和瑞士，移居到由英国人建立和管理的奥地利工厂谋生，而这些英国人又通过这种方式使得他们的产品将再次压倒莱茵河联邦各州。这样，法国在大革命期间和大革命以后就失去了一部分宝贵的师傅和工人，他们在当时曾使里昂、圣茨蒂安、色当、韦尔维耶以及乌尔特省和罗尔省的制造业闻名遐迩，但后来却使奥地利、摩拉维亚和萨克森富裕起来。*

In other words, the fact was that trade had moved outside ' Napoleon's jurisdiction. Vienna, in particular, now obtained a great part of the central position in the trade of the Continent that had previously belonged to Leipzig. At an even earlier stage the Jewish Jierante of East Europe had sought on the coast of the Baltic, at KSnigsberg and Riga, the British goods which they or their customers would not do without, and had not been satisfied with the substitutes in the way of Saxon and Swiss manufactures that Leipzig had to offer. They now found a staple in Vienna. To that place the goods went by two routes, a northern one through the Prussian and Russian Baltic ports round the Grand Duchy of Warsaw to Brody in Galicia (on Austrian territory, quite close to the Russian frontier) ; and a southern one to the same point (Brody), at first from Odessa, that is to say, across the Black Sea, and after the outbreak of the Franco-Russian war, wia Constantinople and Saloniki to Lemberg. But this connexion was by no means limited to supplying Eastern Europe. On the contrary, it also became, just as Bacher had predicted, the starting-point of a transport of goods through Bavaria, which permitted the duty-free transit of colonial goods and even passed British manufactures, to the rest of South Germany and Switzerland, and making possible their smuggling into France.

换句话说，事实是贸易已经转移到了拿破仑的管辖范围之外。特别是维也纳，现在在欧洲大陆的贸易中占据了很大一部分中心地位，而这一地位以前是属于莱比锡的。在更早的阶段，东欧的犹太商人曾在波罗的海沿岸的斯尼斯堡和里加寻找他们或他们的客户不愿意没有的英国商品，他们不满足于莱比锡所能提供的萨克森和瑞士制成品的替代品。现在，他们在维也纳找到了支柱产业。运往维也纳的货物有两条路线，一条是北线，经普鲁士和俄国的波罗的海港口，绕过华沙大公国，到达加利西亚的布罗迪（在奥地利领土上，离俄国边境很近）；另一条是南线，到达同一地点（布罗迪），起初从敖德萨出发，即横跨黑海，法俄战争爆发后，经君士坦丁堡和萨洛尼卡到达伦贝格。但这种联系绝不仅限于供应东欧。恰恰相反，正如巴切尔所预言的那样，它也成为了通过巴伐利亚进行货物运输的起点，使殖民地的货物甚至英国的制成品可以免税过境，运往南德的其他地区和瑞士，并使它们走私到法国成为可能。

But it is obvious that these roundabout routes and licensing fees or smuggling expenses and bribes were bound to increase the cost of transport enormously ; and so far this new policy also threw serious obstacles in the way of British trade, although these were relative and not absolute hindrances, as the Continental System in its original form was intended to create. Tooke gives a number of interesting examples of the immense cost oe freight during the years 1809-12 in comparison with the year 1837, when his book was written.For instance, wheat freights were 50 shillings per quarter, as against 4s. 6d. ; hemp freights were £30 per ton, as against £2 10s. ; timber freights were 330 per load, as against £1, &c. Silk had to go roundabout ways from Italy, e.g., from Bergamo in one case &a Smyrna, and in another case via Archangel (sic), so that the transport took one year and two years, respectively ; and when it went through France, the expense was $100 per bale, besides the freight from Havre to England. Tooke particularly states that the freights to and from France were enormous. For a vessel of little more than one hundred tons the freight and the French licence might amount to no less than E50,000 for a trip from Calais to London and back to Calais, which for indigo meant a freight of 4s.6d. per English pound, as compared with Id. (that is to say one fifty-fourth) in 1837 ; and the gross freight for a ship whose total value was £4,000 was £80,OOO for a trip from Bordeaux to London and back.



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但显而易见的是，这些迂回路线、许可证费用或走私费用和贿赂必然会大大增加运输成本；到目前为止，这项新政策也给英国的贸易造成了严重障碍，尽管这些障碍是相对的，而不是绝对的，就像大陆制度最初的形式所要造成的那样。例如，小麦运费为每季度 50 先令；大麻运费为每吨 30镑，木材运费为每担 330镑等等。丝绸必须从意大利绕道，例如，一次是从贝加莫绕道斯麦尔纳，另一次是绕道阿昌吉尔（原文如此），因此运输时间分别为一年和两年。当丝绸经过法国时，除了从哈弗尔到英国的运费外，每包丝绸的费用为 100 美元。图克特别强调往返法国的运费非常高昂。对于一艘 100 多吨的船只来说，从加莱到伦敦再返回加莱的运费和法国许可证可能不少于5万英镑。而一艘总价值为 4000镑的船从波尔多往返伦敦的运费总额为 8万镑。

### **BALTIC TRADE**

### **波罗的海贸易**

All this shows clearly how important the Baltic trade, side by side with the Mediterranean trade, had become since the North Sea blockade had increased in efficiency. British shipping passed more and more to the Baltic ; and it was there, accordingly, that Napoleon had to exert his greatest pressure-a fact, indeed, which found expression in repeated warnings issued to ‘ the Baltic powers in the course of the summer. But it was not until the autumn of 1810 that matters became really critical ; and the events that then occurred had far-reaching consequences. A British commercial flotilla of six hundred vessels under different neutral flags, with a cargo worth £8,000,000 or, £9,000,000 had been delayed at Gothenburg by unfavourable weather until August (according to Lord Bathurst’s statement in the House of Lords in 1812, it was only until June) and had then passed into the Baltic in September in order to proceed to Swedish, Russian, and Prussian ports. Napoleon now saw in this a possibility of striking a great blow against this important part of English trade, and in October he overwhelmed the different governments, partly through Champagny, his foreign minister, and partly by direct appeals, with the most urgent reminders to confiscate all these vessels, which, in the words of Champagny, were ‘ wandering about like the fragments of a scattered army ’. Threats that Napoleon himself would send people to confiscate the cargoes, if the governments failed to do so on their own account, alternated with highly-coloured pictures of the economic crisis in England and of the certainty of her submission within a year as a consequence of complete confiscation ; and also, finally, inducements were offered by reference to the profits which would be reaped by confiscation.

所有这些都清楚地表明，自从北海封锁的效率提高以来，波罗的海贸易与地中海贸易并存，变得多么重要。英国船队越来越多地驶向波罗的海；因此，拿破仑不得不在那里施加最大的压力。事实上，这一事实体现在夏季法国向波罗的海列强发出的多次警告中。但直到 1810 年秋天，事情才变得真正危急；而当时发生的事件产生了深远的影响。一支由 600 艘悬挂不同中立国旗帜的船只组成的英国商船队，装载着价值 800万或 900 万镑的货物，由于天气不佳，在哥德堡一直耽搁到8月（根据巴瑟斯特勋爵 1812 年在上议院的发言，只耽搁到6月），然后于9月进入波罗的海，准备前往瑞典、俄国和普鲁士的港口。拿破仑看到了现在对英国贸易的这一重要部分进行沉重打击的可能性，于是在10月，他一方面通过外交大臣尚帕尼，另一方面直接向各国政府发出最紧急的呼吁，要求没收所有这些船只，用尚帕尼的话说，这些船只 "就像散兵游勇一样四处游荡"。拿破仑威胁说，如果英国政府不这样做，他就会亲自派人去没收这些货物；他还绘声绘色地描绘了英国的经济危机，以及如果完全没收这些货物，英国肯定会在一年内屈服；最后，他还提到了没收这些货物可以获得的利润。

In Mecklenburg Napoleon considered that he had effected his will by this means, namely, in the shape of the expulsion of the vessels ; and Prussia also gave way, although Clérembault, the Emperor’s own consul at Konigsberg, largely made seizures illusory, as we know. The question now was about Russia ; but here Napoleon met with resistance. Emperor Alexander obstinately refused to have all nominally neutral vessels confiscated, and, besides, denied that more than about sixty vessels (the French ambassador at St. Petersburg, Caulaincourt, gave the figure for loaded vessels since the middle of September, according to Russian allegations, as only fifteen) had airived at his ports ; and this fact he tried to explain by stating that some of them had returned and others had discharged at Gothenburg and other Swedish ports. This latter statement may indeed be nearly correct. In consequence of all this, it is apparent that Napoleon’s action had failed in the main, although evidently a good deal had been seized in Russia. A memorandum from British merchants in 1816 gave such a high amount (as far as we can judge, much too high) as 140 cargoes with a value of £1,500,000. In Sweden, where smaller practical results than ever were to be attained-so unreservedly was Swedish policy based on the support of the British fleet under Saumarez-there was effected in the spring of 1811 at Karlshamn, by accident, a great seizure of over a hundred vessels under the flags not only of Denmark and Prussia, but also of Hamburg, Papenburg, &c., in the belief that they really w-ere cargoes of the furst two nationalities. But when they proved to be British property, of an estimated value of £500,000, a settlement was effected whereby the goods were treated as Swedish and then by fictitious purchase returned to their former owners, so that the British here lost nothing. The heat with which Napoleon had pursued his course of action against Russia with regard to the British vessels-among other things, the demands laid down in a personal letter addressed to the Emperor Alexander-largely contributed to widen the gulf between the two allies, and was a contributory cause to the breach in the sphere of trade war which was practicalIg brought about on the last day of 1810 by the famous Russian customs ukase, which, as has been mentioned before,l was directed against French goods. In the course of 1811 the split was steadily increased by Alexander’s more and more openly displayed good-will towards British vessels, which now came in without hindrance in large flotillas and discharged their goods on the Russian coast. According to a letter written by Napoleon at the end of August 1811, 150 vessels had in this way been received in Russian ports under the American flag.

在梅克伦堡，拿破仑认为他已经通过这种手段，即驱逐船只的形式，实现了自己的意愿；普鲁士也让步了，尽管如我们所知，皇帝自己在柯尼斯堡的执政官克莱朗博在很大程度上使扣押成为泡影。现在的问题是俄国，在这拿破仑遇到了阻力。亚历山大皇帝顽固地拒绝没收所有名义上中立的船只，而且否认有超过60艘船只（法国驻圣彼得堡大使考兰库称，根据俄国的指控，自9月中旬以来，装满货物的船只只有15艘）在他的港口停靠；他试图解释这一事实，称其中一些船只已经返回，另一些船只在哥德堡和其他瑞典港口卸货。后一种说法可能几乎是正确的。综上所述，拿破仑的行动显然主要失败了，尽管在俄国显然缴获了大量货物。英国商人在 1816 年的一份备忘录中给出了一个很高的数字（据我们判断，这个数字太高了），即 140 批货物，价值约150万英镑。在瑞典，由于瑞典的政策毫无保留地以支持绍马尔斯领导下的英国舰队为基础，因此取得的实际效果比以往任何时候都要小，1811年春，在卡尔斯港意外地扣押了一百多艘悬挂丹麦和普鲁士国旗以及汉堡、帕彭堡等国国旗的船只，因为人们相信这些船只上装载的确实是前两个国家的货物。但当这些货物被证明是英国财产（估计价值50万镑）时，双方达成了和解，货物被当作瑞典货物处理，然后通过虚构的购买行为归还给了前货主，因此英国人在这里没有任何损失。拿破仑在英国船只问题上对俄国采取的激烈行动——其中包括在给亚历山大皇帝的亲笔信中提出的要求——在很大程度上扩大了两个盟国之间的鸿沟，也是导致贸易战破裂的一个原因，1810年的最后一天，俄国颁布了著名的针对法国货物的海关诏书。在 1811 年期间，亚历山大对英国船只越来越公开地表现出善意，这种分裂不断加剧，英国船只现在不受阻碍地成群结队地驶入俄国海岸卸货。根据拿破仑在 1811 年 8 月底写的一封信，有 150 艘悬挂美国国旗的船只以这种方式停靠在俄罗斯港口。

### **Gothenburg**

### **哥德堡**

The importance of Gothenburg for the trade of Europe has neither before nor since been so great as during the two years 1810 and 1813. The fact that the two intervening years showed less commercial activity was due partly to French and Danish captures, and partly also to the general decline in the Baltic trade under the pressure of a scarcity of corn and Napoleon's Russian campaign ; and, moreover, the more and more open connexions between Great Britain and Russia manifestly diminished the need for Swedish intermediacy. In September 1810, Axel Pontus von Rosen, the Governor of Gothenburg, and the most original, humorous and energetic Swedish actor on the stage of the Continental System in this exciting time, describes how the roadstead presented an appearance such as it had never had since the Creation, with 19 British men-ofwar and 1,124 merchantmen lying at anchor ; and in the course of one single day, when the wind veered round to the east, several hundred vessels sailed away at the same time. The instructions given to von Rosen in the following November explained that in the case of vessels with cargoes belonging to Swedish subjects, and flying the American or other acceptable flag, ' His Majesty does not require you to recur to extremities of diligence, but on the contrary to suppress facts and facilitate traffic as far as you may do so in consonance with necessary precautions and without compromising your position.' Imports which had quadrupled between 1807 and 1809, quintupled in 1810. Especially flourishing, of course, was the enirepot traded in 'colonial goods. Thus the exports of raw sugar were; 14,500,000 pounds (about twice as much as the year before, and of coffee 4,500,000 pounds, not reckoning what was conveyed to other places in Sweden and from there to foreign countries. A native of the town who returned in 1811, after an absence of fifteen years, declared that he looked in vain for traces of the past and that he moved in an unknown world. But Gothenburg under the Continental System has as yet no historian.In the Baltic itself it was Hano and the little loading place of Matvik on .the Swedish south coast, in the province of Blekinge (by some writers erroneously located in Finland), which, like Gothenburg on the west coast, was made, by the instructions of the Swedish government, both a base for the British squadron and an emporium for colonial goods and manufactures. But, for that matter, Sweden as a whole formed a great point of transit for British and American trade, partly to Russia and partly to the southern ports of the Baltic, because that route was regarded as more secure from French and Danish privateers than the direct route.

从古至今，哥德堡对欧洲贸易的重要性都没有1810年和1813年这两年大。这两年的商业活动较少，部分原因是法国和丹麦的俘虏，部分原因是波罗的海贸易在玉米匮乏和拿破仑俄国战役的压力下普遍衰落；此外，英国和俄国之间越来越开放的联系显然减少了对瑞典中介的需求。1810年9月，阿克塞尔·庞图斯·冯·罗森，哥德堡总督，也是这一激动人心的时刻大陆体系舞台上最有创意、最幽默、最有活力的瑞典演员，描述了自创世以来，该码头如何呈现出从未有过的面貌，19艘英国战舰和1124艘商船停泊在此。次年11月给冯·罗森的指示解释说，如果船只装载的货物属于瑞典国民，并悬挂美国或其他可接受的旗帜，“国王陛下并不要求你采取极端的谨慎措施，相反，你应该在符合必要的预防措施和不损害你的地位的情况下，尽可能地压制事实，为交通提供便利。”1807年至1809年间进口量翻了两番，1810年又翻了五番。当然，"殖民地商品"的贸易尤其繁荣。因此，原糖的出口量为1.45万磅（约为前一年的两倍），咖啡的出口量为450万磅，这还不包括运往瑞典其他地方以及从那里运往外国的商品。1811年，一位阔别15年后重返哥德堡的当地人说，他徒劳地寻找过去的痕迹，发现他是在一个未知的世界里生活。但大陆制度下的哥德堡还没有历史学家。在波罗的海地区，瑞典南海岸布勒金格省的哈诺和马特维克小城（有些作家误将其归入芬兰），与西海岸的哥德堡一样，在瑞典政府的指示下，成为英国舰队的基地以及殖民地商品和制成品的集散地。不过，就这一点而言，整个瑞典是英国和美国贸易的重要中转站，部分通往俄国，部分通往波罗的海南部港口，因为这条航线被认为比直达航线更安全，不会受到法国和丹麦私掠船的袭击。

### **CHAPTER V**

### **第五章**

### **THE BRITISH CRISIS OF 1810-12**

### **1810-1812年的英国危机**

How did the trade of Great Britain fare under the pressure of the events on the Continent described in the last chapter ? With regard to the exports of manufactures, one might surmise a decline beforehand, for sales via the North Sea coast were made distinctly more difficult, and the roundabout route via the Baltic coast could not fail either to make the goods dearer for the consumer, and thus diminish sales, or, alternatively, to lower the price for the producer. As regards the trade in colonial goods, on the other hand, it was not clear, a priori, that the conditions would be greatly altered, inasmuch as the increased control and the new duties were counterbalanced by the extensive imports involved by the Trianon policy and the licences.

在上一章所述的欧洲大陆事件的压力下，英国的贸易情况如何？关于制成品的出口，我们可以预先推测会下降，因为经由北海沿岸的销售明显变得更加困难，而经由波罗的海沿岸的迂回路线会使商品对消费者来说更加昂贵，从而减少销售量，或者说，降低了生产者的利润。另一方面，由于特里亚侬宫政策和许可证所涉及的大量进口抵消了加强的管制和新的关税，因此，殖民地商品贸易的条件是否会发生重大变化尚不明确。

Nor, if one looks at the actual course of events, does that give any certain point d'appui[[39]](#footnote-38)for the connexion between cause and effect, a thing which must always to a great extent have to be solved by theoretical reasoning. At the first glance, it is true, that connexion might seem fairly obvious. For the fact is that the economic boom in England was brought to an end by a severe crisis in July and August 1810. The purely commercial difficulties, with bankruptcies occurring to an extraordinary extent among merchants, formed the beginning of this ; but they abated in some degree later on in the summer of 1811 and still more from February 1818. On the other hand, the great lack of employment and the profound distress which somewhat later made its appearance, especially in the cotton industry and among workers, still continued during the greater part of 1812 and in their turn brought about serious disturbancesin particular, the ' Luddite riots ', with the wholesale destruction of looms from November 1811. It was, therefore, only natural that in these events, combined with the heavy depreciation of British currency, Napoleon should see the long-desired fruit of his protracted struggle against the foundations of the enemy's economic existence. But the very fact that the crisis broke out not solely in England, but quite as much in France, and not solely in those countries, but also in Amsterdam, the Hanse Towns, Prussia, and Switzerland, and above all in New York, shows how complicated the whole connexion was. From the standpoint of the general effects of the Continental System on the economic life of the different countries, this question belongs to part IV ; but the most palpable side of the'question must be anticipated here.'

如果我们观察事件的实际发展过程，也不会发现因果之间的联系，而这种联系在很大程度上必须通过理论推理来解决.乍一看，确实，这种联系似乎相当明显。事实上，英国的经济繁荣因 1810 年 7 月和 8 月的严重危机而结束。纯粹的商业困难，特别是商人的破产，是这场危机的开端；但在1811年夏天，这些困难在一定程度上有所缓解，1818年2月以后更是如此。另一方面，在 1812 年的大部分时间里，就业的严重不足和稍后出现的极度窘迫，尤其是在棉纺织业和工人中，仍在继续，并进而引发了严重的骚乱 ，特别是 "卢德暴动"，从 1811 年 11 月起，织布机遭到了大规模的破坏 。因此，在这些事件中，再加上英国货币的严重贬值，拿破仑很自然地看到了他与敌人的经济基础进行的长期斗争所取得的渴望已久的成果。但是，危机不仅在英国爆发，也同样在法国爆发，不仅在这些国家爆发，也在阿姆斯特丹、汉萨同盟、普鲁士和瑞士爆发，尤其是在纽约爆发，这一事实本身就说明了整个联系是多么复杂。从大陆制度对不同国家经济生活的总体影响的角度来看，这个问题属于第四部分；但这里必须预见到这个问题最明显的一面。

Undoubtedly it was a peculiar combination of circumstances that worked together. In comparison with the systematic policy of economic blockade and the comparatively limited military results of the recent war, the Napoleonic wars exhibited a considerably greater uncertainty both in the execution of the blockade and in its range. The licensing system and the uncertainty of the customs policy against which complaints were so often raised in France, on the one side, and Napoleon's lightning conquests on the Continent and Great Britain's colonial acquisitions, on the other, could not fail to give rise to dislocations and consequently to speculative enterprises which, within the department of economic life affected by it, namely, foreign trade, transcended anything we know in our own time. So far the existence of a very general crisis during the years 1810-11 is fully explicable ; and so far it has no direet connexion with the Continental System, but only the indirect. connexion that follows from the influence of the Continental System in bringing about general unrest in the world. At all events, it is very obvious that we here have to do with effects that did not strike Great Britain alone or even specially.

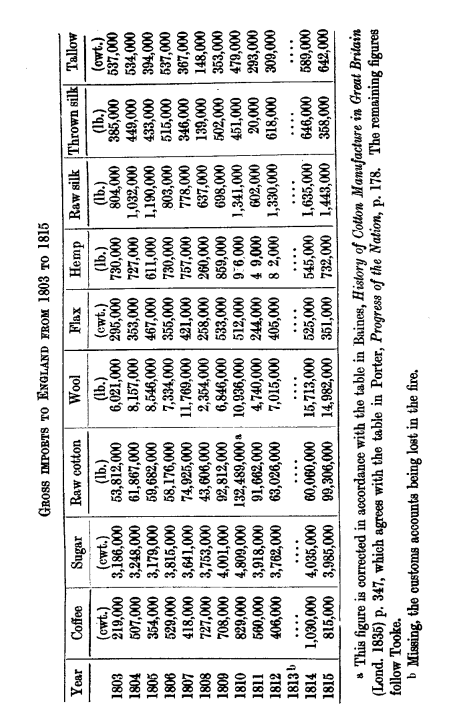
毫无疑问，这是各种特殊情况共同作用的结果。与系统的经济封锁政策和近代战争相对有限的军事成果相比，拿破仑战争在封锁的执行和范围上都表现出了更大的不确定性。一方面是法国人经常抱怨的许可证制度和海关政策的不确定性，另一方面是拿破仑在欧洲大陆的闪电式征服和英国的殖民掠夺，这些都不可能不引起混乱，从而导致投机企业的出现，而在受其影响的经济生活领域，即对外贸易领域，投机企业的出现超越了我们这个时代的任何情况。到目前为止，1810-1811 年期间存在的一场非常普遍的危机是完全可以解释的；到目前为止，它与大陆制度没有直接的联系，而只是间接的联系，这种间接联系来自大陆制度对世界普遍动荡的影响。无论如何，显而易见的是，我们在这里要讨论的影响并不只针对英国，甚至也不是特别针对英国。

Next, as regards the purely British crisis, what stands out as a principal cause is the all but inevitable rebound from the huge speculation, especially in South America, but also in the West Indies and the Iberian peninsula, which has been described previously ;that is to say, it is still a phenomenon having no direct connexion with the Continental System. In all probability it was further accelerated, as the British opposition always maintained, by an exaggerated granting of credit, caused by too extensive an issue of notes (inflation). The course of events appears to have been somewhat as follows : First of all, exporters could not get payment from their South American buyers. As early as August 1, 1810, we hear of five business houses in Manchester, with aggregateliabilities amounting to what was for that time the stupendous.sum of £22,000,000, that had come to grief in this way ; and at the end of the year we hear of bankruptcies in Manchester occurring not merely daily but even hourly. The inability of exporters to honour bills drawn upon them by manufacturers involved the latter also, particularly the Scotch ones, in the crisis ; and later the confusion spread to the credit-giving banking houses and through them, in ever-widening circles, not only to the cotton trade but also to the hardware trade. Excessive speculations on the South American market also affected prospects of the future, inasmuch as not only was there no payment for goods already sold, but .also new sales were largely rendered impossible. So far a completely adequate explanation of the dislocation is given by the South American trade. But to this there was added, as from March 1811, a new factor, which likewise. lacked any direct connexion with the Continental System, namely, the unusually successful strangling of AngloAmerican trade which the United States set going through the passage of the Non-importation Act. Finally, it is a selfevident matter that the sufferings caused by the crisis, and the deep traces it left among the working population of Great Britain, were largely due to the fact that the country was in the midst of the sweeping transformation to which Arnold Toynbee gave the name of ' Industrial Revolution '.

其次，就纯粹的英国危机而言，那引人注目的主要原因是巨额投机的不可避免的反弹，特别是在南美洲，但也在西印度群岛和伊比利亚半岛，这在前面已经描述过；也就是说，这仍然是一种与大陆体系没有直接联系的现象。正如英国反对派的立场所一贯坚持的那样，这种现象很可能是由于过度发行纸币（通货膨胀）所造成的夸张的信贷发放而进一步加速的。事件的发展过程似乎大致如下：首先，出口商无法从南美买家那里得到付款。早在 1810 年 8 月 1 日，我们就听说曼彻斯特有五家商行以这种方式陷入困境，其负债总额在当时达到了2千2百万镑的巨额；到了年底，我们又听说曼彻斯特不仅每天，甚至每小时都有破产事件发生。由于出口商无法兑现制造商的账单，制造商，特别是苏格兰制造商也陷入了危机；后来，混乱蔓延到了提供信贷的银行，并通过它们不断扩大范围，不仅影响到棉花贸易，还影响到了五金制品贸易。对南美市场的过度投机也影响了未来的前景，因为不仅已经售出的货物得不到付款，而且新的销售在很大程度上也无法进行。到目前为止，南美贸易已经完全充分地解释了这种失调。但除此之外，从 1811 年 3 月起，又增加了一个新的因素，它同样与大陆制度没有任何直接联系，那就是美国通过《不进口法》，异常成功地扼杀了英美贸易。最后，危机造成的苦难及其在英国劳动人口中留下的深刻印记，在很大程度上是由于英国正处于全面变革之中，阿诺德-汤因比将这场变革命名为 "工业革命"。

But if it is clear that many factors independent of the Continental System were at work, it would nevertheless be a great mistake to regard the crisis as entirely uninfluenced by the policy of Napoleon. Externally the situation was, almost to the extent that the Emperor himself might have desired, one that must inevitably have led to ' the conquering of England by excess '. The year 1810 was characterized by unprecedented imports of raw materials and colonial products. This appears from the following table, which gives a convenient summary of the gross imports of those goods from the outbreak of war in 1803 to the final peace in 1815. (See next page.)

但是，如果认为这场危机完全不受拿破仑政策的影响，那就大错特错了。就外部局势而言，拿破仑本人可能也希望出现 "以过度征服英国 "的局面。1810 年，原材料和殖民地产品的进口达到了前所未有的水平。下表是 1803 年战争爆发到 1815 年最终媾和期间这些商品进口总额的简明摘要。(见下页）。



This table shows that the figures for 1810, with only two exceptions, are in general much higher than the even hqh figures for 1809 ; and in the two most important items, cotton and sugar, they are higher than in any other year during the whole period. The explanation of this fact is stated to be, first, that the payment for exports to South America, so far as there was any payment, was made in colonial goods; and, secondly, that the great warehouses at the London docks had led to a great storing of all the products of the world and consequently to extensive speculation in them by middlemen. It is self-evident, too, that a great and expressly acknowledged part in this development was played by the trade with the United States, which was quite unimpeded in 1810, as well as by the conquest of the French and Spanish colonies, and also, so far as wool is concerned, by the British successes on the Iberian peninsula. When a stoppage of sales took place, therefore, the situation had unusually large chances of becoming serious.

该表显示，1810 年的数字（只有两个例外）总体上比 1809 年的数字要高得多；在棉花和糖这两个最重要的项目上，1810 年的数字比整个时期内任何其他年份的数字都要高。对这一事实的解释是：第一，出口到南美洲的货款，只要有货款，都是以殖民地的货物支付的；第二，伦敦码头的大仓库导致世界上所有产品的大量储存，从而导致中间商对这些产品的大量投机。同样不言而喻的是，在这一发展过程中，与美国的贸易发挥了巨大的、得到明确承认的作用，这种贸易在 1810 年畅通无阻，法国和西班牙殖民地的征服也是如此，英国在伊比利亚半岛的羊毛的成功也是如此。因此，一旦停止销售，情况就会变得异常严重。

Accordingly, there followed in rapid succession during the summer and autumn of 1810 the events we all know about. As early as the spring (April and May) the signs of a crisis had really shown themselves in France, a crisis which might possibly have reacted on Great Britain ; but far more important was the incorporation of Holland, in the beginning of July, by which, according to British evidence, there was, at least for the moment, a complete interruption of the trade between the twocountries which had been going on throughout the reign of King Louis. At the beginning of August there followed the Trianon tariff ; in October, the intensified blockade of the German North Sea coast, the Fontainebleau decree, and the persecution of British and colonial goods in all Napoleon’s vassal states ;. and at the same time six hundred trading vessels were wandering around the Baltic. It was also in the sphere of colonial trade that the first blow occurred, in that one of the foremost dealers in West Indian products became insolvent and dragged down with him his bankers, who in their turn dragged after them the provincial banks with which they were associated. . A meeting of London merchants and representatives of the Scottish manufacturing districts in February 1811, summed up in proud and somewhat exaggerated terms the situation in its connexion with the Continental System by saying that Great Britain had become ‘ the emporium of the trade, not only of the Peninsular but also of the Brazils, of Spanish settlements in South America, of Santo Domingo, the conquered .colonies of Guadaloupe, Martinique, &c., but even of countries under the direct influence of the enemy ’, inasmuch as the latter had wished to take advantage of the protection of British justice and the honesty of British merchants. ‘ The measures of the enemy having been especially directed toward preventing the exportation of the immense quantities of merchandize of all descriptions thus accumulated, the consequences are that the goods became a burthen.’ The following remarks of the French-American, Simond, upon his visit to the West Indian docks in August 1811, are in full accord with this : ‘ At present . . . the giant receives, but sends nothing away. The warehouses are so full that it has been necessary to hire temporary ones out of the docks. The export district is literally deserted.’

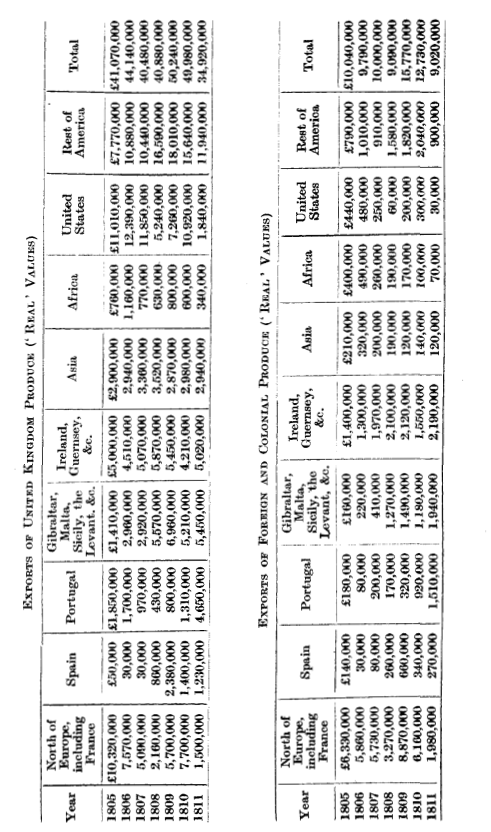
因此，1810 年夏秋之交接二连三地发生了我们都知道的事件。早在春季（4 月和 5 月），法国就出现了真正的危机迹象，这场危机可能会对英国产生影响；但更重要的是 7 月初荷兰的并入，根据英国的证据，至少在目前，两国之间的贸易完全中断了，而这种贸易在路易国王统治期间一直在进行。8 月初，特里亚侬关税颁布；10 月，德国北海沿岸的封锁加剧，枫丹白露法令颁布，英国和殖民地的货物在拿破仑的所有附庸国；与此同时，600 艘商船在波罗的海徘徊。同样是在殖民贸易领域，第一次打击发生了，西印度群岛产品的主要经销商之一破产了，拖累了他的银行家们，他们又拖累了与他们有联系的省级银行。1811 年 2 月，伦敦商人和苏格兰制造业地区的代表在一次会议上用自豪而略带夸张的措辞总结了英国与大陆体系的关系，称英国已经成为 "不仅是半岛的贸易中心，也是巴西、西班牙在南美的定居点、圣多明各、瓜达卢佩、马提尼克等被征服殖民地的贸易中心、甚至是受敌人直接影响的国家，因为敌人希望利用英国司法的保护和英国商人的诚实。'敌人的措施尤其是为了阻止由此积累起来的大量各种商品的出口，其后果是这些商品成为了负担。法裔美国人, 西蒙德在 1811 年 8 月访问西印度群岛码头时发表的以下言论与此完全吻合："目前......这个庞然大物只接收货物，却不发送货物。仓库爆满，不得不在码头外租用临时仓库。出口区简直荒无人烟。

The connexion with the Continental System thus seems to be manifest ; and to judge by alI English sources, the difficulties connected with the disposal of colonial goods were at first even greater than in the case of exports of manufactures. Duripg 1810, for instance, the trade statistics give practically un- \* altered figures for the exports of British goods, though, of course,it is possible that in the first half year there was a rise which made up for the decline in the second half year ; on the other hand, they show a decline of 19.25 per cent. for foreign and colonial goods, and it was not until 1811 that the exports declined more or less parallel for both groups. From this one may safely conclude that the Trianon and Fontainebleau policy practically had the effect, at least for the moment, of making things more difficult by the stricter control than of making them easier by the fiscal customs and licensing system. As regards the effect of the different markets on the development, we may possibly make cautious use of the trade statistics, although their reliability is undoubtedly limited even with regard to the legitimate trade, and of course much more dubious with regard to smuggling into the Continent. We are here concerned with ‘ real ’, that is to say, declared, values ; but the decline is no less marked as regards the ‘ official ’ values, in which changes of price have been eliminated. (See opposite page.)

因此，与大陆制度的联系似乎是显而易见的；而且从所有英国资料来源来看，与处理殖民地货物有关的困难起初甚至比制成品出口更为严重。例如，在 1810 年期间，贸易统计所提供的英国商品出口数字几乎没有任何变化，当然，上半年的增长有可能弥补了下半年的下降；另一方面，贸易统计显示，外国商品和殖民地商品的出口下降了 19.25%，直到 1811 年，这两类商品的出口才大致同步下降。由此我们可以有把握地得出结论，至少在目前，特里亚侬宫和枫丹白露政策实际上通过更严格的管制使事情变得更困难，而不是通过财政海关和许可证制度使事情变得更容易。至于不同市场对发展的影响，我们可以谨慎地利用贸易统计数字，尽管这些数字的可靠性无疑是有限的，甚至在合法贸易方面也是如此。在这里，我们关注的是 "实际 "价值，也就是申报价值；但 "官方 "价值的下降也同样明显，其中价格的变化已被消除。

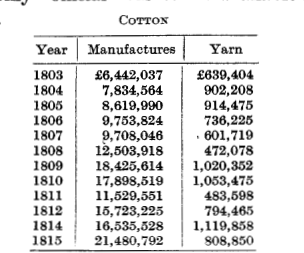
We note immediately the pronounced decline in 1811-for colonial goods partly even in 1810-for the northern part of the Continent, which, together with the almost complete disappearance of exports to the United States and the substantial diminution in the figures for South America explains the great decline m the totals. On the other hand, it is remarkable how little the Mediterranean trade was disturbed, which indicates the importance of the Balkan peninsula as a port of penetration for the new trade route through Vienna. The relatively strong rise for Portugal in 1811 indicates a transformation at this point, which was favoured by Wellington’s military successes. This increase in the trade with Portugal, which is confirmed from other sources, constituted the first sign of the limitation of the crisis in the sphere of foreign trade as early as the spring and early summer of 1811.

我们立即注意到，1811 年，欧洲大陆北部的殖民地商品甚至部分在 1810 年出现了明显的下降，再加上对美国的出口几乎全 ，以及对南美洲的出口数字大幅减少，这些都解释了总额大幅下降的原因。另一方面，值得注意的是，地中海贸易很少受到干扰，这表明巴尔干半岛作为通过维也纳的新贸易路线的渗透港的重要性。葡萄牙在 1811 年的贸易增长相对较快，这表明威灵顿的军事胜利促进了这一转变。与葡萄牙贸易的增长从其他来源得到了证实，这是早在 1811 年春季和初夏对外贸易领域危机受到限制的第一个迹象。



It is also of interest to follow the development at closer range, so to speak, with regard to the most important domesticarticles of export, namely, the products of the cotton industry. On this point only ‘ official ’ values are available :

此外，我们还有兴趣更近距离地了解国内最重要的出口产品，即棉花工业产品的发展情况。关于这一点，目前只有 "官方 "数据：



In full accordance with the preceding table we here find almost the same position in 1810 as in 1809 contrasting with a huge decline in 1811——quite independent of the change in prices, be it noted——a decline which for woven goods amounts to 35.5 per cent, and for yarn to no less than 54 per cent.

与上表完全一致，我们发现 1810 年的情况与 1809 年几乎相同，而 1811 年则出现了大幅下降——请注意，这与价格变化完全无关——机织产品下降了 35.5%，纱线下降了不少于 54%。

Practically all pronouncements on the question of the causes of the crisis, especially in 1811, are also agreed in attributing it to the scarcity of sales and the closing of the continental ports. The main factors are very well summarized in a letter from Liverpool, dated November 22, 1810, reprinted by Tooke, from which we may quote the following paragraph :

几乎所有关于危机原因（尤其是 1811 年的危机原因）的声明都一致认为，危机的原因是销售稀缺和大陆港口关闭。1810年11月 22 日来自利物浦的一封信很好地概括了主要因素，这封信由图克转载，我们可以引用其中的以下段落 ：

*The effects of a vast import of colonial and American produce, far above the scale of our consumption at the most prosperous periods of our commerce and attaining a magnitude hitherto unknown to us, have, in the present cramped state of our intercourse with the Continent, developed themselves in numerous bankruptcies, widely spreading in their influence, and unprecedented in extent of embarrassment. It is but fair, however, to ascribe a portion of these evils to the consequences of a sanguine indulgence of enterprise, in extensive shipments of our manufactures to South America, which so confidently followed theexpedition to La Plata, and the removal of the government of Portugal to Brazil. They are further aided by the speculations which prevailed during the various stages of the American non-intercourse, and which, unfortunately, were not confined to the: duration of the circumstances which excited them.*

*殖民地和美国产品的大量进口，远远超过了我们商业最繁荣时期的消费规模，达到了我们迄今为止所不知道的程度，在目前我们与欧洲大陆交往的紧张状态下，其影响发展到了无数的破产，影响范围之广，窘迫程度之深，前所未有。然而，把这些弊端的一部分归咎于对企业的放任自流所造成的后果，是公平的，因为在远征拉普拉塔和葡萄牙政府迁往巴西之后，我们满怀信心地把我们的制成品大量运往南美洲。在美洲互不通商的各个阶段盛行的投机行为也进一步助长了这种想法，不幸的是，这些投机行为并不局限于引起这些投机行为的情况的持续时间。*

The effect of all this was a fall in prices in England, especially for colonial goods ; and this, in consideration of the high prices for the same goods on the Continent, served Napoleon as a decisive proof of the success of his policy. Thus, for instance, the prices of coffee, according to Tooke’s price statistics for four different points of time in each year, showed a downward tendency as early as July and November 1810, and fell with a crash in March 1811 ; e. g. the price of ‘ St. Domingo, for exportation ’ fell from 96-105s. per cwt. in January 1810 to 36-42s. per cwt. in March 1811 ; and for ‘ British Plantation, in bond, inferior ’ the fall was from 70-112s. to 25-52s. per cwt. in the same period. For sugar the decline was somewhat less pronounced, but the price bad reached its lowest level somewhat earlier, namely, for most grades, as far back as November 1810. Thus for ‘ Havannah White, for exportation ’ there was a fall from 60-75s. per cwt. in July 1810 to 38-51s. in November ; and for ‘ East India, Brown, in bond ’, from 50-60s. in April to 37-45. in November. As regards cotton, of course, there were numerous quotations for the many different qualities, and the general effect is somewhat varied during 1810 ; but the spring of 1811 shows, almost without exception, Wes that are about half of those that held good a year previously. Thus, ‘ West India, Surinam ’ fell from 22-27d. to 9-15d. per pound; South American (Pernambuco) from 25-27d. to 14-15d. ; and the most important kind of all, North American cotton (intermediate quality, Bowed Georgia), fell, according to Daniels’ Liverpool figures, from 21-22d. in January 1810 to 10.5-12.25d. in June 1811 ; while Tooke’s fqures here reveal a still heavier fall-from 17-19d. in April 1810, to 7-9d. in April 1811, respectively. The same was the case with Spanish wool, which between the same two points of time sank from 13-14s. to 7-8s. per pound.

这一切的结果是英国的物价，尤其是殖民地商品的物价下跌；考虑到欧洲大陆同类商品的高价，这成为拿破仑政策成功的决定性证据。例如，根据图克对每年四个不同时间点的价格统计，咖啡的价格早在 1810 年 7 月和 11 月就出现了下降趋势，1811 年 3 月更是暴跌。出口圣多明各 "的价格从 1810 年 1 月的每磅 96-105 新元跌至 1811 年 3 月的每磅 36-42 新元；同期 "英国种植园保税劣质 "的价格从每磅 70-112 新元跌至 25-52 新元。蔗糖的跌幅稍小一些，但价格下跌达到最低水平的时间要早一些，大多数等级的蔗糖早在 1810 年 11 月就跌到了最低点。因此，"出口的哈瓦那白糖"的价格从 1810 年 7 月的每磅 60-75 苏士跌至 11 月的 38-51 苏士；"保税的东印度褐糖"的价格从 4 月的 50-60 苏士跌至 11 月的 37-45苏士。至于棉花，当然有许多不同品质的棉花报价，1810 年期间的总体效果也有些变化；但 1811 年春季几乎无一例外地显示，韦斯的报价大约是前一年的一半。因此，棉花在"西印度苏里南"从每磅22-27美分降到9-15美分；南美（伯南布哥）从25-27美分降到14-15美分；而所有棉花中最重要的一种，北美棉花（中等质量、弓形乔治亚），根据丹尼尔斯的利物浦数据，从1810年1月的21-22美分降到10.5美分。根据丹尼尔的利物浦数据，北美棉花（中等质量的乔治亚州棉花）的价格从 1810 年 1 月的 21-22 丹麦克朗降至 1811 年 6 月的 10.5-12.25丹麦克朗；而根据图克的数据，北美棉花的价格下降幅度更大，分别从 1810 年 4 月的 17-19 丹麦克朗降至 1811 年 4 月的 7-9 丹麦克朗。西班牙羊毛的情况也是如此，在同样的两个时间点之间，从每磅 13-14苏士降到了 7-8苏士。

### **CHAPTER VI**

### **第六章**

### **SELF-DESTRUCTION OF THE SYSTEM**

### **大陆体系的自我构建**

NAPOLEON completely misinterpreted the significance of British difficulties ; and how much the dislocation of British colonial trade was an effect of the general insecurity of the world, that is to say, not solely of Napoleon’s measures, is shown by the fact that the French crisis, too, had its origin in huge speculations with regard to colonial g0ods.l It is also doubtful to what extent Napoloen’s torrent of words concerning the impending ruin of England fully convinced even himself. At any rate, a remarkable document dating from as far back as the beginning of 1812 shows how far he had come to doubt the expediency of maintaining the Continental System in its original form and purpose. The document referred to, which is printed from an official copy in the great edition of Napoleon I’s correspondence which came out under Napoleon III, is there called Note sur le blocus continental. It was dictated in the Council of Merchants and Manufacturers on January 13, and, like many of Napoleon’s other dictated utterances, it has the character of a kind of imperial monologue. In the case before us, however, it gives us the unusual impression of half-formed thoughts in the mind of a man who does not see his way clearly before him ; and if it did not end in charging the home secretary to work out plans in accordance with the lines laid down, one might easily conceive the whole as a mere experiment in thought. The pre-history and consequences of the plan have never been examined, so far as I know, and consequently much of it is obscure; but, notwithstanding this fact, it is of uncommonly great interest as an indication of the general trend of Napoleon’s thoughts.

拿破仑完全曲解了英国困难的意义；英国殖民地贸易的混乱在很大程度上是世界普遍不安全的结果，也就是说，不完全是拿破仑的措施造成的，这一点可以从法国危机也是起源于对殖民地货物的巨额投机这一事实中看出来。无论如何，早在1812年初的一份引人注目的文件表明，他已经到了怀疑维持大陆制度的原始形式和目的是否合适的地步。拿破仑三世时期出版的《拿破仑一世书信大全集》根据一份正式副本印制了上述文件，文件名为《关于大陆封锁的说明》。它是 1 月 13 日在商人和制造商会议上口述的，与拿破仑的许多其他口述讲话一样，它具有一种帝国独白的特点。然而，在我们面前的这个例子中，它给我们留下了一个不寻常的印象，那就是一个看不清前方道路的人头脑中半成品的想法；如果它不是以责成内政大臣按照既定方针制定计划而结束，人们很容易就会把整个过程想象成一场纯粹的思想实验。据我所知，该计划的前史和后果从未被研究过，因此其中很多内容都很模糊；尽管如此，作为拿破仑思想总趋势的标志，它还是具有非同寻常的意义。

In his introductory words Napoleon lays it down that there are two alternatives : ' either to remain where we are, or to march with great steps toward a different order of things '. As an illustration of the established order he makes a comparison between the prices of sugar in the different countries under his rule in relation to the customs rates, and on the basis of this comparison he concludes that the laws are enforced loyally in France, the Kingdom of Italy, and Naples, but less diligently in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine; after this a calculation is made of the requirements in those three countries, on the supposition that the consumption has been reduced to a third. So far as one can understand, it is on the basis of this that the second alternative is to be founded, namely, an altogether unimpeded granting of licences for the whole requirements of all transmarine goods, on payment of heavy duties, and also on condition of the export of French goods. The requirements of sugar imports, estimated at 450,000 quintaux, will thus bring into the coffers of the state no less than 70,000,000 francs ; and this importation will be allowed against an export of money to the amount of 1O,OOO,OOO francs and of goods to the value of 30,000,000 francs. The same system is afterwards to be applied to coffee, hides, indigo, tea, raw cotton, and dyewoods. ' This will produce,' he says, ' a great activity in industry, encouragement for navigation, the navy and the brokerage business, a customs income of 200,000,000 francs a year, and a germ of prosperity and life in all our ports.'

拿破仑在开场白中指出，有两种选择："要么原地踏步，要么大步迈向不同的秩序"。作为对既定秩序的说明，他将其统治下的不同国家的糖价与关税率进行了比较 ，并在比较的基础上得出结论：法国、意大利王国和那不勒斯忠实地执行了法律，而莱茵联邦各州则不那么尽职尽责；之后，他又计算了这三个国家的需求量，假定消费量减少了三分之一。据此，我们可以得出第二种选择，即在支付高额关税和以出口法国商品为条件的情况下，完全畅通无阻地发放许可证，以满足所有转运货物的全部需求。蔗糖的进口需求量估计为 45万公担[[40]](#footnote-39)，这将为国库带来不少于7000万法郎的收入；允许进口的同时，还将出口1000万法郎的货币和价值300万法郎的货物。随后，同样的制度将适用于咖啡、皮革、靛蓝、茶叶、原棉和染料。他说："这将带来巨大的工业活力，对航海、海军和经纪业务的鼓励，每年2亿法郎的海关收入，以及我们所有港口的繁荣和生机。

So far there was nothing more than a consistent followingout of the established licensing system, even though the last expression cited hints how heavily the policy had fallen onFrench economic life. But the reasons alleged and the immediate execution show how far Napoleon had travelled from the original plan of the Continental System. It is true that he does not make the slightest admission of this. ' For France,' he says, ' the result will be a dream '- a dream which could not have been attained without the Continental System. ' His Majesty does not regard this as a change in the system, but as a consequence of it.’ He maintains, in fact-in the ,most palpable codict with his own decrees, though without the slightest sign of embarrassment-that he has never said that France should not receive sugar, coffee, and indigo, but alleges that he has been content with customs duties thereon. What U he now pretends to have said is merely that the goods were not to be received except in exchange for French goods on French vessels and dependent upon the licences. Of all this, needless to say, the Berlin and Milan decrees gave not the slightest hint. .‘ Accordingly, it is the thus improved system that has achieved this result, which had not been counted upon for several years.’

到目前为止，拿破仑只是始终如一地遵循既定的许可证制度，尽管最后一句话暗示了这一政策对法国经济生活造成了多么严重的影响。但是，所声称的理由和立即执行的情况表明，拿破仑与大陆制度的最初计划相去甚远。诚然，他丝毫没有承认这一点。他说，"对法国来说，结果将会是梦幻的，一个没有大陆制度就不可能实现的梦幻结局”。皇帝陛下认为这不是制度的改变，而是制度的结果。事实上，他坚持认为，他从来没有说过法国不应该接受糖、咖啡和靛蓝，但他声称，他一直满足于对这些产品征收关税。他现在假装说的只是，除非用法国船只上的法国货物交换，否则不得接受这些货物，而且要取决于许可证。不用说，柏林法令和米兰法令对这一切没有丝毫暗示。.'...... "因此，正是经过改进的制度才取得了这一结果，而这一结果是几年来都未曾预料到的。

However, the question arises how such a general granting of licences, with the object of bringing in money to the treasury and forcing up exports, would affect England, the crushing of whom, of course, was the primary object of the original policy. ‘ This will not benefit England with regard to industry, brokery, or freights ; it will profit England solely as a sale for her [colonial] goods, and a part of those goods are really Dutch and French [as originating in their colonies]. Without doubt this is very advantageous for England, but it will cause an upheaval there ; and is the profit less or greater for France ? ’ ‘ That profit,’ continues Napoleon, ‘ is for France like three to one, while the profit of the Treaty of Versailles (the Eden Treaty) was more like one to seven,’ and therefore we have with ‘ a lasting system that may well be eternal ’. now to deal

然而，问题是，这种普遍发放许可证的做法，其目的是为国库带来资金，并迫使出口增加，这将对英国产生何种影响？这对英国的工业、经纪业或运费都没有好处；它只对英国的[殖民地]货物的销售有利，而这些货物有一部分确实是荷兰和法国的[原产于它们的殖民地]。毫无疑问，这对英国非常有利，但会在那里引起动乱；对法国来说，利润是少了还是多了？拿破仑继续说，"对法国来说，这种利润是三比一，而《凡尔赛条约》（《伊登条约》）的利润则是一比七。

For the present, however, in the opinion of the Emperor, it is unnecessary to discuss whether the system can be introduced, for it should at all events be attempted ; if it fails, the whole thing may well remain in the minutes of the Council. The execution is to take the form of a normalization of the licensing system, in that two kinds of licences are to be granted, the one unconditional for the import of foodstuffs, the other for the import of colonial goods on condition of the export of wine and brandy from Nantes and Bordeaux and of textiles from the north of France. For the non-French territories of Napoleon there are to be arranged fourteen ‘ series ’ of importingplaces with corresponding export obligations, which will partly include the products of these countries themselves, but should take place through French licences. Of the duties, an amount between one-third and two-thirds shall fall to the princes concerned and the remainder shall fall to the French treasury, provided they follow the routes indicated. Danzig may possibly be allowed to export not only building timber but also corn to England, on condition 02 sending twice as much to France, and on payment of a special export duty, which should be considered in detail.

然而，皇帝认为，目前没有必要讨论该制度是否可以实行，因为无论如何都应该尝试；如果失败了，整个事情完全可以保留在议会的会议记录中。执行的方式是将许可证制度正常化，即发放两种许可证，一种是无条件进口食品的许可证，另一种是进口殖民地商品的许可证，条件是南特和波尔多的葡萄酒和白兰地以及法国北部的纺织品必须出口。对于拿破仑的非法国领土，将安排14个 "系列 "的进口地点，并规定相应的出口义务，其中部分将包括这些国家本身的产品，但应通过法国许可证进行。关税的三分之一到三分之二将归有关王公所有，其余部分归法国国库，但条件是必须按照指定的路线进行。但泽可能不仅可以向英国出口建筑木材，还可以出口玉米，条件是向法国出口两倍的数量，并支付特别出口税，这一点应详细考虑。

We thus see on what courses Napoleon had now started out. We are here concerned with a balancing of the purely commercial advantages of France against those of Great Britain, that is to say, the points of view of the kind that are usually put forward, for instance, in negotiating a commercial treaty; and in full analogy with this, the system is thought of as a permanent measure, not as a war measure, designed to destroy England. The concession, deliberately shoved aside by Napoleon and treated by him as a trifle in form, that the new order of things would be advantageous for England in respect of the trade in colonial goods, stands in the strongest possible contrast to the proud announcement of 1807 that England sees her vessels laden with superfluous wealth, wandering around the seas and seeking in vain a port to open and receive them. Now Napoleon himself considers opening an his ports for the purpose, if only he can get these vessels to take French goods in exchange. This means that the principle of the Continental System has been abandoned. To use an expression of Professor Hjlirne, in his book Revolutionen och Napobon, in connexion with other sides of the policy of the empire, one may call this the ‘ self-destruction of the system ’.

由此我们可以看出，拿破仑现在开始走什么路线了。在这里，我们关注的是法国与英国纯粹商业利益之间的平衡，也就是说，在谈判商业条约时通常会提出的那种观点；与此完全类似，这一制度被认为是一项永久性措施，而不是旨在摧毁英国的战争措施。拿破仑故意把新秩序在殖民地商品贸易方面对英国有利的让步推到一边，并把它当作形式上的小事，这与1807年英国自豪地宣布，英国看到自己的船只满载着多余的财富，在海上四处游荡，徒劳地寻找一个可以开放和接纳它们的港口，形成了最强烈的对比。现在，拿破仑自己也考虑为此开放一个港口，只要他能让这些船只接受法国货物作为交换。这意味着大陆制度的原则已被放弃。用希利尔内教授在《拿破仑的革命》一书中的一句话，结合帝国政策的其他方面，我们可以称之为 "制度的自我毁灭"。

During the period of barely four months that remained before Napoleon’s departure for the Russian campaign we findno traces in his correspondence of any formal measures on the lines of the January memorandum. Even his superhuman powers were more and more completely absorbed by his military preparations ; and in the sphere of economics the threatening shortage of corn formed a peril which occupied his thoughts to the exclusion of all plans with more remote objects in view. From what is so far known, therefore, it does not appear that the new order of things was ever formally accepted, even though the actual policy, so far as one can judge, came’ nearer and nearer thereto. Besides, already during 1812 the economic situation slowly improved in Great Britain, especially after the South American trade had got into a healthy state as early as February, although, it is true, there were still disturbances in the textile districts. The Continental System was deprived of a main pillar quite early in J812 (March) through the fact that Davout, whom Sore1 calls the ’ archi-douanier ’ of the empire, left for the front, which meant the removal of the inflexible determination to prevent smuggling into the country via the North Sea coast. After the retreat from Moscow and the advance of the Russian troops along the Baltic coast in the beginning of 1813, it became manifestly impossible to maintain the barrier. Thus the prefect of the Weser department reports that ‘ smuggling was raising its head all along the line ’ ; the warehouses were filled with contraband, and smuggling vessels went openly across the seas to the enemy. Rist gives a vigorous description of the rising against the French customs officials in Hamburg at the close of February 1813, when a whole army of trouserless smugglers hurled their hereditary enemies into the dried-up canals and good-humouredly stormed their premises. ‘ Thus,’ he goes on, ‘ there disappeared within a few hours all those barriers, those dens of imperial avarice, and the forbidden goods streamed unimpeded along the forbidden ways.’ In the same way smuggling broke out openly in Switzerland, after having been kept down as much as possible during the preceding period.

在拿破仑出征俄国前的不到四个月的时间里，我们在他的书信中找不到任何与一月备忘录类似的正式措施的痕迹。即使是他的超人能力，也越来越完全地被他的军事准备所吸收；而在经济领域，玉米短缺的威胁形成了一种危险，占据了他的思想，排除了所有目标更遥远的计划。因此，从目前已知的情况来看，新的秩序似乎并没有被正式接受，尽管就人们所能判断的实际政策而言，已经越来越接近新的秩序。此外，在 1812 年期间，英国的经济形势已经慢慢好转，尤其是在南美贸易早在 2 月就进入健康状态之后，尽管纺织品地区确实仍有骚乱。大陆体系在1812年3月初失去了一个重要支柱，原因是被索雷一世称为 “帝国拱卫者”的达武去了前线，这意味着阻止通过北海海岸走私进入英国的顽固决心被取消了。1813 年初，俄军从莫斯科撤退并沿波罗的海海岸推进后，显然不可能再维持这一屏障。威悉河省的省长报告说，"走私活动在全线兴起"；仓库里堆满了违禁品，走私船公然漂洋过海前往敌国。里斯特生动地描述了 1813 年 2 月底在汉堡发生的反对法国海关官员的起义，当时，一整支不穿裤子的走私大军将他们的世袭敌人扔进干涸的运河，并友好地冲入他们的驻地。这样，"他接着说，"在几个小时内，所有的障碍都消失了，那些帝国贪婪的巢穴也消失了，禁品沿着禁道畅通无阻地流淌。'同样，走私活动在瑞士也公开爆发了，而在此前的一段时间里，走私活动曾被尽可能地压制。

This, however, did not mean that Napoleon had abandoned the Continental System. In Hamburg Davout resumed his power and exacted a frightful vengeance ; and as late as May and June 1813, the Emperor caused'quantities of colonial goods to be confiscated in the Grand Duchy of Berg, Hamburg, &c., even such as had paid the proper dues or had been sold by the French customs officials, and had them conveyed to the usual places for the collection of such goods. On the other hand, this does not settle the question whether, and to what extent, the object pursued was the great aim of the Continental System, or whether Napoleon, after the retreat from Moscou~, still believed in the possibility of success in his struggle against the economic fabric of England. At times this last was undoubtedly the case, as is stated by so credible an observer as Mollien, who lays particular stress on the hopes of an impending ruin for the credit of England with which the unfavourable rates of exchange inspired the Emperor at that time. Still, this question must be separated from that of gaining the end in view through the particular means called the Continental System ; and on this subject, which concerns us here, it must be said that fiscal considerations had now become so pressing that it was necessary to brush aside the idea of carrying out the war against the trade of Great Britain. Napoleon's utterances at this period become more and more frankly mercenary ; and we may regard as the epitaph of the system a new memorandum by.the Emperor immediately after his return from Moscow (December 22, Isla), a significant counterpart to the long memorandum of January in the same year that we have summarized at length above. In that document the Emperor charges his minister of finance to inform the ministry of commerce that he needs 150,000,000 francs in ordinary and extraordinary customs revenues during 1813, giving the following reasons :

然而，这并不意味着拿破仑放弃了大陆制度。在汉堡，达武恢复了他的权力，并实施了可怕的报复；直到 1813 年 5 月和 6 月，皇帝还在伯格大公国、汉堡等地没收了大量殖民地货物，甚至包括那些已经缴纳了适当的税款或已经被法国海关官员出售的货物，并将它们运往通常的收货地点。另一方面，这并没有解决一个问题，即所追求的目标是否以及在多大程度上是大陆制度的伟大目标，或者说拿破仑在从莫斯科撤退后，是否仍然相信他与英国经济结构的斗争有成功的可能。正如莫利安这样可信的观察家所言，拿破仑有时无疑是这样的，他特别强调了当时不利的汇率给皇帝带来的英国信用即将毁灭的希望。不过，这个问题必须与通过所谓的大陆制度这一特殊手段来达到目的的问题区分开来；关于这个与我们在这里有关的问题，必须指出的是，财政方面的考虑现在已经变得如此紧迫，以至于有必要将对英国贸易发动战争的想法搁置一边。拿破仑在这一时期的言论变得越来越直白，越来越唯利是图；我们可以把皇帝从莫斯科返回后立即发表的一份新备忘录（12 月 22 日，伊斯拉）看作是这一制度的墓志铭。在这份文件中，皇帝责成他的财政大臣通知商务部，他在1813年需要15亿法郎的普通和特别关税收入，理由如下：

*In order to arrive at this result, you must consider what remains to be received for licences already granted ; and for those additional ones which must be granted to obtain this result, which is necessary for the first of all considerations, namely, that of having what is indispensable for the present Bervice of the state. Undoubtedly it is necessary to harm our foes, but above all we must live.*

*为了取得这个结果，你们必须考虑到已经发放的许可证的剩余金额；以及为了取得这个结果而必须发放的额外许可证的剩余金额，这对于所有考虑因素中的第一点来说是必要的，即对于国家当前的服务来说是不可或缺的。毫无疑问，我们有必要伤害我们的敌人，但最重要的是我们必须活下去。*

This necessity to live, that is to say, fiscalism, in combination with the hopelessness of a consistent application of the self-blockade, was what had led to the self-destruction of the Continental System ; and we have good reasons to doubt the possibility of its continuance in spirit and in truth, even if the Russian campaign and the wars of liberation had not intervened. As it is, the gigantic experiment had been followed to such a point that the end seemed to be in sight, though it was not obtained. It is therefore inevitable that opinions as to its feasibility must remain divided. Nevertheless, a good deal more light falls on this question if one investigates the effects of the Continental System on the economic life of the different countries. This is to be the subject and the object of part IV.

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这种生活的需要，即财政主义，与持续实施自我封锁的无望，导致了大陆制度的自我毁灭；我们有充分的理由怀疑，即使没有俄国战役和起义活动，大陆制度在精神上和事实上是否有可能继续下去。事实是，这一巨大的实验已经进行到了这样的地步，虽然没有达到目的，但结局似乎就在眼前。因此，对其可行性的意见分歧在所难免。不过，如果我们研究一下大陆制度对不同国家经济生活的影响，就会对这个问题有更多的了解。这将是第四部分的主题和目标。

# PART IV

# 第四部分

# EFFECTS OF THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM ON THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF GREAT BRATAIN AND THE MAINLAND

# 大陆制度对大不列颠及北爱尔兰联合王国经济生活的影响

### **CHAPTER I**

### **第一章**

### **DIFFERENT TYPES OF EFFECT**

### **不同类型的效果**

THE Napoleonic wars occurred during a period of farreaching importance for the material development of Europe, "That implies that during this period the economic life of Europe must have undergone a great transf&mation which can be ascribed only in part to the system under discussion. The problem will therefore be not only too widely extended, but also-which is of more consequence-altogether erroneously stated from the very outset, if we regard it as identical with the task of showing the general changes in the economic life of Western Europe during the first. decade and a half of the nineteenth century. Instead of that, what we have to do is to isolate those aspects of the development which can be connected in any way with the Continental System. This is a problem of a more or less theoretical nature, which presupposes a knowledge of the general connexion that exists between cause and effect in the sphere of economics, and which can therefore not be solved by purely historical methods.

这一时期的拿破仑战争对欧洲的实际发展具有深远影响，"这意味着在这一时期，欧洲的经济生活必然经历了巨大的变革，而这种变革只能部分归因于我们正在讨论的制度。因此，如果我们把这个问题等同于西欧经济生活在十九世纪前十五年的总体变化，那么这个问题从一开始就不仅过于宽泛，而且更重要的是，这种看法完全是错误的。与此相反，我们要做的是将欧洲发展中与大陆体系有任何联系的方面分离出来。这是一个或多或少带有理论性质的问题，它预先假定了对经济学领域因果之间存在的一般联系的了解，因此不能用纯粹的历史方法来解决。

The point which offers the greatest interest in such a problem is the working of the blockade policy in so far as it became effective. Consequently, we now lay aside the weakness (proved in detail in the preceding part) of the Continental System as a measure of blockade, and turn to the results of the policy.

在这样一个问题中，最令人感兴趣的一点是封锁政策是如何运作并且产生效果的。因此，我们现在撇开 "大陆制度 "作为封锁措施的弱点（前一部分已详细论证），转而讨论封锁政策的结果。

On the Continent proper the Continental System necessarily came to work as a gigantic protectionist policy pursued to the limit. By excluding foreign goods it stimulated the domestic production of all kinds of goods which found any general use within the country or even within the Continent. To this extent, the Continental System, like the system that prevailed during t.he recent war, affords an occasion of studying the effectsof a high protectionism enforced with the greatest violence and with all the resources of the state for a short period. The difference between this and the rkgime which characterized the blockaded states of the Continent during the recent war lies solely in the fact that such a system of protection was then freely chosen, while in our own day it was imposed from without. On the other hand, the Continental System, like the state of affairs prevailing during the recent war, exhibits one significant and very fatal dissimilarity from the ordinary kind of protection that prevails in peace time, namely, that under the latter regime the obstacles in the way of imports usually embrace only the products of industry and agriculture, not the raw materials of industry, whereas the nature of the Continental System as a general self-blockade compelled, or at least should have compelled, equally rigorous embargo against all kinds of commodities imported by sea. The efforts of the all-important individual who dominated the Continent had consequently to be directed toward procuring of raw materials within his own territories, a task which always encounters more insuperable limits than that of working up materials which are to be found within one'g own borders. And so far as such an effort failed, there was an irremediable self-contradiction within the policy itself. Either, in fact, it was necessary to sacrifice the industrial ' development by which the position of Great Britain as the workshop of the world was intended to be crushed, or it was necessary to accept raw materials through the co-operation of the ruler of the seas and thereby fail in the object of destroying the commercial and maritime power of Great Britain and consequently fail also in the object of ' conquering her by excess '. When Mollien speaks of the inexplicable ' contradiction ' between the obstacles in the way of the supply of raw materials and the prohibition of British manufactures, because the former benefited British industry more than the latter damaged it, consequently he puts his finger on this irremediable doubleness of the very principle of the Continental System.

在欧洲大陆本土，大陆制度必然是作为一项推行到极限的巨型的保护主义政策来运作的。通过排斥外国商品，它刺激了在国内甚至在欧洲大陆普遍使用的各种商品的国内生产。在这种程度上，大陆制度与最近战争期间盛行的制度一样，提供了一个研究高度保护主义的效果的机会，这种保护主义在短期内以最大的暴力和国家的全部资源来实施。这与近代战争期间欧洲大陆被封锁国家的保护制度的区别仅仅在于，当时这种保护制度是自由选择的，而我们今天的保护制度则是外部强加的。另一方面，大陆制度与最近战争期间的情况一样，与和平时期的普通保护制度有一个显著而致命的不同之处，即在和平时期的保护制度下，进口的障碍通常只包括工业和农业产品，而不包括工业原料，而大陆制度作为一种全面自我封锁的性质，迫使或至少应该迫使对从海上进口的各种商品实行同样严格的禁运。因此，主宰欧洲大陆的重要个人必须努力在自己的领土上采购原材料，而这项任务总是比在自己的疆域内加工材料遇到更多难以克服的限制。只要这种努力失败了，政策本身就存在无法弥补的自我矛盾。事实上，要么必须牺牲工业的发展，而英国作为世界工场的地位正是要靠工业的发展来摧毁的；要么必须通过海洋统治者的合作来接受原料，从而使摧毁英国的商业和海洋力量的目标落空，进而也使 "以过度征服英国"的目标落空。当莫利安谈到阻碍原料供应和禁止英国制造业之间存在着无法解释的 "矛盾"，因为前者对英国工业的益处大于后者对英国工业的损害时，他就指出了大陆制度原则本身的这种无法弥补的双重性。

On the Continent, however, there existed a further contrast,which was nat at all implicit in the idea of the Continental System, but was a consequence of the fact that the overthrow of Great Britain was not the all-dominating thought of Napoleon or his system to the extent that he usually pretended. As has already been shown in several places in the preceding account, in fact, the purely protectionistic aims of the system for France herself practically took the same rank as the object of conquering the enemy. It was for that reason that Napoleon not only neglected what otherwise ought to have been done, in the interest of the first object, to fqrm an economic combine of continental Europe, but even directed his policy against the countries of his own continental vassals and allies.

然而，在欧洲大陆上还存在着另一种反差，这种反差并非隐含在大陆制度的思想中，而是因为推翻英国并不是拿破仑或其制度的全部主导思想，这与他通常所假装的不同。正如前文多处论述的那样，事实上，该体系对法国的纯粹保护主义目的与征服敌人的目的实际上是同等重要的。正是出于这个原因，拿破仑不仅忽视了为了实现第一个目标——建立欧洲大陆的经济联合体——而本应采取的行动，甚至还把他的政策对准了自己的大陆附庸和盟国。

## FRANCE

## 法兰西

It follows that the effects of the Continental System in the country of Napoleon's heart, that is, in France itself, were all that a protectionist policy pursued with absolute ruthlessness can involve for a country that adopts it. When we say ' France ' here we use it as an abbreviation for the old French monarchy and the French acquisitions of the revolutionary period, i. e., including Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine but not, in the main, the conquests of the consulate and the empire, which were otherwise treated. The effects here were bound to be the typical consequences of an embargo policy ; and, as appears from what has just been said, such a policy directed not only against the supply of goods by sea and from lands beyond the seas, but also to a large extent against the supply of goods by land and from the other continental states. We might here foresee that the situation must be characterized as that of economic self-sufficiency and of a hothouse development of industrial production.

由此可见，大陆制度在拿破仑心目中的国家，也就是在法国本身所产生的影响，是绝对无情地推行保护主义政策的国家所能承受的一切。我们在这里所说的 "法国"，是指法国旧君主国和法国在革命时期所获得的领土的缩写，即包括比利时和莱茵河左岸，但主要不包括领事馆和帝国所征服的领土，因为这些领土是以其他方式处理的。封锁政策的典型后果必然会在这里产生；而且，正如刚才所说的那样，这种政策不仅针对海上和来自海洋以外陆地的货物供应，而且在很大程度上也针对陆地和来自其他大陆国家的货物供应。在此，我们可以预见，经济自给自足和工业生产温室式发展的局面必将到来。

## **THE REST OF THE CONTINENT**

## **欧洲大陆其他地区**

As regards the other continental states within Napoleon's more or less undisputed realm of power, on the other hand, the effects were bound to be far more varied, differing not onlyaccording to the degree of their political independence and to their actual observance of the Continental decrees within their territories, but also according to the relative importance of the two opposite tendencies of which they were the object. A moment's consideration will show that their position had features in common both with that of France and with that of Great Britain. It resembled the former in so far as they, like France, had to abstain from supply by sea ; it resembled the latter inasmuch as they, like Great Britain, were shut out from sales in the markets which were under the direct sway of Napoleon. Consequently, the effects in the non-French parts of Central and Southern Europe cannot be expected to have the same self-evident, consistent appearance as in France; but they have a practical and historical interest of their own.

另一方面，对于拿破仑势力范围内的其他大陆国家来说，其影响必然要大得多，这不仅取决于其政治独立的程度和在其领土内对大陆法令的实际遵守情况，而且还取决于它们所针对的两种相反倾向的相对重要性。只要稍加考虑，就会发现它们的立场与法国和英国的立场都有共同之处。前者的相似之处在于，它们和法国一样，不得不放弃海上供应；后者的相似之处在于，它们和英国一样，被排除在拿破仑直接控制的市场之外。因此，中欧和南欧非法国地区的影响不可能像法国那样具有不言而喻、前后一致的表象；但它们有自己的现实意义和历史意义。

Moreover, the effects on the Napoleonic mainland were bound to vary with the position of foreign trade and of the production of goods intended for foreign sale. In this connexion, however, we must emphasize at the outset the limitation in the effects which follow from the fact that in scarcely any of the continental states was economic life centred on international exchange. The great commercial cities of Hamburg, Bremen, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and, in France, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Nantes, Havre, and La Rochelle, were, it is true, entirely dependent on foreign trade and suffered proportionately from the blockade in so far as it became effective ; but this point has been already so fully illustrated in the preceding part that it is not necessary to dwell further upon it here. Among the non-French states, countries which, like Saxony, Switzerland, the Grand Duchy of Berg, Bohemia, and Silesia, had already reached the industrial stage and were therefore very dependent on international intercourse, were those most affected by the Continental System; however, they too were affected very differently, according to their political position.

此外，对拿破仑大陆的影响必然会随着对外贸易和外销商品生产状况的变化而变化。然而，在这方面，我们必须从一开始就强调影响的局限性，因为几乎没有一个大陆国家的经济生活是以国际交流为中心的。汉堡、不来梅、阿姆斯特丹、鹿特丹、安特卫普以及法国的波尔多、马赛、南特、哈弗尔和拉罗谢尔等大商业城市，确实完全依赖于对外贸易，并在封锁生效后遭受了相应的损失；但这一点已在上一部分中得到了充分说明，在此无需赘述。在非法国的国家中，像萨克森、斯威 地、伯格大公国、波希米亚和西里西亚这样已经进入工业化阶段，因此非常依赖于国际交往的国家，是受大陆制度影响最大的国家；然而，根据其政治立场的不同，它们受到的影响也大不相同。

The difference between industrial countries and countries especially given over to agriculture and the yielding of 'raw materials, namely, North Germany and especially the Baltic Sta.tes, Prussia, Mecklenburg, Russia, Austria, and Hungary,did not primarily consist in the fact that the latter were independent of foreign trade, since they also had exports. It consisted, rather, in the fact that, from the standpoint of the Continental System, the industrial life of the two groups of countries was affected quite differently by the blockade. The industrial countries, on the one side, found obstacles placed in the way of their supply of raw materials ; but, on the other hand, owing to the strangling of British supply, they increased the possibilities of sale for their own manufactures outside of France and Italy. It waq as regards sales that the agrarian countries were more or less hard hit, partly through the general obstacles in the way of navigation, which offered almost the only possibility for the conveyance of their bulky goods, and partly also through the prohibition of intercourse with Great Britain, who was their chief buyer.Owing to the tendency of the Continental System to render difficult only imports into the Continent, however, the effect of this factor was considerably diminished for the countries producing raw materials and corn. For instance, it practically did not make itself felt in MecMenburg during this first period. But, as will be explained more fully later on in this book, Napoleon’s attitude toward the supplying of England with foodstuffs was so opportunistic, that it is not worth while to attempt to draw any conclusions in principle as to the results that might have ensued, So much may be asserted, however : the difficulties of the agrarian countries were due, not to Napoleon’s deliberate intention to cut off England from the supply of foodstuffs or raw materials, but to his very well-grounded apprehension that an export to England from countries which were not directly under his sway would give rise to the importation of colonial goods and English manufactures. In this way, primarily,the situation for both Prussia and Russia is explained. During the second period of the Continental System, it is true, the difficulties for the agrarian countries were increased ; but that was because all maritime trade within Napoleon’s sphere of power was now made dependent on French licences, that is to say, on the Emperor’s need of money or his favour. The particular ill-will with which the Continental System was manifestly regarded in the agrarian countries is explained less by the actual damage it did to the economic life of those countries than by the fact that the policy did not contain any protectionist elements, and consequently did not offer the popular imagination any compensation whatever for the incessant and intensely irritating intervention that it caused.

工业国家与特别是以农业和生产"原材料"为主的国家（即北德，特别是波罗的海沿岸国家、普鲁士、梅克伦堡、俄国、奥地利和匈牙利）之间的区别，主要不是在于后者独立于对外贸易——它们也有出口。相反，从大陆体系的角度来看，两类国家的工业生活受到封锁的影响截然不同。一方面，工业国在原料供应方面遇到了障碍；另一方面，由于英国的供应被扼杀，它们增加了本国产品在法国和意大利以外销售的可能性。在销售方面，农业国或多或少地受到了打击，部分原因是航运普遍受阻，而航运几乎是运输大宗商品的唯一可能，另一部分原因是与英国的交往被禁止，而英国是农业国的主要买主。例如，在最初的时期，梅克门堡实际上并没有感受到这一因素的影响。但是，正如本书稍后将详细解释的那样，拿破仑对英国的粮食供应采取的态度是如此的投机取巧，以至于不值得试图对可能产生的结果得出任何原则性的结论：农业国的困难不是由于拿破仑蓄意切断英国的食品或原料供应，而是由于他有充分的理由担心，如果不直接受他控制的国家向英国出口，会引起殖民地商品和英国制成品的进口。普鲁士和俄国的情况主要是这样解释的。在大陆制度的第二个时期，农业国面临的困难确实增加了，但这是因为拿破仑势力范围内的所有海上贸易现在都依赖于法国的许可证，也就是说，依赖于皇帝对金钱的需求或对他的宠信。大陆制度在农业国家明显受到敌视，这与其说是由于它对这些国家的经济生活造成了实际损害，不如说是由于该政策不包含任何保护主义因素，因此，对于它所造成的持续不断、极具刺激性的干预，民众的想象力得不到任何补偿。

As regards all the continental states within Napoleon’s realm of power, the Continental System had a restrictive effect on exports by throwing difficulties in the way of imports, which it is the sole business of exports to pay for. One may also express the matter in this way : increased self-sufficiency must diminish the need of exports by diminishing imports. The only reasonably conceivable exception from this might be if in any case imports by land increased more than imports by sea diminished ; and it is not impossible that the greatly extended intercourse of Saxony with Eastern Europe led to such a result.

就拿破仑势力范围内的所有大陆国家而言，大陆制度对出口产生了限制作用，因为它给进口造成了困难，而进口本应由出口来支付。我们也可以这样来表述这个问题：自给自足的增加必然会通过减少进口来减少对出口的需求。唯一可以合理想象的例外情况可能是，在任何情况下，陆路进口的增加大于海路进口的减少；萨克森与东欧的交往大大扩展，导致这种结果并非不可能。

## **GREAT BRITAIN**

## **大不列颠**

Such, from the standpoint of general principles, must have been the position of the continental states. In regard to Great Britain, on the other hand, one may express oneself more briefly at this stage. The prime object of Napoleon’s policy, of course, was to bring about a dislocation, to prevent the sale both of manufactured products and of the colonial goods imported with a view to re-export, and consequently to ruin the credit ,system and create unemployment in industry. So long as it was a question only of such ephemeral phenomena, the contrast between Great Britain and the Continent must have been very great, with excess of goods prevailing on the island kingdom and scarcity of goods prevailing on the Continent. On the other hand, in so far as the exclusion of goods from the Continent proved to be lasting and was not made unimportant through increased sales in other parts of the world, the economic life of Great Britain necessarily aimed in the Same direction as that of the Continent, namely, toward increased self-sufficiency. The losses incurred in foreign trade, shipping and export industry, indeed, must have made production for sale at home more profitable and thus have given a backward wrench to the unprecedented development which Great Britain was just then undergoing. There is nothing to indicate that Napoleon thought so far ahead ; od the contrary, any such speculations would undoubtedly have been answered by one of his usual candid expressions about ‘ideologues ’. But that would not have prevented the results from being what we have indicated.

从一般原则的角度来看，这肯定是大陆国家的立场。另一方面，关于英国，在现阶段我们可以更简短地表达自己的观点。拿破仑政策的首要目标当然是造成混乱，阻止制成品和为再出口而进口的殖民地商品的销售，从而破坏信贷制度，造成工业失业。只要还只是这种短暂现象的问题，大不列颠和欧洲大陆之间的反差就一定会非常大，岛国商品过剩，而欧洲大陆商品匮乏。另一方面，只要对欧洲大陆商品的排斥被证明是持久的，而且并没有因为世界其他地区销售量的增加而变得不重要，大不列颠的经济生活就必然会朝着与欧洲大陆相同的方向发展，即加强自给自足。事实上，对外贸易、航运和出口工业的损失必然会使在国内销售的生产更加有利可图，从而使英国当时正在经历的前所未有的发展向后推进。没有任何迹象表明拿破仑有如此远见卓识，相反，他对 "理论家"的直言不讳无疑是对任何此类猜测的回应。但这并不妨碍结果如我们所述。

Manifestly, this would have damaged the economic position of Great Britain immensely, quite apart from the great dislocations that occurred during the period of transition. It would have reduced her national income far below what it had been before, inasmuch as such a development would have involved passing over from industries which were excellently suited to her in her then position to other industries which were far less suitable. For this reason, too, the losses consequent upon a lasting mutual embargo between Great Britain and the rest of the world would have been far greater for Great Britain than for the Continent. For the international division of labour, specialization in industry and commerce-to confine ourselves now to what was most typical at the time-formed the fundamental condition for the possibility of Britain to derive benefit from her position as the almost sole possessor of the great new inventions. The position of the continental states, on the other hand, was already, at the outbreak of the great struggle, so much less widely separated from economic self-sufficiency that a return thereto would have involved far more limited sacrifices. They would thereby, it is true, have largely lost the advantages of enjoying, by means of purchase from England, the fruits of the great inventions and of covering their requirements in transmarine goods ; and atthe same time they would have had, with increased sacrifice and diminished results, to find substitutes for both by a kind of production which was in itself, from an economic point of view, misdirected. But the extent of all this must nevertheless have remained insignificant in comparison with the corresponding reshaping of Great Britain. Evidently this result by no means implies that the position of Great Britain would have been absolutely worse than that of the Continent, but only that Great Britain would thereby have lost far more considerable advantages which she had already gained. The turning back of the clock could only have had its worse effects on the situation in the country where the greatest advances in material development had just previously taken place. Whether Great Britain in the long run, under the suppositions just given, would have been able to preserve her relative precedence, is quite another question, and one which it is difficult to answer. Nevertheless, in this case the answer may quite well be conceived to be in the affirmative, and for the reason that the blockade itself rendered difficult, and would have continued to do so, the spread of the industrial revolution from Great Britain to the Continent. In reality, of course, the development did not at all follow this course ; but, nevertheless, the theoretical results following from a given position are being examined in this place, not only to illustrate what the Continental self-blockade, thought out to its logical conclusion, would have involved, but also in order to be able to confront with it the actual course of development in due time.

显然，这会极大地损害英国的经济地位，此外还有过渡时期发生的巨大混乱。这将使英国的国民收入远远低于以前的水平，因为这种发展会使非常适合英国当时状况的工业转到其他不那么适合的工业。同样，由于这个原因，英国与世界其他国家之间的长期相互封锁所造成的损失，对英国来说要比对欧洲大陆来说大得多。因为国际分工、工业和商业的专业化——我们现在只谈当时最典型的情况——是英国有可能从其几乎是唯一拥有伟大新发明的地位中获益的基本条件。另一方面，在大战爆发时，欧洲大陆国家的地位与经济自给自足之间的差距已经小得多，因此，恢复这种地位所需的牺牲要小得多。诚然，它们会因此而在很大程度上失去通过从英国购买的方式享受伟大发明的成果和满足其对转口贸易商品的需求的优势；同时，它们不得不以更大的牺牲和更小的成果，通过一种从经济角度来看本身就是错误的生产方式来寻找两者的替代品。但是，与英国的相应改造相比，这一切的程度肯定是微不足道的。显然，这一结果决不意味着英国的处境会绝对比欧洲大陆更糟糕，而只是意味着英国会因此失去已经获得的更多的优势。假设时光倒流，对物质发展刚刚取得最大进步的国家的形势产生的影响将会更糟糕。从长远来看，在刚才给出的假设下，英国是否能够保持其相对优势，这是另一个问题，也是一个很难回答的问题。尽管如此，在这种情况下，我们完全可以认为答案是肯定的，原因是封锁本身使工业革命从英国向欧洲大陆的传播变得困难，而且会继续如此。当然，现实中的发展完全不是这样的；但是，尽管如此，我们在这里研究特定立场所产生的理论结果，不仅是为了说明大陆的自我封锁如果按其逻辑结论来推断，会涉及到什么问题，而且也是为了能够在适当的时候与实际的发展进程相对抗。

## **COUNTRIES HAVING INTERCOURSE WITH GREAT BRITAIN**

## **与大不列颠有交往的国家**

Finally, what must be made clear is the position of the countries which had unhampered supply from Great Britain, that is, chiefly Sweden and, before the complete carrying through of the American self-blockade, the United States. The position of these countries was necessarily marked by an abnormally facilitated supply, inasmuch as Great Britain was obliged to seek there the greatest possible compensation for the markets from which she was debarred. While the countries of the seh-blockade were forced into the greatest possiblemany-sidedness of production, therefore, the countries now in question fell into a kind of hypertrophy of imports. This means that they were brought to buy industrial products and colonial goods in return for a relatively shght output of their own products-a development in itself very advantageous, in so far as it gives a great indirect result of the productive forces of the country. In contrast with these advantages, however, stand the dislocations in the economic organization of the country which would have been a consequence of the necessary discontinuance of previously existing branches of industry. But this was scarcely the case as regards either Sweden or America. Moreover, it is not really necessary in principle, because, as has been said, the development in itself merely implies that one gets more than usual in exchange for one’s own goods. It is therefore of greater importance, from the standpoint of the temporary nature of the whole situdtion, that the industrial development of those countries was somewhat delayed by the exceptional facility of importing British goods, a matter which was of no little consequence for the United States. To this the workings of the Continental System in those countries would have been confined if the Napoleonic self-blockade of the Continent had been complete and effective. But as this was very far from the case, and as the breaking of the blockade was especially done by countries of the type now in question, there was a huge increase of re-exports, that is to say, of intermediary trade, and this became beyond all comparison the most important factor in the actual situation. Nevertheless, the importance of the former factor was not cancelled by this ; there was also a great increase in the imports which remained within the country. Again, with the immense increase of prices for British and colonial goods on the Continent, the occupation of the middleman must obviously have been extremely profitable when successful, but, of course, proportionately speculative and uncertain.

最后，必须明确的是，从英国获得畅通无阻的供应的国家，主要是瑞典，以及在完全实行自我封锁之前的美国。这些国家的情况必然是供应异常便利，因为英国不得不在那里寻求最大可能的补偿，以弥补其被禁止进入的市场。因此，当实行封锁的国家被迫进行尽可能多方面的生产时，这些国家却陷入了一种进口过剩的境地。这意味着，它们不得不购买工业产品和殖民地商品，以换取相对较低的本国产品产量——这种发展本身是非常有利的，因为它间接性地极大地发挥了国家的生产力。然而，与这些优势形成鲜明对比的是国家经济组织的混乱，而这种混乱本应是以前存在的工业部门必须停产的后果。但瑞典和美国的情况几乎都不是这样。此外，这在原则上并不是真正必要的，因为如前所述，发展本身只是意味着人们用自己的商品交换到比通常更多的东西。因此，从整个形势的暂时性来看，更重要的是，这些国家的工业发展由于进口英国商品的特殊便利而受到了一定程度的延误，而这一问题对美国的影响并不小。如果拿破仑对欧洲大陆的自我封锁是完全有效的，那么大陆制度在这些国家的运作本应仅限于此。但是，由于情况远非如此，而且打破封锁的特别是现在这种类型的国家，转口贸易，即中间贸易大量增加，这就成为实际情况中最重要的因素。然而，前一个因素的重要性并没有因此而被抵消；留在国内的进口也有了很大的增长。同样，由于英国和殖民地商品在欧洲大陆的价格大幅上涨，中间商的职业在成功时显然是非常有利可图的，但当然也有相应的投机性和不确定性。

Having set forth the position of the different countries in principle, we may now pass on to a consideration of the concrete development, which offers an abundance of instructive features to illustrate and compare with those of our own day.

在阐述了不同国家的原则立场之后，我们现在可以开始考虑具体的发展情况，它提供了大量具有启发性的特征，可以与我们今天的情况进行说明和比较。

## **CHAPTER II**

## **第二章**

## **EFFECTS ON FRANCE**

## **对法国的影响**

THE development of the industrial life of France under the influence of the Continental System, like the development of all the industrial countries under that system, took place especially in the sphere of textile industries ; and nowhere did the conflicting tendencies appear so marked as there. Nevertheless, a great deal of the development of the French textile industry was not only devoid of connexion with the blockade policy itself, but, on the contrary, an evidence of its restricted range.

法国工业生活在大陆制度影响下的发展，与所有工业国家在大陆制度影响下的发展一样，尤其体现在纺织工业领域；在这一领域，相互冲突的趋势表现得尤为明显。然而，法国纺织业的许多发展不仅与封锁政策本身毫无关系，相反，还证明了封锁政策的局限性。

## **LUXURY INDUSTRIES**

## **奢侈品行业**

This applied especially to everything which falls under the heading of luxury industries, including the most brilliant and historic textile industry of France, the manufacture of silk. We, who only recently felt the pressure of a rigorous blockade and shortage of supplies, can best appreciate the fact that in such a situation the production of luxuries would hardly expand and take more and more varied forms, and perhaps stiIl more the fact that governments, however great their lack of intelligence in the sphere of economics, would be foolhardy indeed to go so far as to encourage, not to say enforce, such production. As this was the case during the first French empire, therefore, it is in the very nature of things that the cause can not be sought in the Continental System regarded as a measure of blockade against Great Britain. On the other hand, it is intimately connected with the general protectionist tendency that completely dominated Napoleon\ and forms the explanation of the peculiar nature of the Continental System as contrasted with the corresponding system of the present day. It was precisely the historic luxury industries of France that the inheritor of the administrative traditions of the Bourbons most unhesitatingly and enthusiastically supported ; and it was mainly in the interest of the silk industry that, on the one side, a licensing system was carried out with its obhgation to export French industrial products, and, on the other side, the commercial measures against the allies of France, which comprised a monopolization of Italian raw silk for the requirements of the French silk industry and every conceivable measure against the for’eign rivals of that industry.

这尤其适用于所有奢侈品行业，包括法国最辉煌、最具历史意义的纺织业——丝绸制造。我们最近才感受到严密封锁和物资短缺的压力，因此最能理解在这种情况下，奢侈品的生产很难扩大，而且会采取越来越多的形式，也许更能理解的是，政府无论在经济领域多么缺乏智慧，如果鼓励（更不用说强制）这种生产，那就真的是愚蠢至极了。因此，既然法兰西第一帝国时期的情况如此，就不能把大陆制度视为对英国的封锁措施，这也是事物的本质。另一方面，这与完全支配拿破仑的普遍保护主义倾向密切相关，并构成了大陆制度与当今相应制度的特殊性质的解释。波旁王朝行政传统的继承者最义无反顾、最热情支持的恰恰是法国历史上的奢侈品行业；主要是为了丝绸业的利益，一方面，实行了许可证制度，目的是出口法国的工业产品；另一方面，对法国的盟国采取了商业措施，包括垄断意大利生丝以满足法国丝绸业的需要，以及对该行业的外国竞争对手采取一切可以想到的措施。

The vaunting luxury in both word and deed, which in Napoleon’s view was a principal means of raising the prestige of the empire both internally and externally, also worked particularly well with the tendency to create sales for industries of the kind in which the French had excelled for centuries ; and a great deal of the encouragement of industry therefore consisted, quite naturally, in orders of all kinds on behalf of the court and imperial palace. Probably the fact that such a policy diverted productive forces from turning out what was necessary for the support of the people as well as for the prosecution of the war, did not greatly occupy Napoleon’s thoughts. To him, in fact, the function of economics presented itself more in the light of the popular notion of the necessity of ‘ providing employment ’ than as a need to bring about thegreatest possible result from the efforts of limited powers. But in this respect a far more correct perception has forced its way into the minds of the governments of nearly all countries during the recent war-the German Vaterlandischer Hilfsdienst(vulgo, Zivildienstypflicht), the British National Service, and various other names, form the best evidence of this-despite almost equally great economic ignorance in the beginning ; , and this shows how comparatively gentle, after all, was the pressure of the Continental System in comparison with that of the recent war. As the object of our investigation is to determine the actual effects of the blockade policy, therefore, there is no reason to pursue any further the industrial development on its luxury side.

在拿破仑看来，言行上的奢侈炫耀是提高帝国对内对外声望的主要手段，也特别有利于为法国几个世纪以来最擅长的那种工业创造销售机会；因此，对工业的大量鼓励自然是代表宫廷和皇宫的各种订单。这样的政策分散了生产力，使其无法生产出支持人民和进行战争所需的产品，拿破仑可能对此并不十分在意。事实上，对他来说，经济学的作用更多地是体现在 "提供就业机会 "的流行观念上，而不是体现在通过有限的力量取得尽可能大的成果上。然而，在最近的战争期间，几乎所有国家的政府在这方面都有了更为正确的认识：德国的祖国救济服务（简称强制性公务员制度）、英国的国民服务局以及其他各种名称，都是最好的证明——尽管他们在一开始几乎同样对经济一无所知；这表明，与最近战争的压力相比，大陆制度的压力毕竟是多么温和。由于我们调查的目的是阻止 挖掘封锁政策的实际效果，因此没有理由进一步探讨其奢侈方面的工业发展。

## **WOOLLEN AND LINEN INDUSTRIES**

## **毛纺和麻纺业**

On the other hand, the situation is quite different in the case of the other branches of the textile industry. Of these, t,he cloth manufacture had quite as deep roots in the history of France as the silk industry ; and it had, like that, and in fact like the whole of French industrial life, suffered greatly from the storms of the revolution, both through the general insecurity of life and limb and through the hopeless state of the currency in consequence of the assignut system. It now raised itself out of its decay and had a brilliant period, which, for instance, in Rheims-surpassed the last years of the ancien rkgime, which was now justly remembered as having marked the summit level of old French material culture.

Undoubtedly, the development of the woollen industry was promoted by Napoleon's policy, especially by careful work in the way of production of wool and the procurement of wool from Spain, and also with regard to the coarser clothing in consequence of the military requirements, which always and everywhere in our climes make special demands on this branch of the textile trade. Remarkably enough, so far as one can judge, the greatest progress was made in one of the incorporated territories, namely, the Roer department, meaning thatparticular part of the present Rhine province which is situated on the left bank of the Rhine (Nieder-Rhein). In the now world-famous textile ,centres, fix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, &x., there were almost the only industrial centres which the old French manufacturers recognized as equal rivals in the finer branches of the clothing trade. It is true that the blockade against Great Britain also played its part here, and still more, perhaps, the blockade against the continental rivals of France, But we cannot speak here of any at all decisive effect of the Continental System itself, as the woollen industry was long established in France and was not brought to any distinctly higher state of prosperity than it had attained before the Revolution, despite the fact that various new specialities were taken up and also various technical advances were made, of which more anon. Thus it was principally for the regions which had previously been outside France, or had been treated by the customs authorities as foreign countries, that the policy became important, inasmuch as it gave them a share of the sales on what was at least intended to be the hermeticallysealed French market. According to Chaptal’s calculation, exports had indeed absolutely declined, if one takes into consideration only the old French territory, al€hough internal sales and the total production had increased since 1789. The situation was less favourable as regards the linen industry, where even in the incorporated territories it was only the Belgian district of Ghent that showed any marked development.

另一方面，纺织业其他分支的情况却截然不同。其中，布匹制造业与丝绸业一样，在法国历史上根基深厚；它与丝绸业一样，事实上也与整个法国工业生活一样，在大革命的风暴中遭受了重创，这既是由于生命和肢体的普遍不安全，也是由于分配制造成的货币无望状态。现在，它摆脱了颓势，迎来了辉煌的时期，例如在兰斯，它超越了旧时代的最后几年，现在人们有理由记住它，因为它标志着旧法国物质文化的最高水平。毫无疑问，羊毛工业的发展是由拿破仑的政策推动的，特别是在羊毛生产和从西班牙采购羊毛方面的精心工作，以及由于军事需要，在粗制服装方面也有所工作，这些都对我们地区的纺织贸易提出了特殊的要求。值得注意的是，就我们所能判断的而言，进步最大的是其中一个并入地区，即勒尔省，也就是现在莱茵省位于莱茵河左岸（下莱茵）的那一部分。在如今举世闻名的纺织品中心，如菲茨拉夏贝尔、科隆等地，几乎是法国老牌制造商唯一承认的工业中心，他们在服装贸易的细分领域是平等的竞争对手。诚然，对英国的封锁在这里也发挥了作用，也许对法国在大陆上的竞争对手的封锁更起了作用，但我们在这里不能说大陆制度本身产生了任何决定性的影响，因为毛纺业在法国已经发展了很长时间，尽管出现了各种新的专业，也取得了各种技术进步，但并没有达到比大革命前更高的繁荣程度。这些我们稍后再谈。因此，这项政策主要是针对那些以前不属于法国或被海关当局视为外国的地区的，因为它使这些地区在法国市场上获得了一定的销售份额，而法国市场至少本意是密封的 。根据夏普塔尔的计算，尽管自1789年以来国内销售额和总产量都有所增长，但如果只考虑旧法国领土，出口量确实绝对下降了。亚麻工业的情况则没有那么好，即使在合并后的领土上，也只有比利时的根特地区有明显的发展。

## **COTTON INDUSTRY**

## **棉纺织业**

Especially with regard to the linen and woollen industries, however, it is true that the comparatively slow development was caused by the expansion of the cotton industry, an expansion which was unique, and, in the eyes of contemporaries, quite phenomenal. Here there is no doubt that we are broughtface to face with an effect of the Continental System; for, on one side, the whole of this branch of industry was comparatively undeveloped before the Revolution, while, on the other side, the competition of Great Britain was more overwhelming here than anywhere else in the industrial life of France. The (1 French people had already accustomed themselves to cotton goods to such an extent that the prohibition on imports in 1806 was all that was required to speed up the domestic production amazingly, especially as the foundation had been largely laid by the many prohibitions and embargoes during the whole of the preceding decade.

然而，特别是在亚麻和毛纺业方面，相对缓慢的发展确实是由棉纺业的扩张造成的，这种扩张是独一无二的，而且在同时代人看来是相当惊人的 。毫无疑问，在这里我们面对的是大陆制度的影响；因为一方面，在大革命之前，整个棉纺织业都是不发达的，而另一方面，在法国的工业生活中，英国的竞争比其他任何地方都更加激烈。法国人民对棉制品已经习以为常，1806 年的进口禁令足以加快国内生产的速度，尤其是在此前的十年中，许多禁令和禁运已经在很大程度上奠定了基础。

Here again it was two incorporated territories that exhibited the most violent growth, namely, Mulhausen in Upper Alsace, with old traditions in that line, and Ghent, which under the leadership of one man, Lievin Bauwens, the great captain of industry,' stands out as a striking example of one of the two kinds of development due to the Continental System. Ghent, it is true, had old and boasted textile traditions, dating from the Middle Ages ; but long before the Revolution almost all manufacture had disappeared there, and as the revolutionary wars put an end to the little that remained, this old manufacturing centre had come to be looked upon as a dead town. In 1801, however, Li6vin Bauwens started there a machine cotton-spinning mill and also a hand weaving establishment. To begin with, he was almost alone in the matter, being helped merely by his brothers, but as early as 1803 he had no less than 23'7 workmen. It was not long before his example began to be followed by a number of other persons, especially relatives, who entered into violent competition with him, particularly for the altogether inadequate supply of labour. An enormous expansion thereupon began ; the whole of Flanders and northern France were covered with spinning-mills and home weavers, the new enterprises extending, in fact, as far as Paris and its environs. But Ghent remained the main centre, and for a fairly long time it was the only place in the empire where cotton goods were manufactured on a large scale, especially for military requirements ; and it also obtained as markets,not only France and Belgium, but also Holland, Italy, Spain and the larger part of Germany. At the summit level of this prosperity the former ' dead town ' was stated to have fifty factories and ten thousand workers in the cotton trade; and the shortage of labour was so great that wages jumped up to wh.at was then the amazing amount of 5-8 francs per diem.

同样，有两个合并地区的发展最为迅猛，即上阿尔萨斯的穆尔豪森和根特，前者拥有悠久的纺织传统，而后者则在工业巨头利文·鲍文斯的领导下，成为大陆制度所带来的两种发展中的一个突出例子。根特从中世纪起就拥有古老而引以为豪的纺织业，但早在大革命之前，几乎所有的制造业都已消失，随着革命战争的结束，这个古老的手工业中心已被视为一座死城。然而，1801 年，利文·鲍文斯在这里开办了一家机器棉纺厂和一家手工纺织厂。一开始，他几乎是孤军奋战，只有他的兄弟们帮忙，但早在 1803 年，他就拥有了不少于 237 名工人。不久，他开始被其他一些人效仿，特别是他的亲戚，他们与他展开了激烈的竞争，尤其是在劳动力供应完全不足的情况下。于是，整个法兰德斯和法国北部开始了大规模的扩张：纺纱厂和家庭纺织厂遍布整个法兰德斯和法国北部，事实上，新的企业一直延伸到巴黎及其周边地区。但根特仍然是主要的中心，在相当长的一段时间里，它是帝国唯一大规模生产棉制品的地方，尤其是为军事需求生产棉制品；它不仅获得了法国和比利时的市场，还获得了荷兰、意大利、西班牙和德国大部分地区的市场。在这种繁荣的顶峰时期，这个昔日的 "死城 "据说有 50 家工厂和 1 万名棉花贸易工人；由于劳动力严重短缺，工资飙升到了当时惊人的每天 5-8 法郎。

In contrast with this production for sale on a large scale there existed in Miilhausen, and in southern Alsace in generaland had long existed-a flourishing manufacture of the finest qualities of calicoes and printed cotton goods. The real impetus, however, came with the annexation of the town by the French republic in 1798 ; and the Continental System made it the leading centre for calicoes and prints upon the Continent, at the expense both of Basel and of British sales in Europe. The importance of the development at Miilhausen appears best, perhaps, from the population statistics, which show an increase from 6,628 in the year 1800 to 8,021 in 1805 and 9,353 in 1810, a growth of 41 per cent. in ten years. Alongside this, however, there were also very important and comparatively new centres for the cotton trade within the limits of old France, especially in the old textile districts of northern France and in Paris and its suburbs. One of the most celebrated French leaders of industry, Richard Lenoir, was stated by a German observer who is generally regarded as reliable (Fahnenberg) to have had in his factories such for that time incredible numbers of workmen as 10,600 in 1808 and 14,000 in 1810. According to the statements of Chaptal, who is throughout obviously a partisan of the new industry, it is true, but who in spite of this is in many ways our most reliable source of information, the production of cotton yarn was already sufficient for home requirements almost up to the highest number (finest gradeskin reality, however, up to number 100 only. Even as regards woven cotton goods, in his opinion, the imports had declined to about 6 per cent. of the figure for the last year of the ancien rdgime ; but in this estimate a considerable amount of smuggling, for which an overwhelming evidence exists, was assuredly left out of account. It is also worthy ofnote that what was at times a very considerable export of piece goods had begun.

与这种大规模的销售生产形成鲜明对比的是，在米尔豪森，以及在整个阿尔萨斯南部 ，长期以来一直存在着最优质的花布和印花棉布的繁荣生产。然而，真正的推动力是 1798 年法兰西共和国吞并该镇之后；大陆体系使其成为欧洲大陆的主要花布和印花布中心，但以巴塞尔协议和英国在欧洲的销售为代价。人口统计数据显示，米尔豪森的人口从 1800 年的 6628 人增加到 1805 年的 8021 人和 1810 年的 9353 人，十年间增长了 41%。然而，与此同时，在旧法国境内，特别是在法国北部的老纺织区和巴黎及其郊区，也出现了非常重要且相对较新的棉花贸易中心。一位被公认为可靠的德国观察家（法恩伯格）称，法国最著名的工业领袖之一，理查德·勒努的工厂在当时拥有数量惊人的工人，1808 年为 10 600 人，1810 年为 14 000 人。根据夏普塔尔。这个从始至终都是新工业拥护者的说法，确实如此，但从在很多方面都是我们最可靠的信息来源来看，棉纱的产量几乎达到了国内需求的最高数量（最优质的棉纱实际上只生产到 100 头）。他认为，即使在棉织品方面，进口量也已下降到旧制度最后一年的 6%左右；但在这一估计中，肯定忽略了大量的走私活动，而这是有确凿证据的。同样值得注意的是，有时非常可观的零散货物出口已经开始。

Evidently this development was calculated to give Napoleon himself and his helpers a great certainty of victory, both as an evidence of the profitableness of the Continental System to France and as a blow against the economic supremacy of Great Britain. To what a great extent the whole thing was regarded as an important item in the struggle against Great Britain is shown by many facts. When Napoleon visited Oberkampf, the most famous of the leaders of the cotton industry, who a.s early as 1760 hAd laid the foundation of calico printing in old France by the establishment of his famous works at Jouy, outside Versailles, he decorated him and added the explanation : ‘ We are both carrying on war against the British, but your war is the best.’ And Li6vin Bauwens produced a wonderful judgment on the part of the British Court of King’s Bench, by which, on the accusation of Lord Erskine, he had been condemned to death in contumaciam, because, ‘ not content with having stolen the secrets of England in the art of tanning, he had also robbed her of the most important branch of her trade, the cotton manufacture, which was the apple of her eye.’

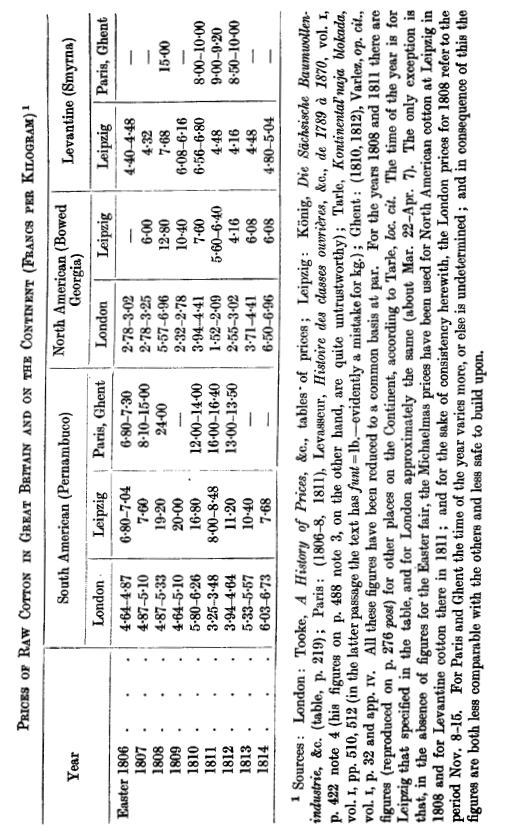
显而易见，这一发展给拿破仑本人及其援助者带来了极大的胜利把握，既证明了大陆制度对法国有利，又打击了英国的经济霸权。在与英国的斗争中，这件事在多大程度上被视为一个重要项目，这一点可以从许多事实中看出来。早在 1760 年，奥贝坎普夫就在凡尔赛郊外的儒瓦建立了著名的工厂，为旧法国的花布印刷奠定了基础。利文·鲍文斯还出示了英国国王法庭的一份精彩判决书，根据厄斯金勋爵的指控，他被判处死刑，因为 "他不仅窃取了英国制革技术的秘密，还夺走了英国最重要的贸易部门——棉花制造业，而这正是英国最看重的"。

In reality, however, there was no point where the two opposing tendencies of the Continental System were so much in conflict with one another as here ; and the reason was, of course, that the industry was based on a raw material which was for the most part unobtainable by other means than by the forbidden route across the seas. From the very first moment, therefore, the shortage of raw materials hung like the sword of Damocles over the head of the flourishing new development, causing continual fluctuations and constant changes. During the year 1808, for instance, Libin Bauwens, according to his own statement, employed 1,269 workmen on May 1, but only 230 on November 1 ; and the same state of affairs was said to prevail among his competitors. Moreover, according to the same authority, the price of raw cotton rose at the same time from 5.25 to 11 or 12 francs per half a kilo and then sank to6 or 7. As early as 1807 the shortage of raw cotton had begun to make itself felt in France, and in the course of 1808 it produced a genuine crisis in the cotton industry, which found expression in many forms, Thus, for instance, the prefect of the Aube department declared that the closing of the spinningmills in Troyes caused by the ‘ equally sudden and unique rise in the price of raw cotton ’ had reduced 10,000 people to misery ; and on this account he submitted a placard which was apparently insurrectionary. According to another state- , ment, the difficulties of the French weaving mills were further increased by the fact that the weaving mills in Germany and Switzerland, owing to the scarcity of yarn prevailing there, had gotten hold of French cotton yarn and thus rendered that dearer. The difficulty was partly overcome this time, and the state of prosperity continued into the year 1810, which as a rule marks the summit level of the industrial prosperity of France, as also of England and the non-French parts of the Continent. But then, as we know, came the great crisis, of which the shortage of raw cotton formed one of the most obvious causes; and this shortage was made worse by Napoleon’s Rambouillet decree, issued in the spring of 1810, which dealt a severe blow at American shipping: During the following years of the empire the shortage became more and more acute, and in 1813 it led to a complete stoppage of operations.

然而，在现实中，大陆制度的两种对立倾向在任何地方都不可能像在这里这样相互冲突；其原因当然是，这种工业所依赖的原材料，除了通过跨海禁道之外，大部分是无法通过其他途径获得的。因此，从一开始，原材料的短缺就像一把达摩克利斯之剑，悬在蓬勃发展的新兴 ，造成了持续的波动和不断的变化。例如，在 1808 年，利文·鲍文斯自己说，他在 5 月 1 日雇用了 1269 名工人，但在 11 月 1 日只雇用了 230 名工人；据说他的竞争对手也是如此。此外，根据同一权威人士的说法，原棉的价格在同一时期从每半公斤 5.25 法郎涨到了 11 或 12 法郎，然后又降到了 6 或 7 法郎。早在 1807 年，法国就开始出现原棉短缺的现象，到了 1808 年，导致棉纺业出现了真正的危机，并以多种形式表现出来。例如，奥布省省长宣称，由于 "原棉价格同样突然而独特的上涨"，特鲁瓦的纺 厂关闭，导致 1 万人陷入困境；为此，他提交了一份明显带有叛乱性质的标语牌。另一份报告称，德国和瑞士的纺织厂由于纱线稀缺而购买了法国棉纱，从而使棉纱价格上涨，这进一步加剧了法国纺织厂的困难。这一次，困难被部分克服了，繁荣的景象一直持续到 1810 年，这一年通常标志着法国、英国和欧洲大陆非法国地区的工业，达到了顶峰。但是，正如我们所知，大危机随之而来，原棉短缺是其中最明显的原因之一；1810 年春，拿破仑颁布了朗布依埃法令，沉重打击了美国的航运业，使原棉短缺雪上加霜：在帝国的随后几年里，棉花短缺越来越严重，到 1813 年，棉花短缺导致业务完全停顿。

The whole of this position is not in the least degree difficult to explain, but its importance is worthy of illustration with figures. The available statistics especially show how practically impossible any real competition with the British industry-or, to be more explicit, the impossibility of creating an industry that could provide the whole population of the Continent with cotton goods on approximately the same terms as were offered to British and American consumers-must have been made by the mere fact that raw material was scarce or unobtainable, (See next page.)

整个情况并不难解释，但其重要性值得用数字来说明。现有的统计数字特别表明，由于原材料稀缺或无法获得，要想与英国工业进行真正的竞争实际上是多么不可能，或者说得更明确些，要想建立一个能以与提供给英国和美国消费者大致相同的条件为整个欧洲大陆的人民提供棉制品的工业是多么不可能。 （详见下表）

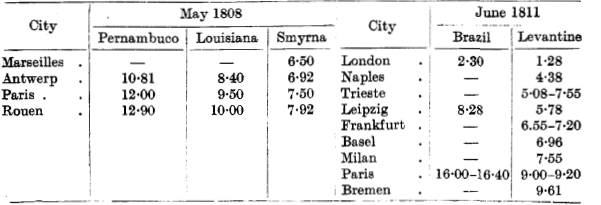


On examining the columns for North and South Americancotton we note the enormous distance between British and continental prices, During the years 1808-13 the prices, even in Leipzig, the centre of the European cotton trade, are almost without exception twice as high as in London, and in certain years (1808-9) they are four times as high. To a far greater extent than one would have expected beforehand, the figures follow one another at similar distances-a fact which appears with particular clearness in the increase of price on Georgia cotton in 1808 (autumn) and in the fall of prices corresponding to both qualities in 1811. Tnis illustrates what has been previously said concerning the almost uniform increase of prices caused by smuggling. It is quite true, indeed, that we have no security here for agreement in quality between the different quotations ; but the conclusions here put forward may be said to hold good a fortiori, as at least one factor is excluded which would increase, and not diminish, the distance, namely, the heavy depreciation of British currency, which makes the British prices too high when, as here, they are converted to francs at par. A levelling-down tendency first appeared in 1813, in connexion with the Anglo-American war, which raised the British prices, and the fall of the Continental System on the European mainland, which lowered the continental prices ; and the year 1814, owing to the continuance of the former factor and the peace on the Continent, led to a unique situation, in that Georgia cotton was cheaper in Leipzig than in London.

在 1808-13 年间，即使是欧洲棉花贸易中心莱比锡的价格也几乎无一例外地比伦敦高出两倍，某些年份（1808-1809年）甚至高出四倍。在相近的距离上，这些数字互相追随，其程度远远超出人们的预期——这一事实在 1808 年（秋季）佐治亚州棉花价格的上涨和 1811 年两种品质棉花价格的下跌中表现得尤为明显。这说明了前面所说的走私导致价格几乎一致上涨的情况。的确，在这里我们无法保证不同报价之间的质量一致；但这里提出的结论可以说更有道理，因为至少排除了一个会增加而不是减少距离的因素，即英国货币的严重贬值，这使得英国的价格过高，就像这里一样，英镑可以和法郎等价交换。1813 年，由于英美战争抬高了英国的物价，而欧洲大陆体系的衰落又降低了欧洲大陆的物价，因此首次出现了物价平缓下降的趋势；1814 年，由于前一个因素的持续和欧洲大陆的和平，出现了一种独特的情况，即乔治亚州的棉花在莱比锡比在伦敦便宜。

However, the table shows something more, namely, that the French prices without exception stood higher than the Leipzig prices. Nor is this surprising, in view of the stricter customs watch in France; but it is none the less z1 fact which made still more difficult the position of the French cotton industry. Unfortunately, it is precisely these figures that least bear comparison in the table ; but light can be thrown on the matter by other figures, based on French consular reports, for a number of different places at the =me two points of time, namely, the two crises of May 1808 and June 1811. If we arrange these places as nearly as possible in accordance with themagnitude of the prices, the figures assume the following shape (francs per kilogram) :

然而，该表还显示了更多的情况，即法国的价格毫无例外地高于莱比锡的价格。鉴于法国的海关检查更为严格，这也不足为奇；但这一事实却使法国棉纺织业的处境更为艰难。遗憾的是，表格中最不值得比较的恰恰是这些数字；但根据法国领事馆报告中的其他数字，我们可以对这一问题有所了解，这些数字是在两个时间点（即 1808 年 5 月和 1811 年 6 月的两次危机）的不同地方得出的。如果我们尽可能按照价格的幅度来排列这些地方的数字，那么这些数字就会呈现出以下形状（每公斤法郎）：



As we see from this table, the French industrial centres come last, with the sole exception, at the later time, of Bremen.

从表中我们可以看出，法国的工业中心排在最后，唯一的例外是后来的不来梅。

As all this necessarily followed from the nature of the self-blockade, it could not take Napoleon by surprise ; and in point of fact he was prepared for it, although his countermeasures were somewhat hesitating. At times the only expedient he saw was to replace the colonial cotton by some other cotton which did not have to be obtained by sea. The most obvious kind was Levantine, but here, too, there were great difficulties, arising partly from its short staple and generally inferior quality and partly from the great delays and inconveniences of transportation, as it could not be conveyed across the Mediterranean and as a very expensive transport in wheeled vehicles had consequently to be arranged through Bosnia uia Genoa and Marseilles. The figures given above also show how the French prices for Levantine cotton ran up, even in comparison with the British prices for the far more valuable American cotton. The situation was all the more unsatisfactory because Napoleon would by no means be satisfied with the coarse goods that alone could be produced from Levantine cotton. Thus there arose the idea of starting the cultivation of cotton nearer home, preferably within the borders of the empire ; and in this connexion the most obvious choice was Naples. Naples, to use the expression of the French envoythere, was to be ‘ France’s richest colony ’, or, to borrow a phrase from a French historian,l ‘the tropical element ’ in the Continental System ; it was this fact that caused Neapolitan cotton alone to be excepted from the enormously increased customs duties imposed by the Trianon tariff. But the cotton that could be obtained from Naples (Castellamare), even in combination with that which was admitted in later years from Spain (Motril) and with what could be otherwise scraped together from places nearer home (from Romagna, &e.), supplied but a small fraction of the total requirements ; on the basis of Chaptal’s figures for the output of\the spinning-mills in 1812, one may perhaps calculate this supply at 12 per cent. of the whole.

由于所有这些都是自我封锁性质的必然结果，不可能使得拿破仑惊讶；事实上，他对此早有准备，尽管他的反制措施有些犹豫不决。有时，他认为唯一的权宜之计是用其他一些不必从海上获取的棉花代替殖民地棉花。最明显的一种是黎凡特棉花，但在这方面也有很大的困难，一方面是由于它的短绒和质量普遍较差，另一方面是由于运输上的巨大延误和不便，因为它不能横跨地中海运输，因此必须通过波斯尼亚-热那亚和马赛安排非常昂贵的轮式运输。上述数字还显示了法国对黎凡特棉花的价格是如何上涨的，即使与英国对价值高得多的美国棉花的价格相比也是如此。这种情况更加令人不满，因为拿破仑决不会满足于仅仅用黎凡特棉花生产的粗制商品。因此，拿破仑萌生了在更近的地方，最好是在帝国境内开始种植棉花的想法；在这方面，最明显的选择就是那不勒斯。用法国驻那不勒斯使节的话说，那不勒斯是 "法国最富有的殖民地"，或者借用法国历史学家的一句话，是大陆体系中的 "热带元素"；正是由于这一事实，只有那不勒斯的棉花才能免于特里亚侬关税大幅提高的关税。但是，从那不勒斯（卡斯特拉马雷）获得的棉花，即使与后来从西班牙（莫特里尔）获得的棉花以及从更近的地方（罗马涅等地）拼凑的棉花 ，也只供应了总需求量的一小部分；根据夏普塔尔提供的1812年纺纱厂的产量数字，我们或许可以计算出这一供应量占总量的12%。

All this was so obvious that Napoleon could never feel unmixed joy at the prodigious development of the cotton industry, but, on the contrary, time after time occupied his thoughts with the idea of rooting out cotton goods and replacing them by other textiles, such as had long been manufactured in France and were based on domestic raw materials. Even as early as 1809 he declared that ’ it would be better to use only wool, flax, and silk, the products of our own soil, and to proscribe cotton forever on the Continent, because we have no colonies ; but as we cannot control the fashions, of course, . . .

这一切是如此显而易见，以至于拿破仑从未对棉纺织业的迅猛发展感到喜悦，相反，他一次又一次地想着要根除棉纺织品，用其他纺织品取而代之。甚至早在 1809 年，他就宣称 "最好只使用羊毛、亚麻和丝绸，这些都是我们自己土地上的产品，在欧洲大陆永远禁止使用棉花，因为我们没有殖民地；但我们当然无法控制时尚……"。

The same thought lay behind his resolution, effected in the following year, to offer a prize of no less than a million francs for the invention of a flax-spinning machine ; but after the outbreak of the crisis of 1810-11, he took such a strong step against what was after all largely his own work as, in January 1811, to banish cotton goods from the imperial palaces. But for the very reason that Napoleon had given two years previously, the extirpation of cotton goods-at which he assuredly did not even aim at this stage-was a hopelessundertaking ; and he, like his people, had to take the consequences of a situation from which there was no escape.

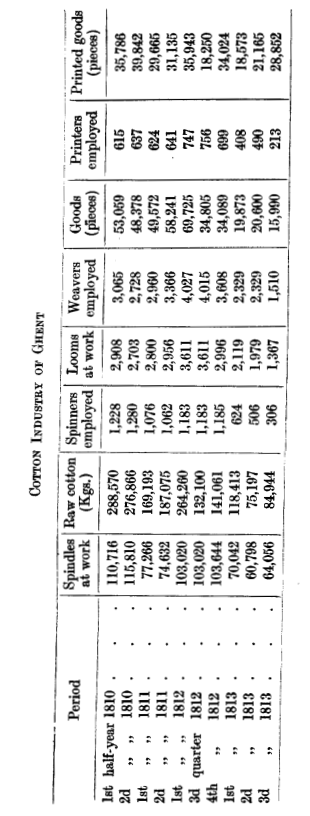
次年，他决定为亚麻纺纱机的发明提供不少于一百万法郎的奖金，也是出于同样的考虑；但在1810-1811年危机爆发后，他采取了强有力的措施，在1811年1月将棉制品从皇宫中驱逐出去，而这在很大程度上是他自己的杰作。但是，正因为拿破仑两年前提出的理由，取缔棉织品——他在这一阶段的目标肯定不是棉织品——是一项毫无希望的举措；他和他的人民一样，不得不承担无处可逃的局面的后果。

The development of the cotton industry is characteristic of the effects of the Continental System, not only through t.he dualism that existed between the exclusion of raw materials and the forcing of manufacture, but to an equal extent through the violently enforced stimulation of a production that had not grown up out of increasing natural requirements for an article but out of a sudden embargo in combination with state measures of all kinds. There is no doubt that great over-speculation had occurred in the industry and had had its share in the French crisis of 1810-11, just as a similar over-speculation in the colonial trade gave the impulse to the crisis in Great Britain. Mollien, an observer who formed unusually cool judgments, pointed this out in a letter to Napoleon, and especially called his attention to the insufficient supply of capital possessed by the industry and its consequent dependence on loans and bills of exchange. In his memoirs he is, on the whole, very critical not only of the heads of factories, especially Richard Lenoir, whose untenable business position and reckless way of living he says that he explained to the Emperor, but also of the industry itself, where, in his opinion, many millions had been invested in what could have been made equally serviceable at half the expense.

棉纺织业的发展是大陆制度影响的一个特点，这不仅表现在排斥原料和强迫生产之间存在的二元对立，而且在同等程度上也表现在粗暴地强制刺激生产，而这种生产的增长并非源于对物品自然需求的增加，而是源于突然的禁运和各种国家措施的结合。毫无疑问，该行业出现了严重的过度投机，并在 1810-1811年的法国危机中扮演了重要角色，正如殖民贸易中类似的过度投机推动了英国的危机一样。莫利安是一位观察力敏锐的人，他在给拿破仑的一封信中指出了这一点，并特别提请拿破仑注意该行业拥有的资本供应不足，以及由此导致的对贷款和汇票的依赖。在他的回忆录中，他不仅对工厂负责人，尤其是理查德-勒努瓦提出了严厉的批评，他说他向皇帝解释了勒努瓦站不住脚的商业地位和鲁莽的生活方式，而且还对工业本身提出了严厉的批评。

When, after some months, the crisis of 1810 reached the cotton industry, it hit it very hard and effectively, especially the spinning-mills, which as a rule seem to have seen their number of workmen decline by a third in the course of 1811. There was a general improvement in the course of 1812 which continued in places during most of the following year, at least if we may credit the deliberately roseate reports of the home secretary to Napoleon in the latter half of 1813. But the Ghent industry declined steadily early in 1813, and later on in the same year, that is to say, before the fall of Napoleon, the decline spread in ever-widening circles. Probably with great exaggeration, but certainly not, without grounds, the Executive Committeefor Cotton of the Council of Manufactures expressed the view in the following year, immediately after the Restoration, that the whole of this branch of industry was ruined in 1813 to such an extent that 600,000 individuals had to choose between begging or putting an end to their misery on a battlefield. Capital to the amount of 300,000,000 francs was paralysed and working power to the value of 230,000,OOO francs was lost. The most comprehensible picture of the decline from the summit year of 1810 to the autumn of 1813 is offered by the official ilgures for the Ghent industries, reproduced on the next page.

几个月后，1810 年的危机波及到了棉纺织业，它给棉纺织业带来了沉重而有效的打击，尤其是纺纱厂。1812 年，情况有了普遍好转，在第二年的大部分时间里，这种好转在一些地方仍在继续，至少我们可以相信拿破仑的内政大臣在 1813 年下半年故意夸大的报告。但根特的工业在 1813 年初逐渐衰落，同年晚些时候，也就是拿破仑垮台之前，衰落的范围越来越广。制造业委员会棉花执行委员会在次年，即复辟后不久就表示，1813 年，整个棉纺织业被毁，以至于 60 万人不得不在乞讨和在战场上结束痛苦之间做出选择，这种说法可能非常夸张，但肯定不是毫无根据的。3亿法郎的资本瘫痪了，价值2.3亿法郎的劳动力丧失了。关于 1810 年顶峰时期到 1813 年秋季的衰退，最容易理解的图景是根特工业的官方图表，转载于下页。



We note in these figures the poweriul effect of the crisis of 1811 as regards the spinning-mills, but, in contrast with this, no effect at all as regards the weaving-mills or printing works, while the decline in 1813, with a quite different kind of uniformity, extends over all branches of the industry ; and, if me judge by the number of spindles, it implies a. reduction of almost a half.

从这些数字中我们可以看出，1811 年的危机对纺纱厂产生了巨大的影响，但与此形成鲜明对比的是，对织布厂或印刷厂却没有任何影响，而 1813 年的衰退则以一种完全不同的统一性，波及了该行业的所有分支；如果我根据纱锭的数量来判断，这意味着几乎减少了一半。

The strongest evidence of the enforced stimulation of the industry, however, is shown in the events occurring at the fall of Napoleon. When the frontiers were opened in connexion with the march of the allied armies, and later, in April 1814, formally opened by a series of decrees issued by the Provisional Government, the cotton industry collapsed altogether, and almost all the leading manufacturers were ruined. The majority of them-chiefly Richard Lenoir, but also Li6vin Bauwenshad received liberal support in the form of loans from Napoleon during the crisis of 1810-11, which they had not been able to repay ; and with the fall of the empire all prospect of their ever repaying them disappeared. Bauwens, who had been lauded in every conceivable fashion as the benefactor of his town and as a pillar of the prosperity of France, saw his property sold by distraint, and he himself had to flee to Paris to escape imprisonment. Chaptal particularly regrets the ruin of the great nankeen manufacture owing to the overwhelming competition of Indian and British goods, which were allowed to enter on payment of duty ; and the amount of the duty was in reality, according to circumstances, 45-50 centimes per metre, which can not have been less than 20-25 per cent. of the value of the goods and consequently no mean protection in itself. But, of course, this was a very considerable step from complete embargo, despite the smuggling.

然而，拿破仑垮台时发生的事件最有力地证明了对该行业的强制刺激。随着盟军的进军，边境被开放，后来在 1814 年 4 月，临时政府颁布了一系列法令，正式开放了边境，棉纺织业完全崩溃了，几乎所有的主要制造商都破产了。他们中的大多数——主要是理查德-勒努瓦，还有利文-鲍文斯——在 1810-1811 年的危机中得到了拿破仑以贷款形式提供的慷慨支持，但他们却无力偿还；随着帝国的灭亡，他们偿还贷款的所有希望都破灭了。鲍文斯曾被人们称赞为小镇的恩人和法国繁荣的支柱，他的财产被扣押变卖，他本人也不得不逃往巴黎以躲避牢狱之灾。夏普塔尔尤其遗憾的是，由于印度和英国商品的压倒性竞争，这些商品被允许在缴纳关税后进入，导致了伟大的土布制造业遭到了破坏。而实际上，根据具体情况，关税金额为每米45-50生丁，不可能低于商品价值的20-25%，因此，这本身就不是什么好的保护措施。当然，尽管有走私，但这离完全禁运还差得很远。

Whatever construction one may put on the matter, the fate of the French cotton industry on the fall of Napoleon shows that it had by no means become capable, during the time of the blockade, of holding its own against foreign competition. Nor is the great prosperity which, after a quite short interval, occurred under the Restoration any real evidence of its competitive efficiency, inasmuch as a prohibition of the imports of foreign textiles was almost immediatelyre-introduced; and the protection of the industry was thereby even considerably increased, as raw cotton now came in free. Indeed, as will be shown throughout this chapter, the technical advances in French industry were not, on the whole, very great underthe Continental System, and they still fell far behind Great Britain in almost every respect. Without the help of Englishmen very little progress could as yet be made in anything which had to do with engineering or metal working industries ; and Lihvin Bauwens, for instance, started his machine spinning-mills with the help of five foremen whom he had virtually kidnapped from England, and whom he detained half with their consent and half by violence. As has been indicated before, however, it was almost inevitable that the blows of the Continental decrees against everything living or dead which bore the name of English should have a restraining effect on the spread of English ideas and the removal of English mechanics or inventors to the Continent ; and, indeed, Mollien said somewhat bitingly, in connexion with hisgeneral criticism of the new industry, that the machinery was built by ‘ roving Englishmen who were not the best mechanics of their country ’. Chaptal’s complacent account of how, through his far-sightedness, machines were procured which were the best in Europe and were continually being developed by improvements from without and by native invention, must also be taken cum grano salis

无论如何解释，拿破仑垮台时法国棉纺织业的命运表明，在封锁期间，法国棉纺织业根本没有能力对抗外国的竞争。在相当短的时间间隔后，复辟时期出现的大繁荣也没有任何真正的证据表明其竞争效率，因为几乎立即出台了禁止进口外国纺织品的规定；而且由于原棉现在是免费的，对该行业的保护甚至大大加强了。事实上，正如本章所要说明的，在大陆制度下，法国工业的技术进步总体上并不是很大，几乎在所有方面都远远落后于英国。没有英国人的帮助，，任何与工程或金属加工工业有关的事情都很难取得进展；例如，利文-鲍文斯是在五个工头的帮助下开始他的机器纺纱厂的，而这五个工头实际上是他从英国绑架来的，他一半是征得他们的同意，一半是用暴力扣留了他们。然而，如前所述，大陆法令对一切冠以英国之名的活物或死物的打击，几乎不可避免地会对英国思想的传播和英国机械师或发明家迁移到大陆产生抑制作用。而事实上，莫利安在对新工业进行一般性批评时曾尖刻地指出，机器是由"流浪的英国人制造的，他们不是本国最好的机械师"。夏普塔尔自鸣得意地介绍说，由于他的远见卓识，他买到了欧洲最好的机器，并通过外来的改进和本地的发明不断得到发展。

This appears best from what, in the main, is distinctive of the two great branches of industry that were revolutionized by the inventions of the immediately preceding generation (the textile and iron industries), namely, that France and the Continent in general were even at the time of Napoleon’s fall far from being in a position to take up the new fundamental processes on which the industrial life of England had been based for quite a long time.

这一点从上一代人的发明（纺织业和炼铁业）彻底改变了两大工业部门的主要特点中可以看出，即即使在拿破仑垮台之时，法国和整个欧洲大陆也远未能够掌握英国工业生活长期以来所依赖的新的基本工艺。

## **FUNDAMENTAL PROCESSES**

## **基本过程**

In the sphere of the textile industry this holds good both of the power to spin high numbers of yarn (fine grades), the use of the steam-engine in the spinning industry, and the power-loom. Regarding the first of these, as has already been mentioned, they had not gotten beyond number 100 in cotton yarn in 1815 ; it was reserved for the Restoration to move forward in a few years to number 200 or (as a rarity) even 291. With regard to the steam-engine, we have already mentioned that one single French spinning-mill had passed, as early as 1787 (the year after the Eden Treaty) to the use of steam power, which was at that date a complete novelty even in England. It would be difficult to find anything more indicative of the technical stagnation which then occurred than the fact that the next time a French steam spinning-mill is mentioned is no less than twenty-five years later. It was not until 1812 that the pioneering firm of Dollfus, Mieg & Cie., which is still famous all over the world, set up such a mill in Miilhausenthat is to say, in an incorporated territory. Power-loom works, which, it is true, came far later than the revolution in spinningin England also, but which nevertheless began to be set up there as early as 1801, are scarcely mentioned on the Continent during the whole of this period. The only examples known to the writer from the territory of the empire-where, for that matter, there is a total lack of detail-belong, like steam spinning-mills, to the incorporated territories, namely, Ghent an4 Sennheim (in Upper Alsace) ; and neither of them can have been of any great consequence, as the information about them is so sporadic. In the department of mechanical printing, it is true, greater advances were made on the Continent, in that the great invention in this department, cylinder printing, appears to have come into use at Oberkampf’s factory at Jouy, as the first place on the Continent, in 1800, and in Miilhausen and other places in 1805-6; but even this was just twenty years after the institution of similar technical processes in England. In the department of engineering technics it was only outside the cotton industry that the Continent during this period ever took the lead in any decisive respect, namely, as regards both the Jacquard loom, which at first really served the silk industry alone, and Girard’s invention of a flax-spinning machine. This last, which was patented in 1810 and thus realized one of Napoleon’s hopes, significantly enough, left France before anything had been achieved; the inventor had to flee from his creditors to Austria, and an Englishman got hold of his invention. This gave rise to a flourishing English industry, which did not return to the native country of the inventor until twenty-five years after the invention. The continental textile industry reached the same level as the British textile industry in only one single department, namely, in dyeing and other branches where chemistry could be employed, of which more anon.

在纺织业领域，这既体现在纺制大量纱线（细纱）的能力上，也体现在蒸汽机在纺纱业和动力织机上的应用上。关于前者，如前所述，在 1815 年，他们的棉纱产量还没有超过 100 支；而在几年后，复辟王朝的棉纱产量就达到了 200 支，甚至 291 支（非常罕见）。关于蒸汽机，我们已经提到，早在 1787 年（《伊登条约》签订后的第二年），法国就有一家纺纱厂使用了蒸汽动力，而在当时，即使在英国也完全是个新鲜事物。下一次提到法国的蒸汽纺纱机是在 25 年之后，很难找到比这更能说明当时技术停滞不前的了。直到 1812 年，至今仍闻名世界的先驱公司DMC十字绣公司才在米尔豪森（建立了这样一家工厂，也就是说，是在一个合并的领地上。的确，动力织机的出现要比英国的纺纱革命晚得多，但早在 1801 年，英国就开始建立动力织机厂，而在整个这一时期，欧洲大陆却很少提及动力织机厂。作者所知的帝国领土上的唯一例子——在这方面完全缺乏细节——与蒸汽纺纱厂一样，都属于合并后的领土，即根特和森海姆（位于上阿尔萨斯）；由于有关它们的信息非常零散，因此它们都不可能有什么重大影响。在机械印刷领域，欧洲大陆确实取得了更大的进步，因为该领域的伟大发明——滚筒印刷似乎是 1800 年在奥伯坎普夫位于儒伊的工厂（欧洲大陆的第一家）开始使用的，1805-1806 年在米尔豪森和其他地方也开始使用；但即便如此，这也是在英国建立类似的技术流程的20 年之后。在工程技术领域，只有在棉纺织业之外，欧洲大陆在这一时期才取得了决定性的领先地位，即提花织布机和吉拉德发明的亚麻纺纱机，提花织布机最初只是为丝绸业服务。最后一项发明于 1810 年获得了专利，从而实现了拿破仑的一个希望，但令人遗憾的是，这项发明还没有取得任何成果就离开了法国；发明者不得不躲避债主逃到奥地利，而一个英国人得到了他的发明。这催生了英国蓬勃发展的工业，直到25 年后这项发明才回到发明者的祖国。欧洲大陆的纺织业只有一个部门达到了与英国纺织业相同的水平，那就是染色和其他可以利用化学的部门。

Still more striking is the stagnation and backwardness ofFrench economic life in the sphere of the iron industry ; and it is highly significant that Chaptal, in his detailed and enthusiastic description of the progress of industry, here confines himselfexclusively to the department of manufacturing-especially the making of scythes, pins and needles, files, awls, hammers, and other tools-and says nothing about the production of iron, although it was just that which in England had undergone a complete revolution in all its stages during the preceding period. The explanation must be found in an almost incredible backwardness attributable to the French iron industry, which is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that that branch of industry was manifestly of the greatest importance in the incessant wars, and, to judge by accessible figures, had also undergone a very great quantitative development. Nevertheless, the fact itself seems to be quite evident, as shall now be shown.

更令人震惊的是，法国经济生活在钢铁工业领域的停滞和落后；夏普塔尔在他对工业进步的详细而热情洋溢的描述中，只局限于制造业，特别是镰刀、针、锉、锥、锤和其他工具的制造，而对钢铁生产只字未提，这一点非常重要，尽管在前一时期的英国，其在各个阶段都经历了一场彻底的革命。法国钢铁工业的落后几乎是不可思议的，这一点必须加以解释，因为在连绵不断的战争中，法国的钢铁工业显然是最重要的，而且从可获得的数字来看，法国钢铁工业在数量上也有了很大的发展。 不过，事实本身似乎也非常明显，现在就来说明一下。

Although coking and the making of pig-iron by means of coke-that is to say, the smelting of iron-ore with the help of fossil fuel-date back to about 1735, and at least twenty years later had begun to be widespread in English iron-working, French smelting-furnaces continued to be operated almost entirely with charcoal, even after 1808, in spite of the shortage of wood which made its appearance in that year. The only known example of coke smelting-furnaces was offered by the now world-famous Creusot works, which had started the new methods in 1785 ; but the entire process went steadily backward during the revolutionary era. In 1796 the iron was so bad that it could be used only for ballast ; in 1806 the orders of cannon for the Navy were taken away ; and the annual production during the years 1809 to 1812 rose to no more than 2,300 to 3,000 tons. Quite parallel was the case with the revolutionary change in the production of malleable ironsmelting in Cort’s reverberatory furnace or the puddling process-which freed this second stage of iron-working from dependence on charcoal. This invention was considerably younger, it is true, as it dates from 1783 ; but even during the eighties it had come into use in England and was at the time of the Continental System widely employed in English ironworking. During the years 1802 and 1803 it had been searchingly studied by the Swede, Svedenstjerna, and the Frenchman, Bonnard, working together. Here, too, the Creusot worksseem to have been the only ones of any importance, inasmuch as a reverberatory furnace was started there in 1810, though it is not clear whether this involved any use of coal fuel ; other experiments with puddling were failures from the very start.

尽管炼焦和用焦炭制造生铁——也就是用化石燃料冶炼铁矿石——的历史可以追溯到 1735年左右，并且至少在 20 年后开始在英国的炼铁业中普及，但法国的冶炼炉仍然几乎完全使用木炭，甚至在 1808 年之后，尽管这一年出现了木材短缺的情况。唯一已知的焦炭冶炼炉是现在世界闻名的克雷索工厂提供的，该工厂于1785年开始使用新方法；但在革命时期，整个工艺流程不断后退。1796年，铁的质量很差，只能用作压舱物；1806年，海军的大炮订单被取消；1809年至1812年期间，年产量仅为2300至3000吨。与可锻铸铁生产中的革命性变化完全相似的是科尔特的反射炉冶炼或水坑工艺，它使炼铁的第二阶段摆脱了对木炭的依赖。诚然，这项发明的历史要早得多，可以追溯到 1783 年；但即使在八十年代，它就已经在英国开始使用，并且在 "大陆体系 "出现之时，已被广泛应用于英国的炼铁。在 1802 年和 1803 年期间，瑞典人斯维登斯特耶纳和法国人博纳尔共同对其进行深入研究。在这方面，克雷索工厂似乎也是唯一重要的工厂，因为该工厂于 1810 年开始使用反射炉，但不清楚是否使用了煤燃料；其他的水坑试验从一开始就以失败告终。

As regards the production of steel, that is to say, iron with a large content of carbon, Huntsman-also in Englandhad found a solution of the problem of producing cast-steel (crucible steel) about 1750,a solution which was rapidly noised abroad and twenty years later was pretty generally adopted in England. On the Continent this method seems to have been introduced in 1808 by the Swiss manufacturer, J. C. Fischer, whose establishment outside Schaffhausen became the object of great attention ; and in 1812 the firm of Krupp was founded for the same purpose. But in the territories of the French empire only one isolated example of such manufacture is known, and that was introduced by two Belgians in Liege, incorporated territory. Finally, the level attained was also remarkably low in the engineering trade, which in England was already enormously developed as compared with the preceding period. The real pioneers in this respect within the French empire seem to have been two Scotsmen, father and son, of the afterwards famous name of Cockerill, who-also in. Liege, in 1807-laid the foundation of the Belgian engineering trade.

关于钢铁的生产，即含碳量较高的铁的生产，亨同样在英国的亨茨曼在1750年左右找到了生产铸钢（坩埚钢）的解决方案，这种解决方案在国外迅速传开，20年后在英国被广泛采用。在欧洲大陆，瑞士制造商 J. C.菲舍尔似乎于 1808 年引入了这一方法，他在沙夫豪森郊外的工厂引起了极大的关注；1812 年，克虏伯公司也出于同样的目的成立。但在法兰西帝国的领土上，此类制造只有一个孤立的例子，那就是由两个比利时人在合并后的领土列日引进的。最后，工程贸易的水平也非常低，与割让前相比，英国的工程贸易已经非常发达。在法兰西帝国，这方面的真正先驱似乎是两个苏格兰人，他们是父子，后来都姓科克里尔。1807年，这对父子在列日为比利时的工程贸易奠定了基础。

Thus France proper and the most important parts of the empire, as regards the iron and iron-working industries, practically remained unaffected by the advances of the preceding generation ; this fact stands out in comparison, not only with England, but also with Germany, as well as Sweden, a country which held fast to old processes, but which even with them had attained great eminence. Consequently, the economist Blanqui was quite justified in saying toward the close of the Restoration that the advances in the iron industry in France were made ’ almost entirely after 1814. In consequence of this the French iron industry in 1814 was quite defenceless in face of foreigncompetitors, who were stated to sell at 30-40 per cent. under French prices ; the blockade had had no more stimulating effect than that a 50 per cent. customs duty was necessary to keep the industry going.

因此，法国本土和帝国最重要的部分，就钢铁工业而言，实际上没有受到上一代人进步的影响；与之相比，这一事实尤为突出，不仅与英国，而且与德国以及瑞典相比也是如此。瑞典固守旧工艺，但即使在旧工艺的基础上也取得了巨大的成就。因此，经济学家布朗基在复辟末期有理由说，法国钢铁工业的进步 "几乎完全是在1814年之后取得的"。因此，1814年的法国钢铁业在外国竞争者面前毫无还手之力，据说外国竞争者的售价比法国售价低 30-40%；封锁除了使钢铁业继续运转需要缴纳 50%的关税外，没有起到更多的刺激作用。

The total impression we get in these essential industries, therefore, may be summarized somewhat as follows : The effect of the Continental System was primarily to exclude at least the industry of the French empire from British influences ; and under the conditions then prevailing these influences were indispensable for every country desirous of participating in the fruits of the great economic revolution.

因此，我们对这些重要产业的总体印象可以概括如下：大陆制度的作用主要是使法兰西帝国的工业至少不受英国的影响；而在当时的条件下，这些影响对于每一个希望参与伟大的经济革命成果的国家来说都是不可或缺的。

## **CHEMICAL INDUSTRY**

## **化学工业**

There was one department, however, in which the superiority and pioneering work of French industry were plainly to be seen ; and that department is at the same time one where we have an opportunity to study the positive side of the Continental System, the side that promoted progress. This is the chemical industry, or, to put it better, all processes where the results of chemical studies could benefit production.

然而，在一个部门，法国工业的优势和开创性工作显而易见；在这个部门，我们同时也有机会研究大陆制度的积极一面，即促进进步的一面。这就是化学工业，或者更确切地说，是化学研究成果能够为生产带来益处的所有工艺。

The fact that the course of development took this direction in France rather than elsewhere, it is true, was fundamentally due to something quite different from politics, namely, the fact that Lavoisier, through his work during the two decades immediately preceding the French Revolution, had laid the foundation of the whole of modern chemistry and had made it immediately applicable to a number of practical tasks. Moreover, he had had a number of eminent pupils whose work, to a still higher degree, was directly beneficial to industry ; their results, too, were to a large extent apparent before or about the outbreak of the Revolution, when the external pressure had not yet begun to make itself felt. In certain cases, also, they had become economically usable before the Continental System and consequently had great importance for industrial development during its sway. In this connexion the first place should be given to Berthollet’s theory, based on the discovery of the Swede, Scheele, for the production of chlorine, which became of very great importance for the whole of the weaving industry owing to the fact that as early as 1785 chlorine bleaching took the place of sun bleaching. James Watt almost immediately brought about the transference of the new method to England, which undoubtedly here followed in the wake of French progress instead of taking the lead. Another chemical method of still more central importance-which also had come into use during the years before the outbreak of the Revolution-was the production of sulphuric acid, which became the starting-point for a whole series of other branches of production.

诚然，法国而非其他地方的化学发展之所以会朝着这个方向前进，从根本上说是由于与政治完全不同的原因，即拉瓦锡在法国大革命前的二十年间通过自己的工作奠定了整个现代化学的基础，并使其立即适用于许多实际工作。此外，他还有许多杰出的学生，他们的工作在更大程度上直接造福于工业；他们的成果在很大程度上也是在大革命爆发之前或爆发前后显现出来的，当时外部压力尚未开始显现。在某些情况下，它们在大陆制度之前就已经具有经济价值，因此在大陆制度统治期间对工业发展具有重要意义。在这方面，贝托莱根据瑞典人舍勒的发现提出的氯气生产理论应放在首位，由于早在 1785 年氯气漂白就取代了日光漂白，这一理论对整个纺织业具有非常重要的意义。詹姆斯-瓦特几乎立即将这一新方法带到了英国，毫无疑问，英国是紧随法国的步伐，而不是领先于法国。另一种更为重要的化学方法是硫酸的生产，它也是在大革命爆发前的几年里开始使用的。

In this connexion, however, it is evidently not the chemical advances of this kind that possess the greatest interest, but rather such as were first helped on their way by the great self-blockade, the importance of which for the process of development was-if the expression may be allowed-maieutic. It may be laid down as a general rule, indeed, that the economic service rendered by a war or by a blockade consists mainly in breaking down the barriers which impede the use of new inventions rather than in evoking those new inventions or discoveries themselves. So far the dictum to the effect that ‘ necessity is the mother of invention ’ would hit the point better if it were rephrased ‘ necessity is the nurse of invention ’. In a war situation, indeed, public feeling is so unnerved, as a rule, that there is seldom sufficient calm for profound scientific work ; and even if there were calm, time is lacking, for everything has to be done on the spur of the moment, and science seldom allows herself to be commandeered. What is done in war and in case of blockade, therefore, is rather to seize violently upon inventions which have been already or almost completed -that is, in a purely technical sense-but which have previously been devoid of economic importance. When a country is suddenly cut off from the old sources of supply, processes thatpreviously lacked economic importance may become the best or even the only expedient. This is largely the explanation of the ' development of the great industrial marvels ', of which Chaptal and others of that period speak. Afterwards, when the exceptional situation disappeared, the marvels also vanished, for they had done their work. They fell back under the threshold of consciousness, so to speak, and became once more potential instead of actual ; and this is the only proper thing, if we wish to keep the economic position of the people at its highest level. In this way is explained without difficulty the general ddbhle which overwhelmed the industrial creations of the Napoleonic age at the dawn of peace. In certain happy cases, however, the blockade has given ri.se to a new production that has only needed such a help to strike root ; and in those cases it has really carried economic development onward and proved itself a genuine protectress.

然而，在这方面，人们最感兴趣的显然不是这类化学进步，而是那些首先在发展道路上得到巨大自我封锁帮助的进步。事实上，战争或封锁所提供的经济服务主要在于打破阻碍使用新发明的障碍，而不是唤起这些新发明或新发现本身。到目前为止，"需要是发明之母 "这句话如果改成 "需要是发明之接生婆"，会更有说服力。事实上，在战争局势中，公众的情绪通常是如此的不安，以至于很少有足够的平静来进行深入的科学工作；即使有平静，时间也是缺乏的，因为一切都是一时兴起的，而科学很少允许自己被征用。

因此，在战争和封锁的情况下，我们所做的是暴力夺取已经或几乎完成的发明——也就是说，从纯粹的技术意义上来说，这些发明以前是没有经济重要性的。当一个国家突然被切断旧的供应来源时，以前缺乏经济重要性的工艺可能会成为最好的甚至是唯一的权宜之计。这在很大程度上解释了夏普塔尔和那个时期的其他人所说的 "伟大工业奇迹的发展"。之后，当特殊情况消失时，奇迹也随之消失，因为它们已经完成了自己的工作。可以说，它们又回到了意识的门槛之下，再次成为潜在的而不是现实的；如果我们想把人民的经济地位保持在最高水平上，这才是唯一正确的事情。这样就不难解释，在和平曙光到来之际，拿破仑时代的工业创造普遍陷入困境。然而，在某些令人欣慰的情况下，封锁为新的生产提供了机会，而这些生产只需要这种帮助就能扎根；在这些情况下，封锁真正推动了经济的发展，并证明了自己是真正的保护者。

In the sphere of chemical industry proper the great example here is the production of soda from sea salt. This discovery had been made by Leblanc as early as some time about 1789- statements as to the year vary somewhat, as is usually, and quite naturally, the case in the matter of inventions and discoveries. The efforts of the great French chemist during the whole of the revolutionary age to make his work bear fruit had come completely to grief, however, and he was ruined several years before his death in 1806. Then came the severance of intercourse with Spain, whence soda had previously been obtained, and this gave a hitherto undreamt of importance to the production of soda, which now proved itself to be, even economically, thoroughly justified, inasmuch as it was developed to such an extent that the price could be reduced from 80-100 francs to 10 francs per 100 kgs. A similar development attended the manufacture of another product, which in the fullness of time was one day to become the basic material for a substitute of Leblanc soda, namely, ammonia ; and the production of alum and camphor by chemical methods may perhaps be mentioned here, and possibly, too, the advances made in the important production of nitric acid.

在化学工业领域，利用海盐生产苏打就是一个很好的例子。早在 1789 年左右，勒布朗就已经有了这一发现——虽然关于年份的说法不一，这在发明和发现的问题上通常是很自然的。然而，这位伟大的法国化学家在整个革命时代为使自己的工作取得成果所做的努力完全付诸东流，他在1806年去世前几年就已身败名裂。后来，法国与西班牙断绝了贸易往来，而以前的苏打就是从西班牙进口的，这使苏打的生产获得了前所未有的重要性，现在，苏打的生产甚至在经济上也被证明是完全合理的，因为苏打已经发展到可以将价格从每100公斤80-100法郎降到10法郎的程度。另一种产品，即氨的生产也有了类似的发展，有朝一日它将成为替代勒布朗苏打的基本原料；这里或许还可以提到用化学方法生产明矾和樟脑，以及在重要的硝酸生产中取得的进步。

These fundamental discoveries led afterwards to a great many others, as has always been the case in the sphere of chemistry, owing to the many different products that are obtained by a synthesis. But it would fall far beyond the writer's competence to give a detailed account of all this, Yet one might venture the assertion that the French chemical industry during this period, on the basis of the hst great advances of modern chemistry, went through, and caused the world to go through, a development of somewhat the same kind as did the chemical industry of Germany after 1870, chiefly on the basis of the derivatives of coal-tar. To mention only one or two more examples, the supply of soda formed the foundation for the manufacture of soap, while the hydrochloric acid obtained as a by-product of sea salt in recovering soda became, in its turn, the basis for the manufacture of chlorine, Of special importance also in the development of the textile industry were the new possibilities in the manufacture of dyes and the printing of them on different kinds of material, which were brought about by the increased knowledge of chemistry. Most famous in the former respect was the manufacture of ' Berlin blue '-also called ' Raymond blue ', after its inventor-and the use of ' Adrianople red' in calicoprinting, where a member of the famous textile firm of Koechlin (Miilhausen) made advances in 1810 and 1811 which far exceeded what had been achieved in England

正如化学领域的一贯做法一样，由于合成可以得到多种不同的产物，这些基本发现随后又引发了许多其他发现。不幸的是，对这一切进行详细的描述远远超出了作者的能力范围。然而，我们可以大胆断言，这一时期的法国化学工业在现代化学的巨大进步的基础上，经历了与1870年后德国的化学工业有点相似的发展（主要是在煤焦油衍生物的基础上）并导致了世界的进步。仅举一两个例子，苏打的供应为肥皂的制造奠定了基础，而作为海盐回收苏打的副产品而获得的盐酸，反过来又为氯的制造奠定了基础。在纺织业的发展中，化学知识的增加带来了染料制造和在不同材料上印刷的新可能性，这一点也特别重要。在前一方面，最著名的是柏林蓝"（又称 "雷蒙德蓝"，以其发明者的名字命名）的制造，以及 "阿德里安堡红 "在印花布上的应用，这个应用由著名的科赫林（米尔豪森）纺织公司的一位成员在 1810 年和 1811 年取得，并且远远超过了英国所取得的成就。

## **SUBSTITUTES FOR COLONIAL GOODS**

## **殖民地产品的替代品**

The question of the dye industry led one naturally to the problem of finding substitutes for the more or less inaccessible, and always condemned, colonial goods. It was quite natural that the work of the French government and its organs, perhaps Chaptal above all, should be directed primarily to this point.

染料工业的问题很自然地引出了寻找替代品的问题，这些替代品或多或少都是无法获得的，而且总是受到谴责的殖民地商品。也许以夏普塔尔为首的法国政府及其机构，自然会把工作重点放在这一点上。

That measures were urgently needed here with regard to dyeing substances can be deduced from the great rise in prices, which, at least at Leipzig, was sometimes more marked than for raw cotton : for indigo the price was ordinarily twice as high, but sometimes even three, four, or five times as high,while for cochineal, dyewood and other dyes the price was usually doubled.

By far the most important dyeing substances were the two first-named : indigo and cochineal. As a matter of fact, this was no great novelty in either case, for people had long used two native dyeing plants, woad (Isatis tinctoria) and madder (Rubia tinctorum), for the production of blue and red, respectively, but it was now regarded as a great advance that the chemists had been able to establish the presence of the same dyeing substance, indigo, in woad as existed in Indian and American indigofera.

Expectations, particularly as to the domestic production of indigo, were raised extremely high. People expected to he forever independent of the colonial product, and even as late as 1818, that is to say, after the Restoration, Chaptal cherished the hope that France, by means of her domestic production of indigo, would even get an export article that might compensate her for the profitable trade in colonial goods that she had lost when in 1814 and 1815 she had had to sacrifice the greater part of her colonial empire. In reality, however, the results were very small, and they had no importance whatever for the future. The cultivation of 32,000 hectares with woad had been prescribed ; Indian indigo had been declared an English product and its importation had consequently been forbidden ; three imperial indigo factories had been founded and prizes had been awarded to private individuals ; but evea as late as 1813 the output came to only 6,000 kgs., apart, from 500 kgs, of Indian indigo (called ‘anil indigo ’) from an Italian plantation. Only one single factory survived 1814 ; and the whole episode vanished without leaving any traces behind. As is well known, it is by synthetic methods that substitutes have been found in our own day for the natural dyeing substances, indigo and alisarin (the dyeing substance contained in madder) ; and during the recent war the reverse strate of things prevailed to such an extent that Great Britain had sometimes to fall back on natural indigo to take the place of the unobtainable synthetic indigo from Germany.

此时迫切需要在染色物质方面采取措施，这可以从价格的大幅上涨中推断出来，至少在莱比锡，价格有时比原棉更高：靛蓝的价格是通常的两倍，但有时甚至高出三倍、四倍或五倍，而胭脂虫、染料木和其他染料的价格通常翻了一番。

到目前为止，最重要的染色物质，就是前面提到的两种：靛蓝和胭脂虫。事实上，这两种染料都不是什么新奇的东西，因为人们很早就使用菘蓝和茜草这两种土生土长的染色植物来分别生产蓝色和红色的染料，但现在化学家们已经能够确定菘蓝中含有与印度和美洲靛蓝中相同的染色物质：靛蓝，这被认为是一个巨大的进步。人们对靛蓝的期望，尤其是对国内靛蓝生产的期望，被提到了极高的高度。人们期望永远摆脱殖民地产品的束缚，甚至到了 1818 年，即复辟之后，夏普塔尔还希望法国通过国内的靛蓝生产，甚至可以获得一种出口商品，以弥补 1814 年和 1815 年法国不得不牺牲大部分殖民帝国时失去的殖民地商品贸易的利润。但实际上，结果是微不足道的，对未来也没有任何重要意义。当时规定在 32000公顷的土地上种植菘蓝；印度靛蓝被宣布为英国产品，因此禁止其进口；帝国成立了三家靛蓝厂，并颁发了私人奖金；但直到 1813 年，产量也只有 6000 公斤，除了来自意大利种植园的 500 公斤印度靛蓝（称为 "苯胺靛蓝"）。1814 年，只有一家工厂幸存下来；整个事件消失得无影无踪。众所周知，在我们这个时代，人们通过合成方法找到了天然染色物质靛蓝和茜草素（茜草中含有的染色物质）的替代品；在最近的战争期间，相反的情况非常普遍，以至于英国有时不得不使用天然靛蓝来替代无法从德国获得的合成靛蓝。

With regard to the other colonial goods, the substitutesfor coffee and tobacco offer us no interest other than that which lies in ' looking into one's own windows '. Among coffee substitutes were included chicory, dried carrots, acorns, sunflower seeds, and sugar beets ; as substitutes for tobacco were used leaves of gooseberries and chestnuts and milfoil (Achillea millefolium) ; and the scope of the production of Europe as a whole is illustrated by the fact that Denmark alone had seventeen factories for making coffee substitutes.

至于其他殖民地商品，咖啡和烟草的替代品除了"窥视自己的窗口"之外，并没有给我们带来其他利益。咖啡的替代品包括菊苣、干胡萝卜、橡子、向日葵籽和甜菜；烟草的代用品有鹅莓叶、栗子叶和小米草；仅丹麦就有 17 家制造咖啡代用品的工厂，这说明了整个欧洲的生产规模之大。

## **BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY**

## **甜菜制糖业**

But the great example indicating the importance of the Continental System for industrial development that is usually cited is the mamfacture of beet sugar ; and there certainly is a kernel of truth in this, if one only recalls what was said above regarding the character of the effects distinctive of such times.

但是，人们通常引用的表明大陆制度对工业发展的重要性的重要例子是甜菜糖的生产；只要我们回想一下上文所说的关于这种时代所特有的影响的特点，就会发现这当然是有道理的。

The fact is that it is far from true that the possibility of obtaining sugar from beets was a novelty dating from the time of the Continental System. As early as the year 174'7, the German chemist Marggraf, of Berlin, had discovered that sugar beets contained the same substance as sugar cane; and from the close of the eighteenth century another German chemist, Achard, had worked incessantly on experiments in the production of beet sugar. In a raw-sugar factory located on his Silesian estate, Kunern, Achard had even succeeded in producing sugar and had published his results in 1809 ; but no manufacture of importance had arisen in consequence of all this. Achard's fate exhibits a great resemblance to that of Leblanc some ten years earlier,in spite of the fact that a domestic production of sugar had also been the subject of investigation in France, through a committee appointed by the Iristit& de France in 1800. Thus the matter was technically in a fairly advanced state, though it served no economic purpose as long as it was possible to procure colonial sugar under something like the old conditions. When those conditions were changed,therefore, it is not at all surprising that advantage was taken of the theoretical results already attained; on the contrary, there is more reason to be astonished that there was so long a delay before it was determined to replace colonial sugar in this way. Before that the shortage of sugar had had time to make itself very perceptible. At Leipzig the price of sugar rose almost uninterruptedly until 1813, when it was approximately three and one-half times the amount it had been seven years earlier ; and in Paris the price rose first (1810) to four francs per livre, and later (1819) to six francs, or approximately eight and twelve francs, respectively, per kg. Meanwhile, the London quotations for even the best qualities of sugar during 1812 corresponded to between 1.35 and 2 francs per kg., that is to say, from one-fourth to one-ninth of the French price.

事实上，从甜菜中获取糖分的可能性远非大陆制度时期的新鲜事物。早在 1747 年，柏林的德国化学家马格拉夫就发现甜菜中含有与甘蔗相同的物质；从十八世纪末期开始，另一位德国化学家阿查德就一直致力于甜菜制糖的实验。在他位于西里西亚库恩庄园的一家原糖工厂里，阿夏尔甚至成功地生产出了糖，并在 1809 年发表了他的研究成果；但这一切并没有带来任何重要的生产成果。阿夏尔的命运与十年前的勒布朗非常相似，尽管法国也曾在1800年通过法国工业部任命的一个委员会对国内蔗糖生产进行过调查。因此，尽管只要殖民地的蔗糖还能在类似以前的条件下采购到，它就没有任何经济意义，但从技术上讲，这一问题已处于相当先进的阶段。因此，当这些条件发生变化时，人们利用已经取得的理论成果一点也不奇怪；相反，人们更有理由感到惊讶的是，在决定用这种方法取代殖民地蔗糖之前，竟然拖延了如此之久。在此之前，蔗糖的短缺已经非常明显。在莱比锡，蔗糖的价格几乎一直在上涨，直到 1813 年，蔗糖的价格大约是7 年前的 3.5 倍；在巴黎，蔗糖的价格先是（1810年）涨到了每里弗尔 4 法郎，后来（1819 年）又涨到了 6 法郎，即每公斤大约分别为 8 法郎和 12 法郎。同时，1812 年期间，即使是品质最好的糖，伦敦的报价也在每公斤 1.35 到 2 法郎之间，也就是说，是法国价格的四分之一到九分之一。

Naturally enough, therefore, people had at a much earlier date begun to search the Continent for a substitute, and there was scarcely any substance containing sugar that was not employed before they came to the beet. Honey, whey, chestnuts, pears, apples, maize, maple, potatoes, figs, cherries, plums, sea-weed, and finally grapes were tried. Grape sugar was the first stage, and as much as 2,000,000 kgs. were manufactured in the years 1810-11 and given a bounty ; but this syrup, which was black and did not crystallize, was repulsive and had an unpleasant odour.

因此，人们很自然地在更早的时候就开始在欧洲大陆寻找替代品，在他们来到甜菜产地之前，几乎没有任何含糖物质没有被使用过。蜂蜜、乳清、板栗、梨、苹果、玉米、枫树、马铃薯、无花果、樱桃、李子、海藻，最后是葡萄。葡萄糖是第一阶段的产品，1810-1811 年间有多达 200万公斤的葡萄糖被制造出来，制造者因此获得了奖赏；但这种糖浆是黑色的，不会结晶，令人生厌，有股难闻的气味。

At this time, however, the cultivation of sugar beets had already been started, and the manufacture of beet sugar had begun at several places, especially at Passy by the firm of Delessert. It is only natural that enthusiasm was great when the result appeared ; and it was alleged, assuredly for that time with great exaggeration, that the product could not be distinguished from cane sugar. There followed a visit (dramatically described by Chaptal in his Memoirs) by Napoleon to Delessert, who was decorated by the Emperor and regarded as a pioneer. The imperial administration took the matter inhand, in accordance with its usual methods, by means of measures which ran exactly parallel with the treatment of the manufacture of indigo, and which followed one another in rapid succession. A prohibition was established on the importation of colonial sugar, and it was ordered that beets should be cultivated first on 32,000 hectares and afterwards on 100,000 hectares, which order, it is true, was never carried out. It was ordered further that there should be four imperial sugar factories, and a special one in Rambouillet. There is no question that this gave rise to a lively development of both the culture of sugar beets and the manufacture of sugar, not least among the German-speaking people residing %thin and without the borders of the empire, and experimentally as far north as Denmark. And Napoleon’s organs made all that could be made of this success in the work of becoming independent of the supply by sea. Thus the home secretary, in his survey of the condition of the empire submitted to the Corps legislatif February 1813, stated how it had seemed an .impossibility to find anything to replace sugar, indigo, cochineal, soda, ‘and cotton ; but ‘ we have exercised a strong will, has been accomplished through our efforts ’. and the From the year impossible 1813 onward, he held out prospects of a manufacture of 7,000,000 livres (nearly 3,500,000 kgs.) of sugar in 334 factories, which were stated to be ‘ almost all ’ at work ; and this he considered to correspond to at least half of the demand, which had diminished greatly owing to the rise of price.

然而，此时甜菜的种植已经开始，甜菜糖的生产也已在一些地方开始，特别是在帕西的德勒赛特公司。当成果出现时，人们的热情自然高涨；有人声称，这种产品无法与蔗糖区分开来，这在当时肯定是非常夸张的说法。拿破仑随后访问了德勒赛特（夏普塔尔在他的《回忆录》中对这次访问进行了戏剧性的描述），皇帝为他颁发了奖章，并将他视为先驱。帝国政府按照其一贯的方法，采取了与处理靛蓝制造问题完全相同的措施，这些措施接踵而至。帝国禁止进口殖民地蔗糖，并下令先在 32 000 公顷土地上种植甜菜，然后再在 100 000 公顷土地上种植甜菜。此外，还下令建立四家帝国糖厂，并在朗布依埃建立一家特殊的糖厂。毫无疑问，这促进了甜菜栽培和制糖业的蓬勃发展，尤其是在帝国境内外的德语居民中，甚至远至丹麦北部的居民中。拿破仑的机关充分利用这一成功，努力实现海上供应的独立。因此，内政大臣在1813年2月向立法团提交的帝国状况调查报告中指出，要找到任何东西来替代蔗糖、靛蓝、胭脂红、苏打和棉花似乎都是不可能的；但 "我们表现出了强烈的意愿，通过我们的努力已经取得了成就"。从 1813 年起，他认为 334 家工厂有望生产出 700 万里弗（近 350 万公斤）的蔗糖，据说这些工厂 "几乎全部 "都在工作；他认为这至少相当于需求量的一半，而由于价格上涨，需求量已经大大减少。

As usual, the reality was somewhat less brilliant. According to the home secretary’s own report to Napoleon later in the year, it turned out that, owing to ignorance and unfavourable weather, they had only got 1,100,000 kgs. of sugar and that of the 334 licences issued only 158 had been actually used ; and if one may believe a statement made by the directorgeneral of manufactures and trades immediately after the Restoration, the quality of the sugar placed on the market was so bad that it had created a prejudice against the home product. As a matter of fact, the retrograde tendency began as early as that same year (1813), and afterwards the fall ofthe empire drew with it the decline of the industry, so that not a single one of the sugar factories held its own. But after only two years two new factories were started, one of them by Chaptal on his estate at Chanteloup. A high duty on colonial sugar set the manufacture of beet sugar on its feet toward the close of the 'twenties, so that the contribution of the Continental System on this point turned out to bear fruit after the lapse of a decade and a half. Thus the sugar beet industry stands, by the side of the Leblanc soda, as an evidence that a blockade may, in certain cases, remove some of the obstacles that stand in the way of an important economic development.

与往常一样，现实并不那么美好。根据内政大臣本人在这一年晚些时候给拿破仑的报告 ，由于无知和不利的天气，他们只获得了110万公斤的蔗糖，而在发放的334份许可证中，只有158份得到了实际使用；如果我们相信制造业和贸易局局长在复辟后立即发表的声明，就会发现当时市场上销售的蔗糖质量太差，以至于造成了对本国产品的偏见。事实上，这种倒退的趋势早在同年（1813 年）就开始了，之后帝国的衰落也导致了制糖业的衰落，以至于没有一家糖厂能保持自己的地位。但仅仅过了两年，又有两家新厂开工，其中一家是夏普塔尔在其尚特鲁庄园开办的。对殖民地糖的高关税使甜菜糖的生产在20世纪20年代末站稳了脚跟，这是大陆体系的贡献在15年后结出的硕果。因此，甜菜工业与勒布朗苏打水站在一起，证明在某些情况下，封锁可能会消除阻碍重要经济发展的一些障碍。

## **CHAPTER III**

## **第三章**

## **EFFECTS ON THE REST OF THE CONTINENT**

## **对非洲大陆其他地区的影响**

## **FRENCH POLICY OF INTERESTS**

## **法国的利益政策**

THE strain of egoism in Napoleon’s policy is a well-known and abundantly proved side af the Continental System, which naturally weakens the sympathy usually shown by German writers :for the fundamental idea of the plan to exclude England from the C0ntinent.l The pretended object 2 of combining the Continent of Europe into an economic unit against Great Britain did not, it is true, altogether lack champions. The fairly obvious and undeniably important idea of developing the Confederation of the Rhine (which embraced the whole of Germany, with the exception of the possessions of Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, and whose creator and powerful protector Napoleon was) into a customs union, which, incidentally, would have been an antecedent of the German Zollverein of 1833, was put forward by Beugnot, the ‘ imperial commissary ’ or supreme head of the local administration in the GrandDuchy of Berg, on two or three different occasions ; it also had a spokesman in Bacher, Napoleon’s minister to the Confederation of the Rhine at Frankfurt ; but it was not in the least degree this spirit that prevailed in Paris. In the late summer of 1807 Napoleon charged Champagny, who was just then passing from the Home Office to the Foreign Office, with the task of determining what the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine wished for their trade, and what measures should be taken to secure a market for French industrial products in their territories. It was assuredly in accordance with the Emperor’s intention that the second question was the one that Champagny in ‘reality answered, and in doing so he followed the significant line that it was necessary to prevent the now consolidated German states from throwing obstacles in the way of French sales and particularly the transport of French goods across Germany, obstacles which had been impossible at the time when the states were small and divided. In accordance with this idea, Napoleon maintained a whole swarm of commercial spies all over Germany, and these made reports on the smuggling of English and continental goods and on the capacity of French manufacturers to beat foreign competitors ; and to a large extent it was on the strength of such information that Napoleon later directed his measures against sales in other countries.

拿破仑政策中的利己主义倾向是大陆制度众所周知并得到充分证明的一面，这自然削弱了德国作家通常对将英国排除在大陆之外的计划的基本思想所表现出的同情。将莱茵河邦联（包括整个德意志，但奥地利、普鲁士、瑞典和丹麦的属地除外）发展成关税同盟的想法相当明显，而且无疑是重要的，而拿破仑是莱茵联邦的缔造者和强大的保护者。这个想法本是 1833 年德国关税同盟的前身，但博格诺特却在两三个不同的场合提出了这一想法，他是伯格大公国的"帝国政务官 "或地方行政机构的最高首脑；拿破仑派驻法兰克福莱茵联邦的公使巴切尔也是这种思想的代言人。1807 年夏末，拿破仑责成当时刚从内务部调到外交部的尚帕尼确定莱茵联邦各王公对其贸易的期望，以及应采取何种措施确保法国工业产品在其领土上的市场。毫无疑问，尚帕尼回答的是第二个问题，这也符合皇帝的意图，在回答第二个问题时，他遵循了一条重要的方针，即必须防止现已合并的德意志各邦对法国的销售，特别是法国商品在德意志各地的运输设置障碍，而这些障碍在各邦小而分裂的时候是不可能存在的。根据这一想法，拿破仑在德国各地派驻了一大批商业间谍，他们报告了英国和欧洲大陆商品的走私情况，以及法国制造商击败外国竞争对手的能力。

A celebrated illustration of the way in which Napoleon in reality regarded his political mission in this department is contained in a letter which he dispatched from Schonbrunn to Fouche (acting home secretary at the time) after his victory over Austria in 1809 (September 27). In that letter the master empties the vials of his wrath over the commercial department of the French Home Office :

*If the department had done its duty, it would have taken advantage of my march into Vienna to encourage merchants and manufacturers to export their cloth, pottery, and other goods which pay considerable duties in Austria, cloth alone paying 60 per cent. I should, as a matter of course, have released them from these dues and filled the warehouses of Vienna chock-full of French goods. But that department thinks of nothing and does nothing.*

拿破仑在1809年9月27日战胜奥地利后，从丽泉宫寄给福凯（当时的代理内政大臣）的一封信，是拿破仑如何看待他在这个部门的政治使命的著名例证。在这封信中，主人对法国内政部的商业部门大发脾气：

*如果该部门履行了职责，就会利用我进军维也纳的机会，鼓励商人和制造商出口他们的服装、陶器和其他商品，这些商品在奥地利要缴纳相当高的关税，仅布料就要缴纳60%的关税。当然，我本应该免除他们的关税，把维也纳的仓库装满法国商品。但那个部门什么也不想，什么也不做。*

Accordingly, it was not to exclude England, but to make a breach in the customs wall against French goods, that he here wished to make use of his victories ; and in full accordance with this the French manufacturers just a week later tried to bring about an export of fine French cloth to Vienna on payment of a very insignificant duty, without any reciprocity for Austrian goods in France.

因此，他想利用他的胜利不是为了排斥英国，而是为了打破针对法国商品的海关壁垒；法国制造商完全按照这个想法，仅仅一周后就试图向维也纳出口精美的法国布匹，只需支付极低的关税，而奥地利商品在法国没有任何对等待遇。

But Napoleon’s egoistic policy was most clearly framed with regard to the Kingdom of Italy (North Italy), which he was anxious to transform entirely into an economic dependency of France. Hermetically sealed to the sales of the industrial products of all other countries, it was open to receive French goods and to provide France with needed raw materials (chiefly silk), but without any corresponding right to derive advantages from the French market ; finally, it was designed as a barrier to prevent goods from the competitors of France from penetrating into Naples, Sardinia, and South Europe in general. Owing to the fact that Italy for hundreds and even thousands of years had been economically connected with Switzerland and Germany by close commercial ties, this policy involved a severe dislocation of the industrial life of these last two countries and compelled them to have recourse to other markets or to other branches of activity. Napoleon has never given his general principles relating to the treatmentjof allies and subordinate non-French territories a more intensive expression than in another famous letter which he addressed on August 93,1810, to his faithful and reliable step-son, Eugdne Beauharnais, who governed Italy in his name as Viceroy. The fundamental idea of this letter appears in the following extract, with Napoleon’s own highly significant italics :

*My fundamental principle is, France first and foremost (la France avant tout). You must never lose sight of the fact that if English trade triumphs on the seas it is because the English are the strongest there. It is reasonable, therefore, that as France is the strongest on lad, French trade should also triumph there. Otherwise all is lost. . . Italy has France to thank for so much that she really should not mind if France acquired some commercial advantages there. Therefore, take as your motto : La France avant tout.*

但拿破仑的利己主义政策在意大利王国（北意大利）身上体现得最为明显，他急于将意大利王国完全变成法国的经济附属国。意大利王国对所有其他国家的工业产品的销售严加封锁，它可以接受法国的商品并向法国提供所需的原材料（主要是丝绸），但却没有从法国市场上获得任何好处的相应权利；最后，意大利王国被设计成一道屏障，以防止法国竞争对手的商品进入那不勒斯、撒丁岛和整个南欧。

由于几百年甚至几千年来意大利一直与瑞士和德国保持着密切的商业经济联系，这一政策严重扰乱了这两个国家的工业生活，迫使它们转向其他市场或其他行业。拿破仑在 1810 年 8 月 93 日写给他忠实可靠的继子欧仁·博阿尔奈的另一封著名的信中，对他对待盟国和附属非法国领土的一般原则作了最深入的阐述。这封信的基本思想摘录如下，并用拿破仑自己的楷体标注：

*我的基本原则是：法兰西至上。如果英国的贸易在海上取得胜利，那是因为英国人在那里是最强大的。因此，既然法国是世界上最强大的国家，那么法国的贸易也应该在那里取得胜利。否则，一切都完了……意大利要感谢法国的地方太多了，因此，意大利真的不应该介意法国在那里获得一些商业利益。因此，请把 "法国先于一切 "作为你们的座右铭。*

The beginning of this policy in Italy has already been described,l and the continuation followed along the same lines. The decree of the year 1806 was directed against Bohemian, Saxon, Swiss, Bavarian, and Berg textile goods, and seems to have hit hardest. the Grand-Duchy of Berg. fiat country, which was at that time nominally ruled by Napoleon’s brotherin-law, Joachim Murat, but in reality by the Emperor’s own organs, managed to obtain an exemption for itself in January 1807 ; but as early as December of the same year this exemption was cancelled. Beginning with the following year its goods were definitely excluded from the Italian market, while the exports of Switzerland were hit particularly hard by an intensification, introduced about the same time, of the decree of 1806, which forbade all imports of cotton goods except from France. The position of French goods in the Italian market was further strengthened in 1808 by a curious Franco-Italian ‘ commercial treaty ’ which Napoleon, in his capacity as autocratic ruler of both countries, concluded with himself. Finally, this policy culminated in 1810 in a triple regulation which in the first place extended the prohibition of imports from cotton goods’ to woollen goods, when they came from other countries than France, in the second place supplemented the prohibition on imports by a prohibition of transit, and in the third place forbade the export of Italian raw silk except to Lyons, the export of silk from Piedmont, which was incorporated with France, having been forbidden as early as 1805. The explanation given for this (in the letter to Eugene just cited) was that it would otherwise go to England, because Germany did not manufacture silk ; but this explanation ignored the fact, well known to Napoleon, that Switzerland both carried on a trade in Italian raw silk and also had a flourishing silk manufacture. In the Kingdom of Naples, which was ruled first by Joseph Bonaparte and afterwards by Murat, there was applied, under the hard pressure of Napoleon, a similar policy, first .with preferential duties on French goods and afterwards with a prohibition on the import of foreign goods.

这一政策在意大利的开端已经描述过，而其延续也是沿着同样的路线进行的。1806年的法令针对的是波希米亚、萨克森、瑞士、巴伐利亚和伯格的纺织品，似乎对伯格大公国的打击最大。这个国家当时名义上由拿破仑的兄弟 ，约阿希姆·缪拉统治，但实际上是由皇帝自己的机构统治的。1807年1月，这个国家设法为自己取得了豁免权；但早在同年12月，这一豁免权就被取消了。从第二年开始，瑞士的商品被明确地排除在意大利市场之外，同时，1806 年的法令禁止进口除法国以外的所有棉花产品，这一法令的加强对瑞士的出口造成了特别严重的打击。1808 年，拿破仑以两国专制统治者的身份与意大利签订了一份奇怪的法意"商业条约"，进一步加强了法国商品在意大利市场上的地位。最后，这一政策在 1810 年的三重规定中达到了顶峰，首先是将棉制品的进口禁令扩大到了来自法国以外其他国家的毛织品，其次是通过禁止过境补充了进口禁令，第三是禁止意大利生丝出口到里昂以外的地方，而与法国合并的皮埃蒙特早在 1805 年就禁止丝绸出口了。拿破仑在给尤金的信中给出的解释是，因为德国不生产丝绸，所以生丝会流向英国；但这一解释忽略了一个事实，那就是拿破仑清楚地知道，瑞士既从事意大利生丝贸易，也有繁荣的丝绸制造业。那不勒斯王国先由约瑟夫·波拿巴统治，后由缪拉统治，在拿破仑的强大压力下，那不勒斯王国也实行了类似的政策，先是对法国商品征收优惠关税，后是禁止进口外国商品。

As regards the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon observed considerably greater restraint ; and comparatively little is known as to violations of their right of selfdetermination, despite Champagny’s proposals just mentioned. On the other hand, it is highly significant that not even the territories incorporated with the empire in Napoleon’s own time were thereby automatically placed on the same footing as ‘the old departments ’. This was a weakness which had, as a rule, characterized the loosely combined states of the old regime, not least France herself ; but in Napoleon’s strictly centralized realm it did not mean any such looseness of structure, but something quite different. There, indeed, it is an expression of the fact that the territories were worked into the empire in order to be shut out from British supplies, and at the same time were not to be more than proselytes of the gate ; that is to say, they were to be left without participation in the advantages of the French market. This policy, which has not yet been made the subject of special investigation, was applied, for instance, as against Holland and ‘ the Hanseatic departments,’ in such a way that French goods could be conveyed to the incorporated territories without let or hindrance in the same way as to the other parts of the empire ; but goods from there, on the other hand, were regarded as foreign when they were conveyed to France. For Holland, it is true, it was laid down in the decree of incorporation that the customs frontier with France should disappear as early as the beginning of 1811, but this disappearance was repeatedly put off and seems never to have been realized. It makes a peculiar impression, for instance, to hear of people from Leyden, in 1811, and from Osnabruck, in 1812, praying for free intercourse with the empire, although both places belonged to the territories incorporated in 1810 ; and the same was the case with the Hanse Towns.

至于莱茵联邦的各邦，拿破仑则表现出了更大的克制；尽管尚帕尼提出了上述建议，但关于侵犯其自决权的情况却知之甚少。另一方面，非常重要的一点是，即使是在拿破仑时代并入帝国的领土也没有因此自动与"旧省"处于同等地位。这是旧政权松散结合的国家（尤其是法国）的一个弱点；但在拿破仑严格集权的国家里，这并不意味着结构上的任何松动，而是完全不同的东西。在那里，它实际上表达了这样一个事实：这些领土被纳入帝国的版图，以便与英国的供应隔绝开来，同时又不能成为国门的皈依者；也就是说，它们不能参与法国市场的利益。这一政策尚未得到特别研究，例如，针对荷兰和"汉萨部"，法国货物可以像运往帝国其他地区一样，不受阻碍地运往并入的领土；但另一方面，从那里运往法国的货物则被视为外国货物。就荷兰而言，成立法令确实规定，与法国的海关边界早在 1811 年初就应消失，但这一消失一再被推迟，似乎从未实现过。例如，1811 年莱顿和 1812 年奥斯纳布吕克的人们祈求与帝国自由交往，这给人留下了深刻的印象，尽管这两个地方都属于 1810 年合并的领土；汉斯城镇的情况也是如此。

The whole of this egoistical system probably had an even more irritating than economically injurious effect on the other countries because it ran counter to the most cherished economic sentiments of the natural man as to the advantages of exports and the disadvantages of imports. Moreover, it did not evenhave the redeeming feature of providing the export goods of France with the dominant position that was its sole object and raison d’etre.To a considerable extent this was due to the fundamental character of the Continental System, with its tendency to make the supply of raw materials enormously dear and difficult ; for, as the figures already given show very clearly, this hit France the hardest, because smuggling by sea was checked more effectually there than farther to the north, while goods smuggled by land had to be filtered through many customs frontiers before they reached France. But it was further aided by the fact that French industry was marked by the production of luxuries, which rendered sales extremely difficult, especially toward the close of the period, when the burden of the endless wars, both bloody and bloodless, on the whole of Europe was pressing with increasing weight. Finally, there was the fact that France could not by any violent measures overcome the circumstance that her industries had not made so much progress as those of certain other countries.. In Italy, it is true, these factors made themselves felt to a less extent, for the industries of that country did not really appear as competitors ; and the blockade towards the north would seem to have had a certain degree of efficacy. At any rate, the available flgures for the Kingdom of Italy show that Franco-Italian commerce increased many times over, so that about half the foreign trade, including both imports and exports, fell to the exchange of commodities with France ; and from Naples also there could be ascertained a rise in imports from France. On the other hand, this implies no increase in the exports of France on the whole. Only one year during the period of the empire (1806), according to the official returns, could show @yes as high as those of the last years of the anckien. rkgim, despite the huge annexations of important industrial regions that had taken place since then ; and, as has already been mentioned, the export of woollens had declined. It is particularly striking how poor a showing France made in competition with her continental rivals in the German market. It is fairly obvious, and also confirmed by the sources, that the obstacleswhich Napoleon placed in the way of the exports of those countries to the south of Europe must have helped to further their penetration into other markets, where they entered into competition with France. Thus the Swiss showed themselves at a Leipzig fair for the first time at Easter, 1808, after the closing of the frontier toward Italy had been made more strict at the end of 1807 ; and their sales of muslins were forced anew on that market after the still stricter embargo of 1810. In that case it is evident that Iittle had been gained from a French point of view, even though injury was inflicted on the trade of the other countries as a result of its being diverted from its natural course.

这种自负的制度对其他国家造成的影响可能比经济上的损害还要大，因为它违背了自然人最珍视的关于出口有利、进口不利的经济观念。此外，它甚至没有为法国的出口商品提供主导地位这一可取之处，而这正是它的唯一目标和存在的理由。这在很大程度上是由于大陆制度的基本特征，它使原材料的供应变得非常昂贵和困难；因为，正如已经给出的数字所清楚表明的那样，这对法国的打击最大，因为在法国，海上走私比在遥远的北方受到更有效的控制，而陆路走私的货物在到达法国之前必须经过许多海关边境的过滤。此外，法国的工业以生产奢侈品为特色，这也给销售带来了极大的困难，尤其是到了后期，无休止的战争（包括流血和不流血的战争）给整个欧洲带来的负担越来越重。最后，法国无法采取任何激烈的措施来克服其工业发展不如其他一些国家的情况。诚然，这些因素在意大利的影响较小，因为该国的工业并没有出现真正的竞争，而且对北方的封锁似乎也有一定的效果。无论如何，意大利王国的现有数据表明，法意贸易增长了许多倍，因此，包括进出口在内的外贸约有一半是与法国的商品交换；从那不勒斯也可以确定从法国的进口增加了。另一方面，这也意味着法国的出口总体上没有增加。在帝国时期，只有一年（1806 年）的官方统计数字显示，出口额与帝国末期一样高，尽管从那时起，法国吞并了许多重要的工业区；而且，如前所述，毛织品的出口已经下降。尤其令人吃惊的是，法国在德国市场上与其大陆对手的竞争中表现得如此糟糕。很明显，拿破仑对这些国家向欧洲南部出口产品设置的障碍肯定有助于它们进一步打入其他市场，与法国展开竞争，这一点也得到了资料来源的证实。因此，瑞士人在 1808 年复活节的莱比锡博览会上首次露面，这是在 1807 年底对意大利的边境封锁更加严格之后；在 1810 年更加严格的禁运之后，他们的薄纱销售被迫重新进入莱比锡市场。在这种情况下，尽管其他国家的贸易因其偏离了自然轨道而受到了损害，但从法国的角度来看，显然没有得到什么好处。

The reports of the French commercial spies completely agree with the statements found in German and Swiss sources as to the difficulty for France to compete with the other countries. Thus from Switzerland we learn that French competition was unimportant in Germany, except for silk ; from Bohemia, that French goods could not compete ; and from Frankfurt, that French goods were the least important of all. The French reports usually sought an explanation of the fact that German and Swiss goods had the upper hand in various accidental circumstances, such as greater proximity to the place of production, simpler qualities, greater ease in obtaining raw materials, &c. But some, on the other hand, are more frank. Thus the report from Darmstadt runs : ‘ The cashmere and ccjtton factories of Saxony and Switzerland injure our trade in Germany, where they find great sales and are much in request under the name of English wares, the appearance of which they imitate.’ And in the autumn of 1810 one of the French commercial spies made a statement which, from the standpoint of Napoleon’s egoistic policy, must be regarded as a condemnation of the entire Continental System : Their competition ‘ is perhaps at the present moment more dangerous for France and Italy than that of the English manufacturers, because they dispute the Continent with us ’. Thus, despite the best will in the world and despite unlimited powers to reserve for France what had become free through the blockadeagainst England, Napoleon had scarcely succeeded in obtaining any increased sales for French export industries. As a measure to promote exports in the interest of France, therefore, the Continental System cannot be regarded as having achieved any great results.

法国商业间谍的报告与德国和瑞士关于法国难以与其他国家竞争的说法完全一致。因此，我们从瑞士得知，除了丝绸外，法国商品在德国的竞争并不重要；从波希米亚得知，法国商品无法与之竞争；从法兰克福得知，法国商品在所有商品中最不重要。法国的报告通常试图解释为什么德国和瑞士的商品在各种偶然情况下占了上风，比如离产地更近、质量更简单、更容易获得原材料等等。但另一方面，有些报告则更加坦率。来自达姆施塔特的报告这样写道："萨克森和瑞士的羊绒和麂皮绒工厂损害了我们在德国的贸易，这些羊绒和麂皮绒在德国的销售量很大，并以英国商品的名义受到追捧，它们模仿英国商品的外观。1810 年秋天，一位法国商业间谍发表了一份声明，从拿破仑的利己主义政策的角度来看，这份声明必须被视为对整个大陆体系的谴责：他们的竞争 "目前对法国和意大利来说也许比英国制造商的竞争更危险，因为他们与我们争夺欧洲大陆"。因此，尽管拿破仑有世界上最好的意愿，尽管他有无限的权力为法国保留通过对英国的封锁而获得的自由，但他几乎没有成功地为法国的出口工业带来任何销售额的增长。因此，作为一项为了法国的利益而促进出口的措施，大陆制度不能被视为取得了任何重大成果。

We must now examine somewhat more closely how the economic life of certain other continental countries, and particub larly their manufactures, was affected by the Continental System ; and in this matter, especially with regard to the general effect, it seems proper to limit ourselves to a few typical examples.

现在，我们必须更仔细地研究大陆制度如何影响其他一些大陆国家的经济生活，特别是它们的制造业。

## **SAXONY**

## **萨克森**

Of all manufacturing countries on the Continent there is scarcely one which developed so powerfully under the Continental System as Saxony. Various factors contributed to this. To begin with, Saxony lay at some distance from France and was governed by a native prince in whom Napoleon had confidence. A powerful French interest further demanded that its economic life should be spared from violent dislocations and galling restrictions, because the Leipzig Fair, which has seldom had in its long history so much importance as during the Napoleonic wars, demanded a certain liberty of movement for its existence, and that existence was of great importance to French exports, the direct connexions of which seldom extended farther to the east than Leipzig. Under these circumstances it was natural that Napoleon should take care not to exercise there the continual intervention that fell to the lot of his vassal states that bordered on France, On the other hand, Saxony had an excellent situation for connexions both with the North Sea and with the Baltic, and also, before the incorporation of Trieste, with the Mediterranean, and it was therefore less affected than most countries by the changed directions of maritime trade. Even though the Leipzig Fair, owing to this change, diminished in importance during the last years of the Continental System, yet the supply of cotton for the country’s own requirements was even then, as far as onecan judge, sufficient ; and in any case it was incomparably better than in France, as is very clearly shown by the foregoing tables illustrating the prices of cotton.

在欧洲大陆的所有制造业国家中，几乎没有一个像萨克森这样在大陆制度下发展得如此强大。这是由多种因素促成的。首先，萨克森与法国相距较远，由拿破仑信任的一位本地王子统治。强大的法国利益进一步要求萨克森的经济生活免受剧烈动荡和令人讨厌的限制，因为莱比锡博览会在其悠久的历史中从未像拿破仑战争期间那样重要，它的存在需要一定的行动自由，而这种存在对法国的出口非常重要，其直接联系很少延伸到比莱比锡更远的东部地区。另一方面，萨克森与北海和波罗的海，以及在的里雅斯特并入之前与地中海都有很好的联系，因此它比大多数国家更少受到海上贸易方向变化的影响。尽管由于这种变化，莱比锡博览会的重要性在大陆制度的最后几年有所减弱，但就人们的判断而言，即使在当时，满足本国需求的棉花供应也是充足的；而且无论如何，棉花供应都比法国好得多，这一点从前面的棉花价格表中可以清楚地看出。

Saxony was already at this time a manufacturing country with a many-sided development, both as regards the majority of textile industries-cotton, wool, linen-and iron-working. But so far as I know, it is the history of the cotton industry under the Continental System that has been subjected to the most thorough investigation. This has been done especially in the work that has so often been cited in these pages, namely, Konig's Die Sächsische Baumwolle Industrie am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts und während der Kontinentalsperre(1899), which on the whole would seem to be the most useful of the existing monographs on the industrial conditions of this period. In general, this one-sidedness in the literature very well corresponds to the reality, for it is in the sphere of the cotton industry that one really has to expect the workings of the Continental System in Saxony.

此时的萨克森已经是一个制造业发达的国家，无论是大部分纺织业（棉花、羊毛、亚麻）还是钢铁业，都有多方面的发展。但就我所知，对大陆制度下的棉纺织业历史的研究最为深入。这尤其体现在我们经常引用的科尼格的《上世纪末和大陆封锁期间的萨克森棉花工业》（1899 年）一书中。总体而言，文献中的这种片面性非常符合实际情况，因为在棉纺织业领域，人们才真正需要了解大陆制度在萨克森州的运作情况。

The Saxon cotton industry, which had a long history behind it, had not become the object of British competition until the seventeen-seventies, after the inventions in the spinning industry, principally as regards the fine goods (muslins) that were manufactured in Voigtland in the south of Saxony, mainly in Plauen. Tne competition had been met by the imitation of the British goods, but for this purpose the Saxon yarn was too coarse; and this brought about the admission of British yarn for the muslin factories shortly after 1790. But even then there was no more than a short breathing space, for before the close of the century the British competition was regarded as overwhelming, even in the matter of muslins. The second main division of Saxon cottons, the coarser calicoes intended for printing, which were produced on the northern slope of the Erzgebirge, centering in Chemnitz, held out somewhat longer. That too was based on British yarn as warp, but it also went under immediately before the introduction of' the Continental System.

萨克森州的棉纺业历史悠久，直到 17 世纪 70 年代纺纱工业发明之后才成为英国竞争的对象，主要是在萨克森州南部的伏伊特兰，主要是在普劳恩生产的精细产品（薄纱）。为了应对竞争，人们开始仿制英国产品，但由于萨克森的纱线过于粗糙，因此在 1790 年后不久，薄纱工厂开始使用英国纱线。但即便如此，也不过是短暂的喘息时间，因为在本世纪末之前，英国的竞争被认为是压倒性的，甚至在薄纱方面也是如此。萨克森棉布的第二大类，即用于印刷的较粗花布，产自以开姆尼茨为中心的厄尔士山脉北坡，其寿命稍长。这种棉布也是以英国纱线为经纱，但也在大陆制引入之前就被淘汰了。

What made it possible to check this development under the Continental System, however, was not only the fact that Saxony was an old home of the cotton industry, which was only gradually disturbed in its position, but also two other important facts. One was that what had been revolutionized in the British cotton trade at this time was really only spinning, while the power-loom was still only in its infancy. The beginning of the Continental System was simultaneous with the well-known and peculiar phase of -the British industrial revolution when the hand-weavers, who were later reduced to abysmal misery, had brilliant incomes owing to the scarcity of workers to weave the increased quantities of yarn produced by spinning-machines. No doubt the economic organization of British weaving also had been changed under the pressure of the great spinning-mills, and the technique of weaving had also been improved in Great Britain. But for a country which was able to bring its own spinning industry into approximate equality with the British spinning industry, there was still some possibility of holding out against British competition ; and we here come to the second fact that made possible a restoration of the Saxon cotton industry when the Continental System placed difficulties in the way of the importation of British cotton. This second fact was that the spinning-machinery had already obtained a firm footing in the country before the blockade rendered difficult the importation of British machines and British operators. Hargreaves’s spinning-jenny, which was only a multiple spinning-wheel and therefore did not put an end to, but rather supported, home industry, had already reached Saxony in the seventeen-eighties, and there were thousands of machines there before the Continental System. But of far greater significance was the fact that in the year 1801, in consequence of the importations of British operators, two great spinningmills were started in Chemnitz, one with Crompton’s mule and the other with Arkwright’s water-frame. This created the possibility of producing both long and fine thread, though not by any means so fine as the British thread (muletwist up to no. 70 and water-twist up to no. 36), and, in general,of keeping pace with the development of British technique. It was really only the mule-spindles that obtained a firm footing during the period of the Continental System; while water- \ frames never came into common use, and jennies almost completely disappeared, the number of mule-spindles increasing steadily from 13,200 in 1806 to 255,900 in 1813 (of which in the half-year between Michaelmas 1811 and Easter 1812, there was a rise'from 132,000 to 210,150, an increase of 59 per cent.). The development of machine spinning suffered a slight check at the collapse of the Continental System in 1813-14; but on the whole the results attained in this matter seem to have held their ground. Alongside this, moreover, there arose 8 special and comprehensive industry for the manufacture of spinning-machinery, distributed over some dozen workshops, of which the most technically advanced, though not the largest, was under the management of the British mechanic who had fitted up the first mule spinning-mill in 1801.

然而，萨克森州是棉纺织业的老家，棉纺织业的地位只是逐渐受到干扰，在大陆制度下能够遏制这种发展的原因不仅在于此，还有另外两个重要的事实。其一，英国棉花贸易在这一时期发生革命性变化的实际上只是纺纱，而动力织机仍处于起步阶段。大陆体系的开始与众所周知的英国工业革命的特殊阶段同时发生，当时，由于缺少工人来纺织纺纱机生产的更多纱线，后来陷入极度苦难的手织工们收入颇丰。毫无疑问，在大型纺纱厂的压力下，英国纺织业的经济组织也发生了变化，英国的纺织技术也得到了改进。但是，对于一个能够使自己的纺纱业与英国纺纱业大致相当的国家来说，仍有可能在与英国的竞争中立于不败之地；在这里，我们要谈的第二个事实是，当大陆制度给英国棉花进口造成困难时，萨克森棉纺业得以恢复。第二个事实是，在封锁使英国机器和英国操作人员难以进口之前，纺纱机已经在该国站稳了脚跟。哈格里夫斯的纺纱机只是一种复式纺车，因此并没有结束而是支持了本国的工业，这种纺纱机在 18 世纪 70 年代就已经到达了萨克森，在大陆制度之前，那里已经有了成千上万台机器。但更重要的是，1801 年，开姆尼茨由于引进了英国的纺纱机 ，开始使用两台大型纺纱机，一台使用克朗普顿的骡子纺纱机，另一台使用阿克莱特的水车纺纱机。这样就有可能同时生产长线和细线，尽管细线决不像英国线那么细（骡机捻度可达 70 号，水捻可达 36 号），而且总体上可以跟上英国技术发展的步伐。实际上，只有骡子锭在大陆制度时期站稳了脚跟；而水捻框从未得到普遍使用，珍妮锭几乎完全消失，骡子锭的数量从1806年的13200个稳步增长到1813年的25万5900个（其中在1811年弥迦勒节到1812年复活节之间的半年里，从13万2000个增加到21150个，增长了59%）。机器纺纱的发展在 1813-14 年大陆体系崩溃时受到了轻微的阻碍，但总的来说，在这方面取得的成果似乎还在继续。此外，还出现了 8 个专门和全面的纺纱机械制造业，分布在十几个作坊里，其中技术最先进的作坊（虽然不是最大的）由英国机械师管理，他在 1801 年安装了第一台骡子纺纱机。

Thus it is fairly clear what causes made it possible for the Continental System to check the decline in the Saxon textile industries. Despite their importance, the period did not bring any general quantitative increase in production. According to Konig's calculations, which are based on the year 1805 when the effects of British competition had already appeared all along the line, there was only one year (1810) that exhibited higher figures (an increase of 25 per cent.) than the year taken as the basis, while the figures of the other years and average were lower. The course of development showed a decline for the. muslin industry, which was dependent on the almost unobtainable high numbers of yarn. That industry partly passed to Switzerland, and partly lost through British competition its most important remaining market, Turkey. On the other hand, there was an increase of nearly 44) per cent. for unprinted calicoes, so that the cotton industry of Voigtland, and consequently of Saxony as a whole, passed more and more to the production of calicoes. In a somewhat similar way calico-printing grew, and the results were so satisfactory that the British could sell nothmg whatever when, after Napoleon'sfall, they first showed themselves openly at the Michaelmas Fair at Leipzig in 1814.

因此，大陆体系之所以能够遏制萨克森纺织业的衰落，其原因是相当清楚的。尽管萨克森纺织业非常重要，但这一时期并没有带来生产数量上的普遍增长。根据科尼格的计算，只有一个年份（1810 年）的产量比基准年份高（增长了 25%），而其他年份的产量和平均产量都比较低。发展过程表明，依赖于几乎无法获得的大量纱线的薄纱业正在衰落。该行业部分转移到了瑞士，部分由于英国的竞争而失去了最重要的市场--土耳其。另一方面，无印花布增加了近 44%，因此福伊特兰的棉纺织业，乃至整个萨克森的棉纺织业，越来越多地转而生产花布。花布印刷业也以类似的方式发展起来，并且取得了令人满意的成果，以至于拿破仑下台后，英国人第一次在 1814 年莱比锡的米迦勒节博览会上公开亮相时，什么也卖不出去。

In spite of all this-and here is perhaps the point that presents the greatest interest-the Saxon cotton industry, like the correspondent French one, had not been in a position to keep pace with the technical development of Great Britain during t,he period of the blockade, There were practically no steam spinning-mills, but somewhat more than half of the spinning-mills were driven by water-power and the rest by animal-power or hand-power. Far more important, howeverfor the former was evidently mainly due to a good supply of natural power-is the fact that cylinder-printing did not come into use during the period, but calico-printing was still performed by the extremely slow hand method. Consequently, it took the British only three or four years (1817) to get the better of the Saxon calico industry ; and under the influence of this competition the transition to machine-printing, which it had not been possible, or, more correctly, necessary, to adopt during the long period of blockade, took place in 1820. Although the Continental System had a very strong stimulating effect on industrial development in many directions, therefore, yet it had not built up industry so firmly as to prevent a relapse for some years after the close of the blockade ; and this was due to the incapacity of protection to provide for the adoption of the technical advances that had not been introduced before the beginning of the blockade.

尽管如此——这也许是最令人感兴趣的一点——萨克森的棉纺业与相应的法国棉纺业一样，在封锁期间未能跟上英国的技术发展步伐，几乎没有蒸汽纺纱厂，但有一半以上的纺纱厂靠水力驱动，其余的靠畜力或人力驱动。然而，前者显然主要是由于自然动力供应充足，更重要的是，在这一时期，圆筒印花机并没有投入使用，而卡里柯印花机仍在使用极其缓慢的手工方法。因此，英国人只用了三四年（1817 年）就超越了撒克逊的印花布业；在这种竞争的影响下，1820 年开始向机器印花过渡，而在长期封锁期间，机器印花是不可能的，或者更正确地说，是必须的。尽管大陆制度在许多方面对工业发展产生了非常大的刺激作用，但它并没有使工业发展得如此稳固，以至于在封锁结束后的若干年里仍无法防止工业的倒退；这是由于保护措施无法为采用封锁开始前尚未引进的先进技术提供条件。

## **SWITZERLAND**

## **瑞士联邦**

While the industrial development of Saxony, on the whole, -was stimulated by the Continental System, in certain regions in Switzerland the result was quite the opposite, the situation there being far more complicated. And what is now to be said about Switzerland applies also in large measure to the Black Forest and, peculiarly enough, to Geneva as well, though the latter was incorporated with France.In the Swiss and Badenregions (with the exception of one single branch of production) there was a violent decline in the previously well-marked industrial development and a distress which was widespread, and, in certain districts, frightful. Nevertheless, it is a great mistake to regard the blockade as the sole cause o€ this devastating backward movement. The character of Swiss industry made it peculiarly susceptible both to the revolutionary influence of the great inventions and to the changes undergone by the general economic position of Europe toward the close of the Napoleonic wars.

虽然萨克森的工业发展总体上受到大陆制度的刺激，但在瑞士的某些地区，结果却恰恰相反，那里的情况要复杂得多。现在关于瑞士的说法在很大程度上也适用于黑森林，特别是日内瓦，尽管后者与法国合并了。在瑞士和巴登地区（除了一个单一的生产部门外），以前明显的工业发展急剧下降，困难普遍存在，在某些地区甚至达到了可怕的地步。然而，如果把封锁看作是造成这种倒退的唯一原因，那就大错特错了。瑞士工业的特点使它特别容易受到伟大发明的革命性影响，以及拿破仑战争结束时欧洲总体经济状况的变化的影响。

About 1770 Switzerland was the pioneer country in the European cotton industry, with both spinning and weaving highly developed under the forms of home industry, for which the country was uniquely adapted. Shortly afterwards the machine-spun British yarn began to penetrate into the country, but this development was checked by the obstacles which the course of the French Revolution placed in the way of intercourse with England. Also, when Napoleon began to close the land frontiers more and more tightly a new change took place in the situation. The importation of raw materials for all the Swiss textile industries-cotton, flax, hemp, raw silk-was rendered difficult, while the calico-printing works of Geneva, on the contrary, suffered through being placed within the French customs frontier and thereby being shut off from the supply of unprinted cotton from Switzerland. The severance of the many ties that connected Switzerland with all the bordering countries was thus primarily responsible for the confusion that prevailed during the first five years of the nineteenth century. The earlier years of the Continental System brought about, as we already know, the closing of the Italian market, but, on the other hand, they led to what were sometimes great sales in Germany. We are told that at the Easter Fair at Frankfurt, in 1809, the Swiss completely dominated the market. They left the town after having sold their stocks, but furnished themselves anew and had an equally sweeping success withtheir new supplies and at equally good prices. Until this time Switzerland had had no very great difficulty in providing herself with raw cotton or even with British yarn, especially because the important port of Trieste was still open. It is true that a shortage of Brazilian cotton had made itself felt, but this had been partly replaced by North American cotton.

大约在1770年，瑞士成为欧洲棉纺织业的先驱国家，纺纱和织布业都在本国工业的形式下得到了高度发展，瑞士在这方面具有得天独厚的优势。此后不久，机器纺制的英国纱开始进入瑞士，但法国大革命的进程阻碍了瑞士与英国的交往，从而阻碍了瑞士的发展。此外，当拿破仑开始越来越严密地封锁陆地边界时，形势也发生了新的变化。瑞士所有纺织业的原材料——棉花、亚麻、大麻、生丝——的进口都变得十分困难，而日内瓦的印花厂却因为被置于法国海关边界内，从而无法从瑞士获得未印花的棉花而遭受损失。因此，切断瑞士与所有邻国的联系是造成十九世纪前五年混乱局面的主要原因。我们已经知道，大陆制度的前几年导致了意大利市场的关闭，但另一方面，这也导致了德国有时会出现的巨大销售量。我们听说，在 1809 年法兰克福的复活节博览会上，瑞士人完全占据了市场。他们在卖掉存货后离开了法兰克福，但又重新购置了新的商品，并以同样优惠的价格获得了巨大的成功。在此之前，瑞士在供应原棉甚至英国纱线方面都没有遇到过什么大的困难，尤其是因为重要的的里雅斯特港口仍然开放。巴西棉花确实出现了短缺，但部分已被北美棉花取代。

What really caused suffering during this period was not the general state of the trade, but the hopeless struggle that handspinning was carrying on against machine-spinning, hastened, as it was, by the importation of yarn and also by the increasing necessity to fall back on the short-stapled Levantine cotton ; for this quality did not admit of the spinning of be numbers of yarn, which otherwise constituted the only chance left to hand-spinning. The misery of the Swiss hand-spinners would seem, as regards the range of the injury, to surpass considerably what we know of the corresponding effects of the industrial revolution in Great Britain. But it is in the very nature of the case that we here have to deal with sacrifices for what cannot possibly be looked upon as anything but lasting material progress. The definitive introduction of machine-spinning went on in Switzerland, as in Saxony, under the protection of the Continental System, but on a foundation which had been laid beforehand in both countries-in the year 1801. In Switzerland, in much the same way as in Saxony, the new branch of production had been in the way of falling a victim to British competition ; but it was saved and POW developed itself, partly under Saxon influence, by means of a spinning-machine industry. The lastnamed industry gradually became independent, and acquired a great reputation, like machine-spinning itself. It maintained its prosperity, not only under the Continental System, but also after its fall, though it suffered a momentary dislocation. Probably the manufacture of spinning-machinery in its turn is connected wit'h the manufacture of cast or crucible steel at Schaffhausen, and possibly also with the general development of the engineering industry in Switzerland that has played an important part in the economic history of the country during the nineteenth century.

在这一时期，真正造成痛苦的不是贸易的总体状况，而是手工纺纱与机器纺纱之间无望的斗争，进口纱线加速了这场斗争，而且越来越有必要退而求其次使用短绒的黎凡特棉花；因为这种棉花的质量不允许纺大量的纱线，而机器纺纱是手摇纺纱的唯一机会。就伤害的范围而言，瑞士手纺工的苦难似乎大大超过了我们所知道的英国工业革命的相应影响。但是，就其本质而言，我们在这里要讨论的是，为了什么而牺牲，而这种牺牲不可能被看作是持久的物质文明。瑞士和萨克森一样，都是在大陆制度的保护下最终引进了机器纺纱技术，但两国的机器纺纱技术都是在 1801 年奠定的基础上发展起来的。在瑞士，与在萨克森州一样，新的生产部门也曾是英国竞争的牺牲品；但在萨克森州的部分影响下，通过纺纱机工业，瑞士的新生产部门得到了挽救和发展。最后一个 命名的行业逐渐独立，并获得了巨大的声誉，就像机器纺纱本身一样。它不仅在大陆制度下保持了繁荣，而且在大陆制度衰落后也保持了繁荣，尽管它曾遭受过短暂的混乱。纺纱机械的制造可能与沙夫豪森的铸钢或坩埚钢的制造有关，也可能与瑞士工程工业的总体发展有关。

However, Napoleon, the ‘ mediator ’ of the Swiss Confederation, undeniably had an eye on its industry ; and there was no comparison between his ruthless and continuous intervention in Switzerland and his relatively mild treatment of Saxony. This fact explains many of the dissimilarities in the’consequent evolution of the two countries. The Emperor never neglected an opportunity to make Switzerland, a dangerous competitor that was politically powerless, feel the whole weight of the measures both of the Italian and of the French governments ; and the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, especially Bavaria, were not slow to follow suit. In 1809 occurred the incorporation of Trieste, which was a hard blow for both the imports and the sales of Switzerland ; but it was the years 1810-11 which, so far as external policy is concerned, gave the decisive turn to events. It was then that the last measures were taken in Italy which definitively shut off the south of Europe. At the same time the Trianon tariff led both to repeated and violent ransackings of Switzerland for British goods and to prohibitions on the transport of colonial goods (cotton) from .i the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, and fmally also to the decline both of the Frankfurt and the Leipzig Fairs, so that sales for the north were rendered difficult at the same time that sales to the south were strangled. Nevertheless, we do not form the impression that these external events were the main cause of the almost all-embracing crisis which now broke over the whole of Swiss economic life. Of the seriousness of this set-back there does not appear to be any doubt. The Landammann (President) summed up the situation in April 1812, in the distressful proposition that ‘ the industries of Switzerland are now nearing their end ’ ; and a considerable emigration took place, among other places, to the left bank of the Rhine.

然而，作为瑞士联邦的 "调停者"，拿破仑不可否认地关注着瑞士的工业；拿破仑对瑞士无情而持续的干预与他对萨克森相对温和的待遇是不可同日而语的。这一事实解释了两国在随后演变过程中的许多不同之处。皇帝从不放过任何机会，让瑞士这个在政治上无权无势的危险竞争者感受到意大利和法国政府措施的全部威力；莱茵联邦各州，尤其是巴伐利亚，也不甘示弱，纷纷效仿。1809年，的里雅斯特并入瑞士，这对瑞士的进口和销售都是一个沉重的打击；但就对外政策而言，1810-1811年才是事件的决定性转折点。就在那时，意大利采取了最后的措施，彻底关闭了欧洲南部。与此同时，特里亚侬关税导致了瑞士对英国商品的多次暴力掠夺，以及禁止从莱茵联邦各州运输殖民地商品（棉花），并最终导致了法兰克福博览会和莱比锡博览会的衰落，因此，在对南方的销售被扼杀的同时，对北方的销售也变得困难重重。尽管如此，我们并不认为这些外部事件是导致瑞士整个经济生活陷入几乎全面危机的主要原因。1812年4月，兰达曼总统总结了当时的形势，提出了 "瑞士的工业已接近尾声 "这一令人忧虑的论断。

The fundamental cause of this hard blow seems rather to have been the general distress which now spread over Europe, and which struck Swiss industry with particular severity because most of its branches were concerned with the production of luxuries. In the cotton industry this especially held good ofthe manufacture of muslins and embroidered goods, in which Switzerland and Baden had been beyond the reach of competition on the Continent and had suffered no inconvenience worth mentioning from the Continental System. But it was just here that a devastating crisis broke out which put an end forever to these branches of production in certain districts, and for the moment practically everywhere. To a somewhat smaller extent the position was the same for calicoes and coarser unprinted cottons. Outside the sphere of the cotton indust,ry, both the silk manufacture and the making of watches and jewellery . obviously satisfied what was in. the main a demand for luxuries. The most highly developed watch industry, t.hat of Geneva, is stated to have declined to a tenth of its former magnitude. Evidently it will not do to see in this an effect of t.he Continental System ; and the fact that Switzerland during the recent war, despite far greater difficulties in the supply of raw materials and foodstuffs, was yet able to avoid such great dislocations as in 1811-13 is evidently connected with the fact that it has now, not only industries that supply the luxury demand but also, and perhaps to a still greater extent, other kinds of industries.

造成这一沉重打击的根本原因似乎是目前遍及欧洲的普遍困境，由于瑞士工业的大部分分支都与奢侈品生产有关，因此受到的打击尤为严重。在棉纺织业中，这一点在薄纱和刺绣品的生产中尤为突出，瑞士和巴登在这方面一直无法与欧洲大陆竞争，也没有受到大陆制度带来的任何不便。但就在这个时候，一场毁灭性的危机爆发了，它永远地终结了某些地区的这些生产部门，而且目前几乎在所有地区都是如此。在较小范围内，花布和较粗的无印花棉布的情况也是如此。在棉纺织业之外，丝绸制造和钟表珠宝制造显然满足了人们对奢侈品的主要需求。最发达的钟表业，即日内瓦的钟表业，据说已经衰落到以前的十分之一。在最近的战争中，瑞士尽管在原材料和食品供应方面遇到了更大的困难，但仍能避免出现像1811-13年那样严重的混乱，这显然与瑞士现在不仅拥有供应奢侈品需求的工业，而且还拥有其他类型的工业有关，或许在更大程度上是这样。

To outward appearances, consequently, the difference between Switzerland and Saxony is very great. If one tries to get to the bottom of the significance of the Continental System for Switzerland, the dissimi-larity, however, will diminish considerably. In both countries machine-spinning secured a firm foothold, while the weaving industry could not maintain itself in either country. But things were undeniably far worse in Switzerhd for' three reasons ; because of the much greater ruthlessness of the Napoleonic policy there ; because of its more intimate connexion with surrounding countries ; and, above all, because of the fact that Swiss industries were far more concerned with the production of luxuries.

因此，从表面上看，瑞士和萨克森之间的差异非常大。然而，如果我们试图了解大陆制度对瑞士的意义，这种差异就会大大缩小。在这两个国家中，机器纺纱都站稳了脚跟，而织布业在这两个国家都无法维持下去。但不可否认的是，瑞士的情况要糟糕得多，原因有三：拿破仑政策在瑞士更加残酷无情；瑞士与周边国家的联系更加紧密；最重要的是，瑞士的工业更注重奢侈品的生产。

## **GRAND DUCHY OF BERG**

## **伯格大公国**

Of all the regions of the Continent beyond the borders of France there is scarcely one whose fortunes under the Continental System are so indicative of the dualism of the policy as those parts of the right bank of the Rhine that Napoleon combined into the Grand-Duchy of Berg. What this territory at the present moment means to the industry of Europe is well understood when its most important part is mentioned, namely, the Ruhr district ; to this was added the closely allied Siegerland, which forms a continuation of the district farther to the south. To that region belong such centres of trade and Rhine navigation as Duisburg and Ruhrort, textile centres such as Elberfeld, Barmen, and Miilheim, some of the foremost coal and iron mines in the world, and iron-working and metalmanufacturing centres, such as Essen, Gelsenkirchen, Dortmund, Bochum, Siegen, Dillenburg, Remscheid, and Solingen. In a word, it is one of the most eminent and highly concentrated industrial districts in the world. Even though the development of the Rhenish-Westphalian territory into its present position has progressed with giant strides, especially since 1870, yet, even at the beginning of the last century, Berg was one of the most advanced industrial countries of the Continent, particularly in the departments of metal manufacture and of textiles, both woollen and cotton. It was, as a rule, superior to the corresponding French indudrial areas and was called, not without reason, ' a miniature England '.

在法国边界以外的欧洲大陆所有地区中，几乎没有一个地区的命运能像莱茵河右岸被拿破仑合并为伯格大公国的那些地区一样，在大陆体系下如此充分地体现出政策的二元性。只要提到这片领土最重要的部分，即鲁尔区，就能很好地理解这片领土目前对欧洲工业的意义。该地区有杜伊斯堡和鲁尔区等贸易和莱茵河航运中心，埃尔伯费尔德、巴门和米尔海姆等纺织中心，一些世界上最重要的煤矿和铁矿，以及埃森、盖尔森基兴、多特蒙德、波鸿、锡根、迪伦堡、雷姆沙伊德和索林根等钢铁和金属制造中心。总之，它是世界上最著名、最集中的工业区之一。尽管莱茵-威斯特法伦地区的发展 ，特别是自 1870 年以来，取得了长足的进步，但即使在上世纪初，伯格仍是欧洲大陆最先进的工业国家之一，尤其是在金属制造和纺织（包括毛纺和棉纺）领域。它通常比法国的相应工业区更胜一筹，被称为"英国的缩影"也不无道理。

It is evident that a region of this kind would have served better than almost any other to form the central point in a combination of the Continent against the industry of Great Britain ; and few regions would, at least for the moment, have gained more by such a position. But evidently this would have presupposed a willingness to subordinate French manufacturing interests to the demands of the uniform continental policy ; and it was precisely this willingness that was lacking. The very industrial superiority of Berg thereby became its misfortune under the Continental System; it fell betweentwo stools, being inexorably excluded from the French market, but no less inexorably bound to French policy.

显然，这样一个地区几乎比任何其他地区都更适合成为欧洲大陆联合对抗英国工业的中心点。但显然，这样做的先决条件是法国人愿意让法国的制造业利益服从统一的大陆政策的要求；而法国人恰恰缺乏这种意愿。因此，伯格的工业优势在大陆制度下成为了它的不幸；它跌落在两张凳子之间，不可避免地被排除在法国市场之外，但同样也不可避免地受到法国政策的束缚。

Situated quite close to the French frontier, which at that time, as everybody knows, was formed by the Rhine itself, its mere geographical position threw obstacles in the way of its retaining the relative independence enjoyed by the majority of the other states of the Confederation of the Rhine. But this was all the more impossible because the country in reality was governed throughout on Napoleon’s own account, at first in the name of Joachim Murat, but from 1808 even nominally under the rule of the Emperor in his capacity as guardian of the new Grand-Duke, the minor son of Louis Bonaparte. Its position, in combination with t.he measures described above for the blockade against Holland by means of a customs cordon between Rees and Bremen in 1809 and the incorporation of Holland in 1810, placed difficulties in the way of the supply of colonial goods both from the Baltic and from the North Sea to quite a different extent than was the case in Saxony. This was especially the case after the Trianon tariff, which particularly during its earlier phases involved dues in all the states through which the goods had to pass ; and there was still less possibility of any supply through the Mediterranean than there was in the case of Switzerland. The native minister of the Grand-Duchy, Nesselrode, said with bitterness that Berg was the only country that had ever conscientiously applied the Trianon tariff. Every reason conspired to force her to the French side in the great struggle.

莱茵河在当时是法国的边界，众所周知，莱茵河本身就构成了法国的边界，莱茵河的地理位置为莱茵联邦其他大多数州保持相对独立设置了障碍。但这更不可能，因为这个国家实际上自始至终都是由拿破仑统治的，起初是以约阿希姆·缪拉的名义，但从 1808 年起，甚至名义上都是由皇帝以路易·波拿巴的小儿子、新大公的监护人的身份统治的。它的地位，加上上文提到的 1809 年通过在里斯和不来梅之间设置海关封锁线对荷兰进行封锁的措施，以及 1810 年荷兰的并入，给波罗的海和北海的殖民物资供应造成了困难，其程度与萨克森州的情况完全不同。这种情况在特里亚侬关税之后尤为明显，尤其是在特里亚侬关税的早期阶段，货物必须经过的所有国家都要缴纳税款；与瑞士的情况相比，通过地中海供应货物的可能性更小。瑞士大公国的本土大臣奈塞尔罗德痛心疾首地说，伯格是唯一一个认真执行过特里亚侬关税的国家。种种原因迫使瑞士在这场斗争中站在了法国一边。

Under such circumstances ‘it constituted. an excess of punishment to place the country outside the French customs frontier, so much the more so because a very extensive mutual exchange of commodities with France had commenced before the Revolution, consisting, on the one hand, of the exportati.on of metal wares, cloth, and ribbons, and, on the other hand, of the importation of wine, oil, and colonial goods. The more unavoidable the sufferings that the new situation caused to Berg, the more persistent and ardent became the desire of itsinhabitants to be incorporated with the empire, like their more fortunately situated countrymen on the left bank of the Rhine ; and if that were impossible, at least they asked to enjoy some modification in the prohibitive French regulations regarding customs duties and prohibitions on imports, which, as has been previously stated,l did most effectually prevent competition from the right bank of the Rhine. The unbroken stream of prayers from the population in this direction was also actively supported by both Beugnot, the local French governor at Dusseldorf, and Roederer, the secretary of state for Berg in Paris. But all was in vain. Sometimes Napoleon’s heart softened, as in January 1807, when he admitted the goods of Berg into Italy ; but the old tendencies always regained the upper hand, and, as has already been mentioned, the specific concession referred to was revoked before the end of the year. Particularly violent was the resistance to the incorporation of Berg that was raised from the Roer department on the left bank of the Rhine, where a new and flourishing textile industry in Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Krefeld was greatly profiting by sales on the closed French market and feared nothing so much as competition from the superior industry of Berg. In this matter there was unusual truth in the saying, ‘ Preserve me from my relatives ’. It makes an impression which is half-amusing and half-repulsive when one reads the addresses, reeking wit.h French patriotism, to Napoleon or to the prefect of the department, in which the Chambers of Commerce of Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and ICrefeld, and also the cotton manufacturers of the Roer department, tried, with every conceivable sophism, to prevent any listening to the prayers of Berg, owing to its industrial superiority, its uafair methods of business, and its already sufficient sales in the north of Europe. When we read all this, we are forcibly reminded of a very apt remark made by Professor Morgenstierne to the effect that even a purely temporary frontier calls forth claims to protection against competition, while the same sort of competition is regarded as a healthy and natural developmentwhen it takes place within the boundaries of a country. The summit level of cynicism was probably attained in an address to the Emperor from the Cologne Chamber of Commerce in the autumn of 1811, where a plea was coolly put forward to move the population from the unfertile right bank of the Rhine to its fertile left bank :

在这种情况下，'把这个国家置于法国海关边界之外是一种过度的惩罚，更何况在大革命之前，这个国家已经开始与法国进行非常广泛的商品交换，一方面出口金属器皿、布匹和丝带，另一方面进口葡萄酒、石油和殖民地商品。新的形势给伯格带来的苦难越是难以避免，伯格居民就越是强烈地希望像莱茵河左岸的同胞一样并入帝国；如果这不可能，至少他们要求法国在关税和进口禁令方面的禁止性规定有所修改，如前所述，这些规定非常有效地阻止了来自莱茵河右岸的竞争。民众在这方面源源不断的祈求也得到了杜塞尔多夫的法国地方长官博格诺和巴黎的伯格国务秘书罗德雷尔的积极支持。但这一切都是徒劳的。拿破仑的心有时会软化下来，比如 1807 年 1 月，他允许伯格的货物进入意大利；但旧的倾向总是会重新占据上风，如前所述，上述具体的特许权在年底前就被取消了。莱茵河左岸的罗尔省对合并伯格的抵制尤为激烈，在那里，新兴起的蓬勃发展的纺织业，如亚琛、科隆和克雷菲尔德等，通过在封闭的法国市场上的销售获得了巨大的利益，他们最惧怕的就是来自伯格的优势产业的竞争。在这个问题上，"让我远离我的亲戚 "这句话有着不同寻常的道理。科隆、艾克斯-拉沙佩尔和伊克雷费尔德的商会以及罗尔省的棉花生产商在给拿破仑或省长的信中，用一切可以想象得到的诡辩，试图阻止人们倾听伯格的祈祷，因为伯格拥有工业优势、公平的经营方式以及在欧洲北部已经有足够的销量。读到这里，我们不禁想起摩根斯蒂尔恩教授的一句非常恰当的话：即使是纯粹临时性的边界，也会引起保护竞争的要求，而同样的竞争如果发生在一个国家的边界内，就会被视为健康和自然的发展。1811 年秋天，科隆商会向皇帝发表了一篇讲话，冷酷地呼吁将莱茵河右岸不肥沃的人口迁往左岸：

*But it may be said that the great majority of the inhabitants of the French empire cannot but gain by the incorporation of so industrious a region as Berg. We reply to this that the object can be attained without the incorporation of the Grand-Duchy. As soon as Your Majesty has declared that no such incorporation should take place, the manufacturers of t.he Grand-Duchy, excluded from the markets of France, Italy, and North Germany, will find themselves reduced to the pressing necessity of moving their works to the left bank of the Rhine. All the cotton, wool, and silk factories of Berg will be restored to their mother country, and Berg will have left only the factories that belong to its soil, namely, the iron and steel industry, which will continue to exist.*

*但是，有人可能会说，像伯格这样勤劳的地区合并后，法兰西帝国的绝大多数居民都会受益。对此，我们的回答是，不合并大公国也能达到目的。一旦国王陛下宣布不进行这样的合并，被排除在法国、意大利和北德意志市场之外的大公国的制造商们就会发现，他们迫切需要把自己的工厂迁往莱茵河左岸。贝格的所有棉纺厂、羊毛厂和丝绸厂都将回归祖国，贝格将只剩下属于自己土地的工厂，即钢铁工业，它将继续存在。*

Instead of growing milder, the French attitude toward Berg rather became more rigorous, especially under the influence of the severe crisis of 1810-11 in France, which naturally made competition from a superior industry still more objectionable than ever ; and as was so often the case during this period, the difficulties were increased by almost meaningless annoyances, as, for instance, when Remscheid’s steel manufactures were not allowed to be conveyed through France for exportation to America.

法国对伯格的态度非但没有变得温和，反而变得更加严厉，尤其是在1810-1811年法国严重危机的影响下，来自优势产业的竞争自然比以往任何时候都更加令人反感；这一时期经常发生的情况是，几乎毫无意义的恼怒使得困难增加，例如，雷姆沙伊德的钢铁产品不允许通过法国出口到美国。

Under such circumstances Berg, on the whole, suffered nothing but injury from the Continental System ; and after 1810, when conditions everywhere began to get worse, the situation in the Grand-Duchy was represented as heart-rending, with unemployment and the increasing emigration of skilled workers across the Rhine (as the Cologne Chamber of Commerce had hoped) and as general discontent which Beugnot, immediately before the Russian Campaign, tried to exorcise by a reduction of the duties of the Trianon tariff, but which broke out into open revolts in the beginning of 1813. It is true that the complaints may be reduced to some extent, as is indeed always the case ; for nothing would be more misleading than to write history, and particularly economic history, on the basis of complaints alone, for ' every torment hath its cry, while health doth hold its peace '. The loss of the French, Italian, and northwest German markets, and also the scarcity of raw cotton, certainly brought about great suffering ; but, on the other side, the smuggling of cotton went on to the last, and at the German fairs, where Napoleon's measures had no effect, the sales were good ; in particular, the woollens of Berg were regarded as keeping all others out in Frankfurt. The diminution in the exports of manufactures by a bare 30 per cent. (from 55,000,000 to 39,000,000 francs), which Roederer ascertained at the close of 1810, cannot in itself be regarded as overwhelming ; but, of course, it meant a great deal for a country that was industrialized to such an extent as Berg and was especially well equipped for foreign sales. Above all, there was here, in sharp contrast with the state of things in Saxony and Switzerland, practically no single point in which the rigid and detested system afforded any compensation for its inconveniences. When the effects of the war on Europe in general began to make themselves felt more and more strongly, therefore, it was only natural that the situation should become unendurable in a country which was pressed so hard between two antagonists "almost literally between the devil and the deep sea-especially when it quite naturally seemed to the population as if the officially announced aim of the policy might have led to a very different treatment and rendered possible a favourable development of the country. Just as the left bank of the Rhine wasgrateful, and with reason, for the orderly administration and the economic prosperity brought about there by the French rule, and just as the time of Napoleon was also important for various autonomous German states of the Confederation of the Rhine, e. g., Bavaria, through the indirect French influence, so did the pressure of the Continental System make itself detestable inthis unique industrial region which was shut out from all quarters through the egoism of French policy.

1810 年以后，各地的情况都开始恶化，大公国的情况被描述为令人痛心疾首：失业、越来越多地移居莱茵河对岸的技术工人（正如科隆商会所希望的那样），以及普遍的不满情绪，博格诺在俄国战役前夕，试图通过降低特里亚侬关税来消除这种不满情绪，但这种不满情绪在1813 年初爆发为公开的反抗。诚然，抱怨在某种程度上是可以减少的，事实也总是如此；因为没有什么比仅仅根据抱怨来撰写历史，特别是经济史更容易误导人了，因为 "每一种痛苦都有它的呼声，而健康却保持着它的平静"。法国、意大利和德意志西北市场的丧失，以及原棉的匮乏，无疑带来了巨大的痛苦；但另一方面，棉花走私却一直持续到最后，在拿破仑的措施没有产生任何效果的德国集市上，销售情况也很好；特别是，在法兰克福，伯格的毛织品被认为把所有其他产品都挡在了门外。制成品出口减少了30%。（从5500万法郎到3900万法郎）（这是罗德里尔查明的1810年左右的数据）。这本身并不能成为压倒性的，但这对一个像伯格这样工业化程度如此之高、对外销售能力如此之强的国家当然也是意义重大的。最重要的是，与萨克森和瑞士的情况形成鲜明对比的是，这里几乎没有任何一点是僵化和令人憎恶的制度所带来的不便所能弥补的。因此，当战争对整个欧洲的影响开始越来越强烈地显现出来时，一个被两个对立面 "几乎是魔鬼和深海之间 "压得喘不过气来的国家，情况自然就变得难以承受了，尤其是在民众看来，官方宣布的政策目标本可以带来截然不同的待遇，并使国家得到有利的发展。正如莱茵河左岸因法国统治带来的有序管理和经济繁荣而感恩戴德（这是有道理的），也正如拿破仑时代因法国的间接影响而对莱茵联邦的各德意志自治州（如巴伐利亚）具有重要意义一样，大陆制度的压力在这个因法国政策的利己主义而被全方位拒之门外的独特工业区也让人深恶痛绝。

## **INDUSTRIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES**

## **其他国家的工业**

The development of industry in the other states of the mainland offers comparatively few new features ; and there is no reason to essay a monographic treatment of the several countries. Conditions in Bohemia seem to have accorded more or less completely with the developments in Saxony, while not only Baden, as has already been mentioned, but to a very large extent Italy, like Switzerland, came to suffer Rom the closing of the frontier of South Europe to all quarters. In th.e north the famous linen manufactures of Silesia especially suffered through the closing of the Italian frontier, so that the well-known misery of the Silesian linen-weavers-so dramatically treated by Gerhart Hauptmann, among othersbegan during this period. Thus we have here a very close parallel to the Swiss development. The industries of Denmark were of so little importance that they could not suffer much harm ; but what the Continental System did to them was of a typical forcing-house character ; the number of looms in the Copenhagen cloth manufacture increased from 22 in 1807 to 213 in 1814, only to fall back to 74 in 1825.

大陆其他国家的工业发展相对来说没有什么新的特点，因此没有理由对这些国家进行专题研究。波希米亚的情况似乎或多或少地与萨克森的发展完全一致，而不仅是巴登（如前所述），在很大程度上，意大利也像瑞士一样，因南欧边界向各地的关闭而受到影响。在北方，西里西亚著名的亚麻制造业尤其因意大利边境的关闭而遭受损失，因此，格哈特·豪普特曼等人所描述的西里西亚亚麻纺织业者众所周知的悲惨遭遇就是在这一时期开始的。因此，我们在这里看到了与瑞士发展非常相似的情况。丹麦的工业并不重要，因此不会受到太大的损害；但大陆制度对它们的影响却是典型的强迫性的：哥本哈根布匹制造业的织布机数量从 1807 年的 22 台增加到 1814 年的 213 台，但到 1825 年又回落到 74 台。

It is characteristic that the regions which worked for maritime trade were hard hit, not only by the stagnation of trade and shipping, but also by the fact that the blockade removed the very ground from under the feet of their industries, a thing which quite naturally could most easily happen in such countries because their industries are usually based to a very great degree on trade relations with other countries, either for raw materials or for sales or for both. In accordance with this, the industries of Hamburg were seriously crippled in every respect, because its sugar factories suffered from the scarcity of raw sugar and English coal, and its calico-printing works (to a small degree, it is true) from a shortage of unprinted calicoes ; in the same way Holland suffered not only throughthe entire annihilation of its carrying trade, but also through the scarcity of salt for its fisheries and an absence of markets for its spirit manufacture.

一个特点是，从事海上贸易的地区受到了严重打击，这不仅是因为贸易和航运的停滞，而且还因为封锁使这些地区的工业失去了生存的土壤，这种情况在这些国家很自然地很容易发生，因为这些国家的工业通常在很大程度上是建立在与其他国家的贸易关系之上的，要么是原料贸易，要么是销售贸易，要么是两者兼而有之。因此，汉堡的工业在各个方面都受到了严重的削弱，因为它的制糖厂因原糖和英国煤炭的匮乏而遭受损失，它的印花厂（在很小程度上，确实如此）因未印花的花布短缺而遭受损失；同样，荷兰不仅因其运输贸易被完全摧毁而遭受损失，而且还因其渔业缺少食盐和烈酒制造业缺少市场而遭受损失。

## **COUNTRIES PRODUCING RAW MATERIALS**

## **原材料生产国**

The account of the development under thecontinental System of the countries that provided raw materials must necessarily be very brief, as the sources are strikingly scanty, and as the blockade on the Baltic and in Austria was so intermittent.

由于资料来源少得惊人，而且波罗的海和奥地利的封锁时断时续，因此关于提供原材料的国家在大陆制度下的发展情况的叙述必然非常简短。

In Russia the dislike of the nobility and of persons of political influence for the alliance with Napoleon and the Continental System was extremely strong from the very start, as has been set forth with typical French animation and wealth of colour in Vandal's famous work Napoleon et Alexandre Ier(1891-6) ; and without doubt economic factors also played their part. But one has nevertheless a kind of impression that their importance has been exaggerated. What especially gives occasion for doubt is the fact that the evidence for the stagnation of trade which is always met with is the great decline of the Russian rate of exchange (a loss of '72 per cent.). This cannot be explained by an ' unfavourable balance of trade ', for this cause is never sufficient in any case that occurs in practice to bring about a result of that magnitude. The true cause was and is the depreciation of the currency in Russia and Austria, both then and now caused by an excessive issue of paper money. But this, of course, does not make it impossible that the stagnation in Russian timber exports may have been great, as is indeed stated from French quarters which had 'some interest in maintaining the opposite ; and the fact is partly and quite irrefutably confirmed by the great increase in the price of timber, to which we have already called attention: in both Great Britain and France. This stagnation was brought about, however, not only by the increased difficulty of maritime intercourse, but also by a ratherunique consequence of the blockade, which has had analogies during the recent war, namely, the great part that Englishmen played in the economic life of Russia before the Peace of Tilsit. This is illustrated by the vast amount of information from official Russian sources that can be found in Oddy’s work. For instance, in 1804, 35 per cent. of the imports and no less than 63 per cent. of the exports of St. Petersburg were in the hands of British merchants ; and the three greatest commercial houses, all of them British, taken by themselves, carried on more than one-fourth of the export trade of the Russian capital. French evidence testifies to the same conditions. General Savary, who reached St. Petersburg in July 1807, on behalf of Napoleon, gave a detailed description in his report of the all-dominating position of the British trade, telling how half of all the vessels were British and how Englishmen took over all the timber from the nobility and thereby provided them with their safest source ol income ; and he also remarked that they themselves founded industrial concerns in Russia when the importation of British manufactures was too much hampered by customs duties. When so important a part of the economic activity of Russia ceased to exist without warning, it was naturally impossible to obtain substitutes either in Russia itself or from France ; and the natural consequence was a stagnation in Russian exports. Napoleon was quite conscious of this position, and in November 1807, he ordered his ambassador, Caulaincourt, to lay before Emperor Alexander a proposition whereby the French government should buy several million francs’ worth of mast wood and other naval stores for its shipyards. It is uncertain, however, whether this plan was ever carried out.

在俄国，贵族和有政治影响力的人士从一开始就非常不喜欢与拿破仑的结盟和大陆体系，范达尔的名著《拿破仑和亚历山大》（1891-6）以典型的法国式生动和丰富的色彩对此进行了阐述；毫无疑问，经济因素也发挥了作用。但人们还是有一种印象，即这些因素的重要性被夸大了。尤其令人怀疑的是，贸易停滞的证据总是俄国汇率的大幅下降（损失72%）。这不能用 "不利的贸易差额 "来解释，因为在任何情况下，这个原因都不足以导致如此严重的结果。

真正的原因过去和现在都是俄罗斯和奥地利货币贬值，这两个国家当时和现在都由纸币的过度发行引起。但当然，这并不意味着俄罗斯木材出口的停滞可能是巨大的，正如法国方面所说的那样，法国方面“有兴趣保持相反的情况；木材价格的大幅上涨在一定程度上和相当无可辩驳地证实了这一事实，我们已经提请注意：在英国和法国真正的原因是俄国和奥地利的货币贬值，无论是当时还是现在，都是由于纸币发行过多造成的。但是，这当然并不意味着俄国木材出口可能出现了巨大的停滞，正如'对保持相反情况有一定兴趣'的法国方面所说的那样；我们已经提请注意的英国和法国木材价格的大幅上涨部分地、而且是无可辩驳地证实了这一事实。然而，造成这种停滞不前的原因不仅是海上往来更加困难，而且是封锁的一个相当独特的后果，这在最近的战争中也有类似的情况，即英国人在《提尔西特和约》之前在俄国的经济生活中发挥了巨大作用。在奥迪的著作中可以找到大量来自俄国官方来源的信息，说明了这一点。例如，1804 年，圣彼得堡 35% 的进口商品和不少于 63% 的出口商品掌握在英国商人手中；三家最大的商行（均为英国商行）本身就经营着俄国首都四分之一以上的出口贸易。法国的证据也证明了同样的情况。1807 年 7 月，萨瓦里将军代表拿破仑抵达圣彼得堡，他在报告中详细描述了英国贸易的统治地位，讲述了所有船只中如何有一半是英国船只，英国人如何从贵族手中接过所有木材，从而为他们提供了最安全的收入来源；他还说，当英国制成品的进口受到关税的严重阻碍时，英国人自己就在俄国创办了工业企业。当俄国经济活动中如此重要的一部分在毫无征兆的情况下不复存在时，自然就不可能在俄国本国或从法国 ，其后果自然是俄国出口停滞不前。拿破仑非常清楚这种情况，1807 年 11 月，他命令大使考兰库向亚历山大皇帝提出一项建议，法国政府应购买价值数百万法郎的桅杆木材和其他海军物资用于造船厂。不过，这一计划是否得以实施尚不确定。

The Continental System seems to have had a much more marked restraining effect on the exports of raw materials and foodstuffs from Prussia, that is to say, chiefly from the districtseast of the Elbe, probably because Napoleon had still greater reason to distrust the loyalty of the Prussian government than that of the Russian government toward the system, and because, moreover, he had considerably greater means of exercising pressure against the former than against the latter. According to an account by Hoeniger, great stocks of timber rotted away at Memel, while the price of- corn fell by 60-80 per cent. between 1806 and 1810 owing to the absence of markets. The same phenomena appeared in northwest Germany, which had been wont to dispose of its surplus corn to England via Bremen and now saw its means of export barred, with the consequence that, while the price of colonial goods at Bremen increased many times, the price of wheat there declined by 62 per cent. between 1806 and 1811, and the price of rye correspondingly. On the other hand, the shipping and corn exports of Mecklenburg were allowed to remain practically undisturbed until the latter half of 1810. In fact, accopding to accessible figures, the year between August 1809 and July 1810 marks the summit-level of development, which, it is true, was largely caused by the trade with Sweden which was resumed after t,he conclusion of the Finnish war. From Rostock there sailed during that twelvemonth no fewer than 439 vessels, as compared with 55 in the year 1808-9 and 31 in the year 1810-11 ; and the exports of corn exhibit equal figures. Here, as has been previously mentioned, it was the licence system that put an end to the export of corn.

大陆制度似乎对普鲁士（即主要是易北河以东地区）的原材料和食品出口产生了更为明显的限制作用，这可能是因为拿破仑有更多的理由不信任普鲁士政府对大陆制度的忠诚，而不是俄国政府对大陆制度的忠诚，此外，拿破仑对普鲁士政府施加压力的手段要比对俄国政府施加压力的手段多得多。根据霍尼格尔的记载，大量木材在梅梅尔腐烂变质，而玉米的价格在 1806 年至 1810 年间由于没有市场而下降了 60-80%。同样的现象也出现在德国西北部，该地区习惯于通过不来梅将多余的玉米运往英国，但现在出口渠道被堵塞，结果是，虽然不来梅的殖民地商品价格上涨了许多倍，但那里的小麦价格在 1806 至 1811 年间下降了 62%，黑麦的价格也相应下降。另一方面，直到 1810 年下半年，梅克伦堡的航运和玉米出口几乎没有受到任何影响。事实上，根据可获得的数据，1809 年 8 月至 1810 年 7 月这一年的发展达到了顶峰，这在很大程度上是由于芬兰战争结束后恢复了与瑞典的贸易。在这 12 个月中，从罗斯托克出发的船只不少于 439 艘，而 1808-9 年为 55 艘，1810-11 年为 31 艘。如前所述，正是许可证制度终止了这里的玉米出口。

## **ENTREPOT COUNTRIES**

## **转口贸易国**

Finally, as regards countries carrying on an intermediary trade, Sweden and-before the passing of the Embargo Actthe United States, it appears from what has already been said that the effects of the Continental System were necessarily limited substantially to the sphere of trade ; and in the preceding pages materials have been supplied for the illustration of this development. The United States is of particular interest in this connexion in that it shows a quite different development before and after the enforcement of the self-blockade. At one single blow this transformed the country to the type of France and gave a huge stimulus to the development of industry, especially the cotton industry, which, according to an inquiry of Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin, seems to have sextupled during the four years preceding 1809.

最后，关于从事中间贸易的国家，即瑞典和在《禁运法》通过之前的美国。从上述内容可以看出，大陆制度的影响在很大程度上仅限于贸易领域；而在前几页中，我们提供了一些材料来说明这一发展。在这方面，美国尤其值得关注，因为它在实施自我封锁之前和之后的发展截然不同。1809年之前的四年里，根据财政部长加勒廷的调查，美国的棉花产量似乎增长了六倍。

## **GENERAL SITUATION ON THE CONTINENT**

## **欧洲大陆的总体形势**

When, after this discussion of the development of different countries, one undertakes to form a general picture of the situation on the Continent of Europe, it cannot escape the observation of anyone who is at all free from prejudice that the effects of the Continental System on the actual material foundation of the life of the people-what economists call the satisfaction of the wants of the people-were far less than those which accompanied the recent blockade. What was lacking with regard to pure articles of consumption was little else than coffee and sugar, and, to some extent, tobacco ; and however severely the scarcity of coffee may have been felt during the recent war, surely no one will. deny that the material effects of the war would have been quite insignscant in comparison with what they actually were if they had not extended beyond that. For the rest, the scarcity under the Continental System applied to industrial raw materials, mainly cotton and dyestuffs, but in many countries also other textile raw materials, such as wool, flax, hemp, and silk.

So far, therefore, the situation seems to correspond to our recent experience ; but in reality this is not the case. For while the shortage in our own time seriously reduced the supply of woven goods themselves, that is to say, articles actually required for consumption, . during the time of the Continental System complaints were always, at least as far as I know, limited to the inconveniences suffered by production in consequence of the lack of rawmaterials and the resulting unemployment. Unemployment, in particular, with its consequences in the way of mendicancy and vagrancy, is a consistently recurring theme in the descrip-i tions of the effects of the Continental System-during the whole period in the ports, and in times of war and under the influence of shortage of raw materials in the industrial districts. Parallel with this run the accounts of the death-like silence in the great coast towns, grass growing in the streets of La Rochelle, the ruin of shipping, and the like. In order to conceive the importance of these phenomena aright, one must necessarily have a firm grip of the fact that trade, shipping, and industrial activity are means for covering the wants of the people, not ends in themselves ; and what settles the matter in the last resort is to what extent those wants could be satisfied more or less as usual. So far as we can judge, that was far more the case a hundred years ago than it has been in our own day.

在对不同国家的发展情况进行了上述讨论之后，如果要对欧洲大陆的情况进行总体描述，那么任何一个完全没有偏见的人都会发现，大陆制度对人民生活的实际物质基础——经济学家称之为满足人民需求——的影响远远小于最近的封锁所带来的影响。在纯粹的消费物品方面，所缺乏的不过是咖啡和糖，在某种程度上还有烟草；无论在最近的战争中人们对咖啡的匮乏有多么严重的感受，但可以肯定的是，没有人会否认，如果战争的物质影响不超出这一范围，那么与实际情况相比，战争的物质影响将是非常微不足道的。至于其他方面，大陆制度下的匮乏适用于工业原料，主要是棉花和染料 ，但在许多国家也适用于其他纺织原料，如羊毛、亚麻、大麻和丝绸。因此，到目前为止，情况似乎符合我们最近的经历，但实际上并非如此。在我们这个时代，防纺织品本身（即实际消费所需的物品）的供应量严重不足，而在大陆制度时期，至少据我所知，人们的抱怨总是局限于生产因缺乏原材料而遭受的不便以及由此造成的失业。特别是失业及其带来的乞讨和流浪的后果，是描述大陆制度影响的一个不断重复的主题——在整个港口时期，以及在战争时期和在工业区原材料短缺的影响下。与此并行的还有关于沿海大城镇死一般的沉寂、拉罗谢尔街头的荒草丛生、航运业的毁灭等等的描述。为了正确理解这些现象的重要性，我们必须牢牢把握这样一个事实，即贸易、航运和工业活动只是满足人们需求的手段，其本身并不是目的；而最终决定问题的是，这些需求在多大程度上能够像往常一样得到满足。据我们判断，一百年前的情况远比我们今天的情况要好得多。

We might perhaps summarize this contrast by saying that the effect of the Continental System on the European mainland was continuous dislocation, while the dislocation of the recent war was, in the main, overcome during the first year of hostilities. On the other hand, during the recent war, in contrast wit,h the great war of a century ago, the lowering of the standards of life and the decrease in supplies necessary for the general wants continued uninterruptedly and probably at an accelerated pace, but without dislocations, in the proper sense of the term, and with an immense decline in unemployment, as compared with peace conditions. The fact that the course of development took two such opposite directions then and now and that there was no dislocating effect in our own day shows, on the one hand, how much more flexible and adaptable economic organization has become during the last century. But, on the other hand, the difference is due to the dissimilarity of the two blockades, which is the reason why the satisfaction of general wants remained comparatively undisturbed a hundred years ago, At a time when Great Britain asked for nothing more than an. opportunity to flood the Continent with colonial goods and industrial products, .the supply must, despite all self-blockade, have been quite different from what it was when the normal producers proceed to hinder all supply.

我们也许可以这样来概括这种对比：大陆制度对欧洲大陆的影响是持续的混乱，而最近战争的混乱主要是在敌对行动的第一年就被克服了。另一方面，在最近的战争期间，与一个世纪前的大战相比，生活水平的降低和满足一般需求所需的供应品的减少持续不断，而且速度可能加快，但并没有出现适当意义上的失调，与和平时期相比，失业率大幅下降。当时和现在的发展方向截然相反，而在我们这个时代却没有出现失调现象，这一方面说明，在上个世纪，经济组织的灵活性和适应性大大增强。但是，另一方面，这种差异是由于两种封锁的不同造成的，这也是为什么一百年前一般需求的满足相对来说没有受到干扰的原因。在英国只要求有机会用殖民地商品和工业产品充斥欧洲大陆的时候，尽管有各种自我封锁，但供应肯定与正常生产者阻碍所有供应时的情况大不相同。

Finally, another contributory cause was the relative selfsufficiency (avrapxeia), which evidently greatly limited the effects of the Continental System as regards the satisfaction of general wants of the population of the continental states. "he most important fact is that difficulties regarding food did not possess anything like the importance that they had during the recent war ; indeed they practically played no part, whatever on the Continent before the winter of 1811-12. The one exception was in Norway.This self-sufficiency as regards food was far greater than can be found in our own time, even in countries that produce the necessary amount of food for their own population, because they are dependent upon imports of manure and fodder, while such a situation was practically unknown a hundred years ago.

Moreover, the self-sufficiency within the continental countries, the relative economic independence of the particular household, went far to prevent the hardships occasioned by a blockade in the twentieth century. The fact that, as a consequence of this, the corn problem was really a problem only for England, makes it proper to postpone its treatment to the section in the following chapter dealing with the effects of the Continental System in that country, and makes a mere reference to it sufficient in this place. In that connexion, too, Norway will be considered. The explanation of the seeming paradox that the scarcity of raw materials principally hit production and left consumption almost unchanged, also lies in the consumers' comparatively great independence of market conditions as well as in the great reserves of linen, cloth, and wearing apparel kept in every self-respecting household.

最后，另一个原因是相对的自给自足，这显然极大地限制了大陆制度在满足大陆各州人口一般需求方面的效果。"最重要的事实是，在最近的战争中，粮食方面的困难并不像在战争期间那样重要；事实上，在 1811-12 年冬季之前，这些困难在欧洲大陆几乎没有起到任何作用。这种粮食自给自足的程度远远超过了我们这个时代，即使是那些生产本国人口所需的粮食的国家也是如此，因为它们的肥料和饲料都依赖进口，而这种情况在一百年前几乎是闻所未闻的。此外，大陆国家内部的自给自足、特定家庭的相对经济独立，在很大程度上避免了二十世纪封锁造成的困难。由于这一原因，玉米问题实际上只是英国的问题，因此应将其推迟到下一章关于大陆制度在英国的影响的章节中讨论，在这里仅提及这一问题就足够了。在这方面，挪威也将得到考虑。原材料的匮乏主要打击了生产，而消费却几乎没有改变，这种看似自相矛盾的现象，其原因还在于消费者对市场条件的相对大的独立性，以及每个有自尊心的家庭都拥有大量的亚麻布、布料和服装储备。

In spite of the limitation in the general effects of the Continental System that follows from all this, one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that the yeark 1811-13, after the crisis in France, Great Britain, and most of the other countries, are characterized by a serious deterioration of the economicconditions prevailing everywhere on the Napoleonic mainland. It is true that the character of this deterioration is anything but clear and would deserve a really searching examination ; but the fact stands out clearly in many different quarters. As early as the autumn of 1810 one of the French commercial spies speaks openly and very pointedly of the ‘ pretty general condition of ill-being (malaise) ’ in Germany ; and afterwards the situation finds particular expression in the difficulties, already indicated, that the luxury industries experienced in finding a market. Moreover, the same thing is shown by the difficulty in overcoming the crisis of 1810-11 and its more or less latent continuation down to the great transformation brought about by Napoleon’s fall. It was just at that time, too, that food difficulties showed themselves to some extent all over Europe and hit the most vital of the general needs. There is no justification, it is true, for laying the blame for this position entirely on the Continental System, which was merely one side of a state of war that had then existed for twenty years; but undoubtedly the trade blockade had its share in the result. It is possible that conditions would have come to develop in a direction more like our recent experiences if the fall of Napoleon had been delayed a few more years. As things turned out, however, people got scarcely more than a preliminary taste of what would have been involved in such a situation.

尽管大陆制度的总体影响有限，但我们不能不看到这样一个事实：1811-1813 年，在法国、英国和大多数其他国家发生危机之后，拿破仑大陆各地的经济状况严重恶化。诚然，这种恶化的特征并不明确，需要进行真正的深入研究；但这一事实在许多方面都很明显。早在 1810 年秋天，一位法国商业间谍就公开而尖锐地指出，德国 "普遍不景气（萎靡不振）"。此外，1810-1811 年的危机难以克服，并或多或少地潜伏到拿破仑垮台所带来的巨大变革中，也说明了同样的问题。也正是在那个时候，粮食困难在某种程度上在整个欧洲显现出来，并打击了最重要的普遍需求。诚然，我们没有理由将这种状况完全归咎于大陆制度，因为大陆制度只是当时已经存在了 20 年的战争状态的一个方面；但毫无疑问，贸易封锁对这一结果也有一定的影响。如果拿破仑垮台的时间再推迟几年，情况可能会朝着与我们最近的经历更相似的方向发展。然而，事情证明，人们对这种情况将会发生什么只有一些粗浅的理解。

## **CHAPTER IV**

## **第四章**

## **EFFECTS ON THE UNITED KINGDOM**

## **对英国的影响**

THERE remains the question of the effects of the Continental System on the United Kingdom, which is in a way the most important of all, inasmuch as it must show the importance of the policy in relation to its special purpose.

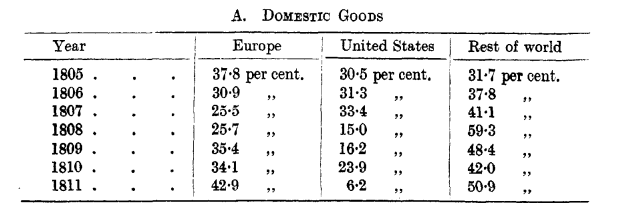
大陆制度对英国的影响为何，在某种程度上是最重要的问题，因为它表明该政策的重要性与其特殊目的之关联。

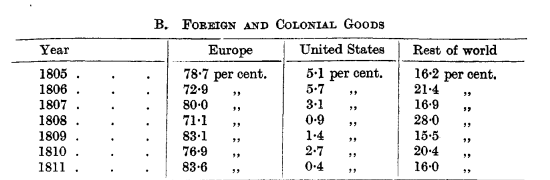
## **LIMITATIONS OF OBSTACLES TO EXPORTS**

## **出口障碍的限制**

In order to be able to judge this matter aright, we must realize clearly the serious weakness that existed in Napoleon's position from the standpoint of the Continental System, a weakness that lay in the fact that the very most that he could be expected to attain by his own resources was the closing of the mainland of Europe. The importance of this for his object of smothering the exports of Great Britain probably appears with sufficient exactitude if we reduce the value figures corresponding to her exports to percentages and then divide them into three groups according to countries of destination. The position is then. revealed as follows :

为了能够正确地判断这个问题，我们必须清楚地认识到，从大陆体系的角度来看，拿破仑的地位存在着严重的弱点，这个弱点在于，他凭借自己的资源所能达到的最大程度就是关闭欧洲大陆。如果我们把与英国出口相关的价值数字简化为百分比，然后根据目的地国家将其分为三组，那么这对他扼杀英国出口的目标的重要性可能就会足够准确地显现出来。情况如下：[[41]](#footnote-40)



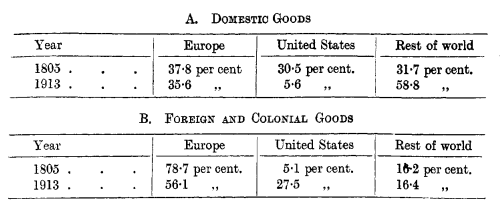


This summary shows, to judge by the position immediately before the organization of the Continental System, that at the very highest about one-third of the exports of domestic goods could be affected by the self-blockade of the Continent, although, it is true, there must be added to this three-fourths of the re-exports. It was, therefore, a factor of fundamental importance for Napoleon’s success that the United States should also be driven to the establishment of a self-blockade, inasmuch as that would put an end to another third of the exports of British goods. It is impossible to deny that in this matter he received excellent help from the British government itself, when it allowed things to come to an almost unbroken series of conflicts with America, mainly because of the Orders in Council, which as a matter of fact were never more than quite a secondary weapon in the great struggle. This meant that, strictly speaking, everything had been done which was really possible in the direction of preventing British exports ; and so far Napoleon had achieved even more than he could have achieved with the resources of his own empire alone.

根据大陆制度建立前的情况，这一总结表明，最多时约有三分之一的国内商品出口会受到大陆自我封锁的影响，当然，在此之外还必须加上四分之三的转口贸易。因此，一个对拿破仑的成功至关重要的因素是，美国也应被迫建立自我封锁，因为这将结束英国商品出口的另外三分之一。不可否认，在这个问题上，他得到了英国政府本身的大力协助，英国政府允许与美国发生一系列几乎不间断的冲突，这主要是由于枢密院令的缘故。这意味着，严格地说，在阻止英国出口方面，拿破仑已经做了一切可能做的事情；迄今为止，拿破仑所取得的成就甚至超过了他仅凭自己帝国的资源所能取得的成就。

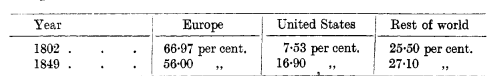
But precisely the development thereby created, as it is illustrated in the above figures, shows a limitation in the range even in a course of action which was so surprisingly successful, namely, that it always left trade with the rest of the world undisturbed. We see from t,he third column of the table how the share of this department of exports with regard to British goods increases in relative importance under the Continental System in comparison with the preceding years ; and this tendency will be clear whether the situation is regarded from an English or from a continental point of view. British industry wouldseek transmarine markets as substitutes for lost European ones ; and it would likewise find them, as the increased selfsufficiency of the European Continent would make the rest of the world more dependent upon British supply than before. Of interest in this connexion is the fact that the Continental System gave the impulse for British transmarine exports of calicoes and prints, which had been unheard of before.And in this respect Napoleon was almost hopelessly impotent, for it must have been inconceivable to prevent for any long time the power that commanded all the seas of the world from exporting goods to other continents. Even if the self-blockade of the Continent of Europe had been complete, which was, of course, far from the case, the immediate effect would probably have been to hasten the economic orientation of Great Britain both from Europe and also, to a large extent, from the United States, to the rest of the world ; and this orientation, as a matter of fact, has taken place gradually during the last hundred years and has formed one of the most significant changes in , the position of Great Britain in the economy of the world. In one of his famous and most overweening utterances (1826), Canning justified British co-operation in the liberation of the South American colonies on the ground that ‘ he called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old ’. In the sphere of economics this British tendency already had century-old roots, and indeed it was precisely what was attempted under the Continental System by the speculative exports to Brazil. When one follows the later development of transmarine exports, one scarcely doubts that this speculative touch would soon have vanished if the blockade of the Continent had become permanently effective. How important the change has been since the time immediately before the Continental System is shown by the following comparison with the situation immediately before the outbreak of the World War.

但是，正如上述数字所显示的那样，由此而产生的发展恰恰表明，即使是如此出人意料地成功的行动方案，其范围也是有限的，即它始终没有影响英国与世界其他地区的贸易。我们从表中第三列可以看出，在大陆制度下，英国商品在这一出口部门中所占份额的相对重要性与前几年相比是如何增加的；无论从英国的角度还是从大陆的角度来看，这一趋势都是很明显的。英国工业将寻求跨海市场，以替代失去的欧洲市场；同样，它也会找到这些市场，因为欧洲大陆自给自足程度的提高将使世界其他地区比以前更加依赖英国的供应。在这方面，拿破仑几乎是无能为力的，因为要长期阻止这个控制着世界上所有海域的强国向其他大陆出口商品是不可想象的。即使完全对欧洲大陆进行自我封锁（当然，情况远非如此），其直接影响也可能是加速英国从欧洲以及在很大程度上从美国向世界其他地区的经济定位；而这种定位，事实上，在过去的一百年中已经逐渐产生，并形成了英国在世界经济中的地位的最重要的变化之一。坎宁在其著名的、最过分的言论之一（1826 年）中为英国在解放南美殖民地的合作辩护，理由是 "他召唤新世界的存在是为了纠正旧世界的平衡"。在经济领域，英国的这种倾向已经有一个世纪之久，事实上，在大陆制度下，对巴西的投机性出口正是受到了这种倾向的诱惑。如果我们关注后来转口贸易的发展，我们就会毫不怀疑，如果当时的封锁永久有效，这种投机行为很快就会消失。以下与世界大战爆发前的情况的对比，可以看出，自大陆体系建立之初以来发生了多么重要的变化。



The same thing can also be illustrated by the quantity figure, namely, the tons actually shipped to the same groups of countries ; but in this case we can deal only with the first half of the nineteenth century, because statistics are no longer compiled in this way.

同样的情况也可以用数量数字来说明，即实际运往同一组国家的吨数；但在这种情况下，我们只能处理十九世纪上半叶的情况，因为统计数字不再以这种方式编制。



More or less parenthetically it should be observed that at the present time Great Britain, as a consequence of this, would be considerably less susceptible to being barred from exports to Europe than she was a hundred years ago.

需要指出的是，与一百年前相比，现在的大不列颠在向欧洲出口方面被禁止的可能性要小得多。

The limitation of Napoleon’s possibilities of affecting British exports was thus obvious even during the comparatively few years that his continental empire lasted; and, as far as one can judge, it would have become still more so, in ever-increasing degree, if the Continent of Europe had passed through a long period of isolation. We must now try to form a notion of British economic life under the pressure of the blockade as far as it actually became a reality.

因此，拿破仑影响英国出口的可能性的局限性是显而易见的，即使在他的大陆体系霸业持续进行的相对较短的几年里也是如此。现在，我们必须试着对封锁压力下的英国经济生活形成一个概念，因为它实际上已经成为现实。

Unfortunately it must be regarded as impossible, in the main, to separate these effects in any kind of inductive way from the general tangle of economic development. Not even in the peculiar department of war measures does the Continental System stand in isolation ; that is to say, the effects of the war and the effects of the Continental System do not coincide, Here the self-blockade of the Continent has by itsside the Orders in Council and the many other subjects of dispute with the United States, which brought about the closing of that great market to British exports ;. and they were accompanied also by the burdens peculiar to the war itself, which could not possibly have been without importance even if there had been a complete lack of measures and countermeasures in the sphere of commercial policy. But in addition to all this there was'the circumstance that not even this complex of factors could take effect as a whole in anything which could be called, even approximately, a community in a state of economic equilibrium. On the contrary, the economic life of Great Britain would have been in a state of violent transformation quite irrespective of the Napoleonic wars, owing to all the different movements included in the industrial revolution, the effects of which were made still worse by a poor law system . which was entirely devoid of guiding principles and was therefore extremely pauperizing. Finally, moreover, the confusion of the British currency caused dislocations which must be referred to yet a third cause, which was in the main independent of the others. It is manifestly impossible, under such circumstances, to arrive at more than rather general conclusions as to the effect of the Continental System on the economic life of Great Britain as a whole.

遗憾的是，要想以任何一种归纳的方式将这些影响从经济发展的总体纠结中分离出来，基本上是不可能的。甚至在战争措施这个特殊的部门中，大陆体系也不是孤立存在的；也就是说，战争的影响和大陆体系的影响并不完全一致。在英国，欧洲大陆的自我封锁伴随着枢密院和许多其他与美国有争议的问题，共同导致了英国出口的巨大市场关闭；伴随着它们的还有战争本身所特有的负担，即使完全缺乏在商业政策领域的措施和对策，这种负担也有其重要性。但除此之外，还有一种情况，那就是即使是这种复杂的因素，也不可能作为一个整体对任何可以被称为（哪怕是近似地）处于经济平衡状态的社会产生影响。相反，由于工业革命中的各种运动，即使没有拿破仑战争，大不列颠的经济生活也会处于剧烈的转型阶段，而完全缺乏指导原则的糟糕法律制度则使这种变化的后果更加严重。最后，英国货币的混乱造成了混乱，这必须归咎于第三个原因，而这个原因在很大程度上是独立于其他原因的。在这种情况下，要想就大陆制度对整个大不列颠经济生活的影响得出比较笼统的结论，显然是不可能的。

## **RATE OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

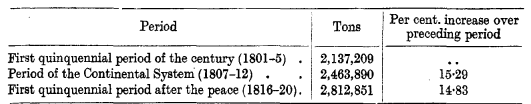
## **工业发展速度**

The main thing is to determine to what extent the industry of the country was hit in the way that Napoleon intended. We ask ourselves, therefore, whether the six years during which the Continental System may be regarded as having been in force (1807-12) exhibited any stagnation or decline with respect to the preceding and succeeding development ; if there was, we may possibly see in this an effect of this special cause.

最重要的是要确定拿破仑的意图在多大程度上打击了该国的工业。因此，我们扪心自问，与之前和之后的发展相比，大陆制度生效的六年（1807-1812 年）是否出现了停滞或衰退；如果出现了停滞或衰退，我们或许可以从中看到这一特殊原因的影响。

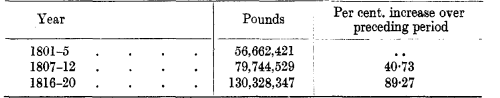
The question is not easy to answer, as the period was so short and so full of ups and downs. But one starting-point might possibly be obtained in the figures for the supply of coal, if such were available ; for during the age of coal, coal has usually formed the best common standard of industrial development. As it is, however, we have no figures for thetotal amount of coal produced, but only for the quantities of coal shipped from Newcastle and Sunderland ; while probably the greater part, and the part that underwent the greatest increase, was consumed within the huge cotton, wool, and iron areas that lay on or behind the coal-fields. But in any case the figures(yearly averages) are of interest

这个问题不容易回答，因为时间太短，而且充满了起伏。不过，如果有煤炭供应量的数据，或许可以从这些数据中找到一个起点；因为在煤炭时代，煤炭通常是工业发展的最佳通用标准。然而，我们并没有煤炭生产总量的数据，只有从纽卡斯尔和桑德兰运出的煤炭数量；而更大的部分，也是增长最快的部分，可能是在煤田上或煤田后面的巨大棉花、羊毛和铁矿区内消耗掉的。但无论如何，这些数字（年平均值）还是值得关注的



These figures do not in the least degree indicate that the rate of industrial development was retarded under the Continental System, but, on the contrary, they show that the growth was not greater even during the first years of peace; and the figures for the particular years give the same impression. For the cotton industry by itself we have no figures to go by save those referring to the imports of raw cotton; and as appears from the tables given in a preceding chapter,' the fluctuations here were very great from year to year. But a summary of the figures for net imports, on t.he same method as before, gives the following result :

这些数字丝毫没有表明，在大陆体系下工业发展的速度受到了阻碍，相反，它们表明，即使在和平的最初几年里，工业发展的速度也没有加快；具体年份的数字也给人同样的印象。至于棉花产业本身，除了原棉进口的数字外，我们没有其他数字可以参考；从上一章的表格中可以看出，'棉花产业每年的波动非常大。但是，按照与前述相同的方法，对净进口数字进行汇总，可以得出以下结果：



Here too, therefore, we are confronted with an increase which is even several times greater than in the former case, although it falls far short of the increase during the following peace period, which, of course, is only natural.

因此，我们在这里看到的增长甚至是前者的几倍，尽管它远远低于随后和平时期的增长，这当然是很自然的。

Nor does the rest of the somewhat scattered material that is available show any visible signs that the uniquely rapid industrial development which is characteristic of this periodwas retarded by the Continental System. The population of Great Britain and Ireland increased 13 per cent. between the years 1801 and 1811, as compared with 1% per cent. during the following decade ; and naturally it was considerably greater for the industrial districts. Calico-printing works quadrupled their production between 1800-14, and the exports of iron increased. Nor did the years of the Continental System form an exception to the general transition to new technical methods which constituted the primus motm of the industrial revolution. Thus Cort’s son stated in a petition to the House of Commons in 1812 that even at that date 250,000 tons of malleable iron were annually produced by puddling and that Cort’s processes had obtained practically general acceptance.l The power-loom likewise made progress, though at a considerably slower pace. A great new revolution took place in calico-printing with the year 1808, in that the pattern was transferred to the cylinders from a little steel cylinder instead of being engraved direct ; and the lace machine came into existence in 1809, &c.

其他一些零散的资料也没有显示出任何明显的迹象，表明大陆制度阻碍了这一时期特有的快速工业发展。大不列颠和爱尔兰的人口在 1801 年至 1811年间增长了 13%，而在随后的十年间则增长了 15.25%。1800-14年间，印花布的产量增加了四倍，铁的出口也增加了。在向新技术方法的普遍过渡中，新技术方法是工业革命的原动力，大陆制度时期也不例外。举例来说，科尔特的儿子在 1812 年向下议院提交的请愿书中指出，即使在当时，每年也有 25 万吨可锻铸铁是通过水坑法生产的，科尔特的工艺实际上已被普遍接受。而在1808 年，印花布业发生了一场伟大的新革命，图案从一个小钢筒转移到滚筒上，而不是直接雕刻；在1809 年，花边机问世。这种例子屡见不鲜。

There was certainly no pause in the industrial revolution, nor any tendency to a backward development of the industrial life of Great Britain toward increased self-sufficiency, such as, in accordance with our previous findings, would have been the consequence of complete success for the Continental System. But, of course, it was not in that way that Napoleon himself thought of the matter ; his hopes were limited to dislocations in the system.

工业革命当然没有停顿，英国的工业生活也没有向自给自足的方向倒退发展的趋势（根据我们以前的研究结果，大陆制度完全成功的后果就是如此）。当然，拿破仑本人并没有这样的想法；他仅是希望英国出口体系的混乱。

## **EFFECTS OF DISLOCATION OF EXPORTS**

## **出口混乱的影响**

It appears from the account in part III that these hopes were not frustrated, but, on the contrary, were very nearly fulfilled through the British crisis of 1810-11. Also it appears equally dear that this crisis cannot be regarded wholly, or even mainly (though certainly in part), as a fruit of the blows of the Continental System against Great Britain ; nor was the extent of its effects at all what Napoleon had imagined.

从第三部分的叙述中可以看出，这些希望并没有落空，相反，通过 1810-1811 年的英国危机，这些希望几乎都实现了。此外，同样重要的一点的是，这场危机不能被完全或主要（尽管肯定有一部分）视为大陆体系对英国打击的结果；其影响程度也完全不是拿破仑所想象的那样。

On the whole, we have no reason to regard the economic effect of purely dislocation phenomena as particularly important. It is possible in this connexion that we are too much impressed by the unique experiences of the recent war in this direction ; but even if we think of crises occurring during otherwise normal times-even crises of such an incalculable character as the cotton famine in England during the American Civil War-it is striking how soon their traces are swept away by subsequent development. The whole of Napoleon’s plan on this point, made out at short sight as it was, cannot be regarded as having had any great prospect of attaining its object, that is, the crippling of Great Britain’s military power by undermining the foundations of her economic life.

总的来说，我们没有理由认为纯粹的失调现象对经济的影响特别重要。在这方面，可能是我们对最近战争在这方面的独特经历印象太深了；但当我们想到在其他正常时期发生的危机——即使是像美国内战期间英国棉花饥荒这样不可估量的危机——它们的痕迹是多么迅速地被后来的发展所扫除，这一点也是令人震惊的。拿破仑在这一点上的整个计划，尽管是一蹴而就的，但却不能被视为有任何实现其目标的巨大前景，即通过破坏英国经济生活的基础来削弱其军事力量。

This, then, holds good of the purely economic effects of the dislocation ; with regard to its social and political effects the matter assumes quite a different aspect. Here the political economist can really neither contest nor confirm the process of thought, for the result depends almost exclusively on the character of the people in question. An impulsive race, which has also become accustomed to receiving help from the state in all things great and small, may be led by a mere trifle to overthrow a government, a constitution, perhaps a whole order of society, while another people, which is more phlegmatic and less trained to rely on the state, may leave the conduct of the state entirely undisturbed even in times of serious distress and great difficulties. It is quite obvious that Englishmen, especially during the time of the Napoleonic wars, belonged to the latter category ; and as Miss Cunningham has justly observed, the rage of the unemployed was directed in the “ Luddite riots ” against the new machinery (frame-breaking), but not really against the government.’ One can easily imagine that Napoleon, with his experience of the continual coups d’etat during the French Revolution, could not see this ; but this makes no difference with respect to the fact that he made a thorough miscalculation.

这是对失调的纯粹的经济影响的看法，而对其社会和政治影响的看法则截然不同。在这方面，政治经济学家实际上既不能质疑也不能肯定这种思维过程，因为其结果几乎完全取决于有关民族的性格。一个冲动的民族，也已经习惯于在所有大小事情上接受国家的帮助，可能会因为一件小事而导致一个政府、一部宪法，也许是整个社会秩序的崩溃；而另一个比较沉稳的民族，较少接受依赖国家的训练，可能会让国家的行为完全不受干扰，即使在严重困难和巨大困难的时候也是如此。很明显，英国人，尤其是拿破仑战争时期的英国人，属于后一类人；正如坎宁安小姐公正地指出的那样，在 "卢德暴动 "中，失业者的愤怒是针对新机器（框架破坏）的，而不是真正针对政府的。我们不难想象，拿破仑在法国大革命期间经历了持续不断的"政变"，他不明白这一点；但这与他彻底失算的事实没有任何区别。

But to all this must be added the fact-and this is a veryimportant fact-that the particular kind of dislocation in Great Britain due to the Continental System which was most favourable to Napoleon, was necessarily of a comparatively superficial nature, just because it was a dislocation caused by obstacles in the way of exports and not of obstacles in the way of imports. A failure of exports can always be alleviated by production with a view to accumulating stocks-supported, if necessary, by public funds ; but that is not the case with the failure of imports, for if irreplaceable commodities are irretrievably left outside no measures can be of any avail.

但是，除了这一切之外，还必须加上一个事实--这是一个非常重要的事实--那就是，由于大陆制度而在大不列颠造成的混乱，这最受拿破仑最喜欢的混乱，必然具有相对肤浅的性质，只是因为它是由出口障碍而非进口障碍造成的失调。出口的失败总是可以通过生产来缓解，以便积累库存，必要时还可以通过公共资金来支持；但进口的失败却不是这样，因为如果不可替代的商品被无可挽回地排除在外，那么任何措施都无济于事。

Napoleon’s thoughts certainly did not run in that direction, and the explanation lies in an attitude we have already learned to know, and which he shared not only with all his countrymen, but also, probably, with the majority of Englishmen. But even with due allowance for this, the position he took up was very peculiar ; for what England would have needed to do was pretty much what he himself did at that very time. His own remedy for unemployment, in fact, was state support in different forms, in order to enable manufacturers to continue operations ; and there is no reason to suppose that he ever ceased to believe in the efficacy of this remedy. In that case it would not have been a great flight of imagination to expect the same capacity on the part of his adversaries, whose fertility of resource and endurance he was not wont to deny.

拿破仑的想法当然不是这个方向，原因在于我们已经了解到的他的态度不仅与他的国民，而且可能也与大多数英国人一样。但是，即使考虑到这一点，他所采取的立场也是非常特殊的；因为英国需要做的事情几乎就是他自己当时所做的事情。事实上，他自己解决失业问题的办法就是国家以不同形式提供支持，使制造商能够继续经营；而且没有理由认为他不再相信这种办法的效力。在这种情况下，他自然会认为他的对手们也有同样的能力。我们并不是凭空想象这一点的，因为他并不否认他们有丰富的资源和忍耐力。

In reality, it is true, these remedies were employed in Great Britain only to a very limited extent, owing to the fact that the principle of laissez-faire had already obtained a great influence over the classes that held political power in England. But we may certainly assume that Napoleon was not so familiar with his enemies or their economic views that he took such a factor into account. The British measures were limited to an issue of treasury bills for ~6,000,000 for the support of embarrassed business men, chiefly manufacturers, the intention being to tide them over the time of waiting until the assets locked up in South America or elsewhere could be released.The proposal on this subject, based on a precedent of 1793, had been brought forward by a committee of the House of Commons in March 1811, but was not very enthusiastically reeeived in any quarter. None the less the plan was carried out, because no one really wished to be responsible for throwing obstacles in the way of anything that might possibly be helpful in an unusually ticklish situation.

实际上，由于自由放任的原则已经对英国掌握政治权力的阶层产生了巨大的影响，这些补救措施在英国的应用范围确实非常有限。但我们可以肯定的是，拿破仑并不熟悉他的敌人或他们的经济观点，以至于他没有考虑到这一因素。英国的措施仅限于发行约 600 万英镑的国库券，以支持陷入困境的商人（主要是制造商），目的是让他们渡过难关，等待被锁在南美或其他地方的资产被释放。1811 年 3 月，下议院的一个委员会根据 1793 年的先例提出了关于这个问题的建议，但没有得到任何方面的热烈响应。尽管如此，该计划还是被付诸实施了，因为没有人真正愿意负责在异常艰难的情况下为任何可能有帮助的事情设置障碍 。

The arguments brought against the plan, especially by the economic authorities of the opposition, such as Huskisson, were especially that the crisis had been brought on by an excess of credit, which in its turn was connected with the excessive issue of notes by the Bank of England, and that these new loans would merely augment the speculation, the issue of notes and the rise of prices. To what extent this diagnosis was correct is a question that does not pertain to our present subject. We need only observe that if obstacles in the way of sale arise that are really caused by blockade and not by excessive speculation, then the transition to that form of production which in such a situation would be the right one can be rendered easier by a granting of credit ,that permits of a limited production for stock during the period of transition. Further, if this granting of credit is effected by genuine saving, that is to say, by a diminution of the demand for credit for other purposesa thing which the banks can bring about by raising the rate of discount-then there do not arise the consequences alleged by Huskisson and by those who shared his views. This implies that the dislocation at which Napoleon aimed by placing obstacles in the way of British exports could have been overcome without insuperable difficulties. As things were, one may say that, on the whole, the dislocation was overcome by itself, without any measure at all worth mentioning ; and it is not impossible that this was the best way out of the difficulty.

反对这一计划的论点，特别是反对派的经济权威，如赫斯基森，主要是认为危机是由信贷过剩引起的，而信贷过剩又与英格兰银行过度发行纸币有关，这些新贷款只会加剧投机、纸币发行和物价上涨。这种判断在多大程度上是正确的，这个问题与我们现在的主题无关。我们只需指出，如果销售道路上出现的障碍确实是由于封锁而不是由于过度的投机，那么，在这种情况下，通过提供信贷，允许在过渡时期进行有限的库存生产，就可以使向正确的生产形式的过渡变得更加容易。此外，如果这种信贷的发放是通过真正的储蓄来实现的，也就是说，是通过用于其他目的的信贷需求的减少来实现的 ，而银行可以通过提高贴现率来实现这一点，那么就不会出现赫斯基森和那些赞同他的观点的人所声称的后果。这就意味着，拿破仑通过对英国出口设置障碍来达到目的的混乱本可以在没有不可克服的困难的情况下 。就目前的情况而言，我们可以说，总的来说，这种失调是在没有任何值得一提的措施的情况下自行克服的；而且，这也并非不可能，因为这是解决困难的最好办法。

The impenetrable conviction as to the harm of all kinds of state interference found unmixed expression when it was a question of the sufferings of the workmen. With referenceto petitions from the cotton operatives in Lancashire and Scotland, the House of Commons appointed, at the beginning of June 1811, a committee, which made its report after eight days. In that report it was stated, in the first place, ' that no interference of the legislature with the freedom of trade or with the perfect liberty of every individual to dispose of his time and of his labour, in the way and on the terms which he may judge most conducive to his own interest, can take place without violating general principles of the first importance to the prosperity and happiness of the community 'this as a reply to the petitions of the workmen for a regulation of the actual conditions of labour. In the second place, it was laid down that help in the form of money ' would be utterly inefficacious as to every good purpose, and most objectionable in all points of view ', and after this there was no alternative left. Nevertheless, it would be a misjudgment of the leading men of the time if we should choose to see in their position mainly indifference as to the welfare of the workers, who, on the contrary, had indisputably sincere spokesmen in both the House of Commons and in the committee in question, especially the great cotton manufacturer, Sir Robert Peel, the father of the statesman. The fact of the matter is, as far as one can judge, that they sincerely regarded any kind of relief to the workers as harmful-although, in strikmg contrast, relief in the form of loans was finally granted to the manufacturers-because it was calculated to raise hopes which could not be fulfilled and to bind the workers firmly to an industry which could not give them employment. One speaker in the House of Commons particularly emphasized the necessity of the transfer of labour to agriculture, with the object of making the country independent of the import of foodstuffs. This was precisely a demand for the reorganization of economic life with a view to increased self-sufficiency. But the very fact that the working classes of Great Britain acquiesced with comparative patience in their tremendously heavy sufferings, even in the presence of so uncompromising a rejection, shows how limited the possibilities in reality were of putting an end to Britishpower of resistance by any social movements caused by economic dislocations, This will be particularly clear if we compare the attitude of the holders of political power at that time with the concessions that had to be made to the demands of the workmen during the recent war in order not to endanger their good-will toward a continuance of the struggle.

当涉及工人的苦难问题时，人们对各种国家干预的危害深信不疑。根据兰开夏郡和苏格兰棉纺业者的请愿，下议院于 1811 年 6 月初任命了一个委员会，该委员会在八天后提交了报告。该报告首先指出，"立法机构对贸易自由或每个人以他认为最有利于自己利益的方式和条件支配自己的时间和劳动的完全自由的干涉，如果不违反对社会繁荣和幸福至关重要的一般原则，是不可能发生的"，这是对工人们要求规范实际劳动条件的请愿的答复。其次，还规定了货币形式的帮助，"对于任何良好的目的来说都是完全无效的，而且从任何角度来看都是最令人反感的"，在这之后就没有其他选择了。但如果我们从他们的立场中看到的主要是对工人福利的不同 ，那就是对当时领袖人物的错误判断，相反，他们在下议院和有关委员会中都有无可争议的真诚代言人，特别是伟大的棉花制造商、政治家之父罗伯特·皮尔爵士。事实是，据我们判断，他们真诚地认为对工人的任何形式的救济都是有害的--尽管与此形成鲜明对比的是，最终以贷款的形式向制造商提供了救济--因为这种救济会使人们产生无法实现的希望，并将工人牢牢地束缚在一个无法给他们提供就业机会的行业中。下议院的一位发言人特别强调了劳动力向农业转移的必要性，目的是降低国家对食品进口的依赖。这正是对重组经济生活，以提高自给自足能力的要求。但是，即使面对如此毫不妥协的拒绝，英国的工人阶级仍以相对的忍耐默许了他们所遭受的巨大痛苦，这一事实本身就表明，在现实中，由经济失调引起的任何社会运动结束英国抵抗力量的可能性是多么有限、如果我们把当时政治权力拥有者的态度与最近战争期间为了不危及工人对继续斗争的善意而不得不对工人的要求做出的让步进行比较，就会特别清楚地看到这一点。

## **POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING IMPORTS**

## **防止进口的可能性**

All that has just been said, however, applies only to obstacles in the way of exports, with their obviously limited possibilities of causing ruin in the economic life of a country. As the economic function of exports is absolutely limited to providing payment for imports, it is quite meaningless when there are no imports. Imports, on the other hand, are ends in themselves, because they satisfy the wants of the people directly, which is the final function of all economic activity. Consequently, we cannot possibly turn our backs on the question as to what chances Napoleon would have had for gaining his object if he had directed the point of his blockade against the imports of Great Britain instead of against her exports. It is indeed true that this was quite incompatible with the economic views that he shared with the majority of persons of political consequence, as has been shown throughout our previous account. But it does not necessarily follow from this that he could not have made his object the cutting-off both of imports and of exports, as, on the whole, took place during the recent war ; in any case the problem is so important that it cannot be ignored. What especially necessitates an investigation of the whole thing, including Napoleon’s policy in the matter, is that the view which has been pretty generally accepted during the last decade happens to have been determined by a popular article by Dr. J. H. Rose, which was hastily drafted for a purely practical purpose and which scarcely gives sufficient, or even correct, guidance in the question

然而，刚才所说的一切都只适用于阻碍出口的障碍，因为这些障碍对一个国家的经济生活造成破坏的可能性显然是有限的。由于出口的经济功能绝对仅限于为进口提供货款，因此在没有进口的情况下，出口是毫无意义的。另一方面，进口本身就是目的，因为它们直接满足了人们的需求，而这正是所有经济活动的最终目的。因此，我们不能不考虑这样一个问题：如果拿破仑把封锁的矛头指向英国的进口而不是出口，他将有多大机会实现自己的目标。诚然，这与他与大多数有政治影响的人所持的经济观点是完全不一致的，这一点我们在前面的叙述中已经说明了。但这并不一定意味着他不能把切断进出口作为自己的目标，就像在最近的战争中发生的那样；无论如何，这个问题是如此重要，不容忽视。尤其需要对整个问题，包括拿破仑在这个问题上的政策进行研究的是，在过去十年中被普遍接受的观点恰好是由 J. H. 罗斯博士的一篇通俗文章所决定的，这篇文章是为了纯粹的实用目的而匆忙起草的，它在这个问题上几乎没有提供足够的，甚至是正确的指导意见。

## **BRITISH IMPORTS OF FOODSTUFFS**

## **英国食品进口情况**

The question of the dependence of Great Britain on imports from the European mainland has generally been regarded as identical with the question of its provision with food. To a large extent this is correct, inasmuch as the majority of industrial raw materials imported came from transmarine countries, and practically all industrial products of importance for the mass of the community could be manufactured within the country. Yet it should be mentioned that both naval stores (especially timber) and wool formed exceptions from this general rule, inasmuch as they were taken from the Baltic lands (including Scandinavia) and from Spain or Germany, respectively ; and, as we have already mentioned, there was at times a scarcity of both these’kinds of commodities during the course of the Continental System. Consequently it is not impossible that two such fundamental sides of war requirements as shipbuilding and the clothing of troops might have offered difficulties if the supply from Europe had been cut off. It is far from probable, however, that these factors would have been decisive, since timber, like other things required for ships, could have been obtained from Canada ; and according to an estimate for the year 1800 more than nine-tenths of the wool required can be assumed to have been provided from domestic sources. Obviously the question of foodstuffs went much further.

英国对从欧洲大陆进口的依赖问题通常被视为与其粮食供应问题相同。这在很大程度上是正确的，因为进口的大部分工业原料都来自海洋国家，而几乎所有对社会大众具有重要意义的工业产品都可以在英国国内生产。然而，需要指出的是，海军物资（尤其是木材）和羊毛是这一普遍规则的例外，因为它们分别来自波罗的海地区（包括斯堪的纳维亚）和西班牙或德国；而且，正如我们已经提到的，在大陆制度期间，这两种商品有时都会出现短缺。因此，如果来自欧洲的供应被切断，造船和军队服装这两个战争所需的 ，不可能不遇到困难。然而，这些因素起决定性作用的可能性微乎其微，因为木材和造船所需的其他物品一样，都可以从加拿大获得；根据对1800年的估计，所需的羊毛有十分之九以上可以从国内获得。食品问题显然更为复杂。

The importance of Great Britain’s imports of foodstuffs, which can practically be regarded as identical with her imports . of wheat, is anything but clear, it is true, as we have no information at all as to the agricultural production of the country itself. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the previouslyexisting surplus available for export had been replaced, within the twenty years before the outbreak of the revolutionary wars at the latest, by a normal excess of imports, and that the self-sufficiency of the country had thus ceased to exist. In absolute figures the excess imports of wheat quite naturally varied much from year to year, according to the harvest. The British imports during the Napoleonic wars-always including what came from Ireland-attained their maximum in 1810 with 336,430 tons, while one solitary year (1808) even showed an insignificant excess of exports. The average figwe during the period of the Continental System (1807-12) was an import excess of 104,000 tons. The absolute significance of this @we will be made clearer if in connexion with it we' mention the fact that the wheat imports of a country such as Sweden, for instance, during the period immediately before the outbreak of the World War in 1914, was about 200,OOO tons, and its combined imports of wheat and rye were about 300,OOO tons, that is to say, two or three times as much, respectively. Thus there can be no doubt that the quantities in themselves were small according to our notions. It is more important, however, to form a clear notion of the relative importance of such imports for the total British consumption of wheat ; but unfortunately this is impossible, as we do not know the amount of the harvests. The majority of estimates, both contemporary and later, however, are based on a consumption per inhabitant in Great Britain, that is to say, excluding Ireland, of one quarter or about 225 kgs. per annum, not counting seed-wheat. This undeniably strikes, one as a very high figure, as, for instance, the Swedish consumption of "wheat and rye together before the outbreak of the World War, that is to say, a hundred years later, was only about 180 kgs. However, if we take British calculations as to consumption as our basis, we find that, according to the 'average population of Great Britain during. the decade 1801-10 (about 11.75 millions) the total consumption of wheat would have been 2,655,000 tons, of which the average import excess during that decennial period (132,600 tons) formed just 5 per cent., or one-twentieth. This very modestamount would thus have been the normal import demand ; but if instead of this we wish to investigate the relative magnitude of the greatest shortage during the period, that for the year, 1810, we find that not even that, in relation to the then greater population, rises to more than about 12 per cent. However, there also occurs a lower calculation of the consumption than one quarter (eight bushels) per inhabitant, namely, six bushels, which falls slightly short of the Swedish consumption of rye and wheat a hundred years later. As the home supply in Great Britain can only be obtained from a figure based on consumption, this gives a smaller amount for the harvest, and consequently a greater share for imports. On such a supposition, that share forms 6.5 per cent., or somewhat over one-sixteenth, on an average, for the decennial period of 1801-10, and a good 16 per cent., or scarcely one-sixth, for the year of maximum imports, 1810.

英国进口食品的重要性实际上可被视为与其进口小麦的重要性相同，但这一点并不清楚，因为我们根本没有关于该国农业生产的任何信息。尽管如此，毫无疑问，最迟在革命战争爆发前的二十年内，以前存在的出口盈余已被正常的进口过剩所取代，因此该国的自给自足已不复存在。在绝对数字上，小麦的超额进口量每年自然会因收成不同而有很大差异。拿破仑战争期间英国的进口量——包括来自爱尔兰的进口量——在 1810 年达到最大值，为 33万6430吨，而只有一年（1808年）甚至出现了微不足道的出口过剩。大陆制度时期（1807-1812 年）的平均无花果草进口量为 10万4000 吨。举例来说，在 1914 年世界大战爆发前夕，瑞典等国的小麦进口量约为 20万吨，小麦和黑麦的总进口量约为 30万吨——分别是这一数字的两三倍。因此，毫无疑问，按照我们的概念，这些数量本身是很小的。然而，更重要的是，要清楚地知道这些进口小麦在英国小麦消费总量中的相对重要性；但遗憾的是，这是不可能的，因为我们不知道收成的数量。大多数估计，无论是当代的还是后来的，都是基于大不列颠居民人均消费量，也就是说，除爱尔兰外，每年占据四分之一或大约 225 公斤，这还不包括籽麦。不可否认，这是一个非常高的数字，例如，在世界大战爆发前，也就是一百年后，瑞典的 "小麦和黑麦 "消费量仅为 180 公斤左右。然而，如果我们以英国的消费计算为基础，我们会发现，按照 1801-10 年十年间大不列颠的 平均人口（约 1.175 亿）"计算，小麦的总消费量应为 265.5 万吨，而该十年期间的平均进口超额量（13.26 万吨）仅占其中的 5%，即二十分之一。因此，这个非常适中的数量就是正常的进口需求；但如果我们不考虑这个数量，而是要研究这一时期最严重的短缺（即 1810 年）的相对幅度，我们就会发现，相对于当时更多的人口而言，即使是最严重的短缺也不会超过约 12%。不过，也有计算得出的人均消费量 低于四分之一（8 蒲式耳），即 6 蒲式耳，这与 100 年后瑞典的黑麦和小麦消费量略有出入。由于大不列颠的国内供应量只能从基于消费量的数字中获得，这就使得收获量较小，因此进口份额较大。根据这一推测，1801-1810 年这十年间，进口份额平均为 6.5%，即超过十六分之一，而进口量最大的 1810 年则为 16%，几乎不到十六分之一。

Even if the imports of wheat had been totally cut off, therefore, the deficiency, even in years of bad harvest and on the most unfavourable estimate, would have been a mere trifle in comparison with what we had to accustom ourselves to during the recent war. For Sweden the average imports during the quinquennial period before the outbreak of that war formed a good fourth of the total requirements of wheat and rye, while the total supply of cereals in Sweden during the bad year 1917-18 was probably less than half of the normal. This shows to what extent normal food requirements have been curtailed, even in neutral countries in our own day, and the shortage a hundred years ago consequently dwindles into comparative insignificance. In spite of this, the blockade during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars was sufficiently effective both to stimulate the cultivation of corn in Great Britain,l and also to bring about a severely felt shortage of food, which was especially marked in the years 1795, 1800, and 1812, and which gave rise to constant apprehensions. A large number of the measures adopted during the recent war werealso employed. a hundred years ago, though not the most effective and far-reaching among them, and especially not rationing. These measures included a suspension of the corn duties, the prohibition of the distillation of spirits and the manufacture of starch, the postponement of the sale of bread until twenty-four hours after baking, incessant exhortations in royal proclamations and also organized agreements to reduce the consumption of bread by a third, as well as a prohibition against baking bread of unmixed fine bolted wheat flour, which is known as the Brown Bread Act of 1800. But the population found it much more difficult to put up with these interferences with their food habits than with other privations which, 'to our way of thinking, were considerably greater. It proved impossible to enforce the Brown Bread Act, so that it had to be repeaIed immediately ; and serious food disturbances occurred both in 1800 and in 1812. So far, therefore, it is fairly evident that the placing of obstacles in the way of importing corn would have had far greater prospects of affecting public opinion and tranquillity in Great Britain than the barring of exports, in which Napoleon placed his confidence. On the other hand, the assumption that even the barring of imports would have forced the conclusion of peace, or overthrown the British government, is one which is more or less refuted by experience. During the year 1812, when the prices of wheat reached a record height and remained there until the last weeks of the old harvest year, there prevailed just that position which would have been the consequence of a blockade as complete as one can reasonably imagine to have been enforced. For owing to the bad harvest, which was general in Europe, as well as to immense purchases made by Napoleon as a preparation for the Russian campaign, the rise in prices in Great Britain did not cause any imports worth mentioning ; for the whole year there entered the country only 55,000 tons, which is little more than half of the average figure for the sexennial period of the Continental System, and considerably less than half of the average figure for the preceding decennial period. Thus the fact that, despite all this, difficulties could be over-come indicates more or less plainly that not even a complete barring of imports would have attained its object, even apart from the fact -that an effective blockade would probably have been able, after some time, to pave the way for some of the effective measures with which a much greater scarcity of food was met during the recent war.

因此，即使完全停止进口小麦，即使是在收成不好的年份，即使是在最不利的估计情况下，与我们在最近的战争期间不得不习惯的情况相比，小麦的不足也只是微不足道的。就瑞典而言，战争爆发前五年期间的平均进口量占小麦和黑麦总需求量的四分之一，而在 1917-18 坏年期间，瑞典的谷物总供应量可能还不到正常水平的一半。这表明，即使在我们今天的中立国，正常的粮食需求量也被削减到了何种程度，百年前的粮食短缺也因此变得微不足道。尽管如此，革命战争和拿破仑战争期间的封锁还是足够有效，既刺激了英国的玉米种植，也造成了严重的粮食短缺，这种情况在1795、1800和1812年尤为明显，并引起了持续的担忧。在最近的战争中采取的大量措施在一百年前也曾使用过，尽管其中并不是最有效和影响最深远的，尤其是没有实行配给制。这些措施包括暂停征收玉米税、禁止蒸馏烈性酒和制造淀粉、将面包的销售时间推迟到烘烤后 24 小时、在皇家公告和有组织的协议中不断劝告人们将面包的消费量减少三分之一，以及禁止用未混合的上等小麦粉烘烤面包，这就是著名的 1800 年《棕色面包法》。但人们发现，要忍受这些对饮食习惯的干扰，比忍受其他'在我们看来要大得多'的苦难要困难得多。事实证明，《棕色面包法》无法实施，因此不得不立即废除；1800 年和 1812 年都发生了严重的食品骚乱。因此，到目前为止，相当明显的是，在 进口玉米的道路上设置障碍，比禁止出口更有可能影响英国的公众舆论和安宁，而拿破仑对禁止出口充满信心。另一方面，即使禁止进口也会迫使缔结和平协定，或使英国政府受到 ，这一假设或多或少被经验所驳斥。在 1812 年，小麦价格达到了创纪录的高度，并一直维持到旧收获年的最后几周，当时的情况正是人们可以合理想象的实施全面封锁的后果。由于欧洲普遍的歉收，以及拿破仑为准备俄国战役而进行的大量采购 ，英国的物价上涨并没有导致任何值得一提的进口；全年只有5万5千吨进口到英国，这只是大陆制度六年期平均数字的一半多一点，大大低于上一个十年期平均数字的一半。因此，尽管如此，困难还是被克服了，这或多或少清楚地表明，即使完全禁止进口也不能达到目的，即使不考虑这样一个事实--有效的封锁在一段时间后很可能能够为采取一些有效措施铺平道路，而在最近的战争中，粮食匮乏的情况要严重得多。

Napoleon's chances of striking at British food supplies were evidently limited to what had to be taken from the .mainland of Europe, or, in the case most favourable to him, from there and from the United States. In sources accessible to me there do not exist figures relating to all the countries of origin of the wheat imported into Great Britain during this period. But the American wheat went mainly to South Europe, especially to the Iberian peninsula during the tremendous struggles there, while all our information points to the idea that the Baltic lands formed the main source of supply of corn for Great Britain, with Danzig as the centre. From the very full statistics on the Baltic seaports printed in Oddy's work, it appears that in the year 1800, when British imports of wheat were great, 47 per cent. came from the three ports, Konigsberg, Elbing, and Danzig, 34 per cent. from Danzig alone. And besides these, other Baltic ports were of importance also. Consequently, so far as Napoleon could make his will prevail, not only on the North Sea coast of Germany, but also upon the south and, to some extent, the east coast of the Baltic, he did no€ lack the possibility of hampering the food supply of Great Britain. Accordingly, the question is, How did he really regard such a task and what steps did he take to accomplish it ?

拿破仑打击英国粮食供应的机会显然仅限于必须从欧洲大陆进口的粮食，或者在对他最有利的情况下，从欧洲大陆和美国进口的粮食。在我所能获得的资料中，没有关于这一时期进口到英国的小麦的所有原产国的数字。但美国的小麦主要销往南欧，特别是在伊比利亚半岛的激烈斗争期间销往那里，而我们的所有信息都表明，波罗的海地区是英国玉米的主要供应地，而但泽则是中心。根据奥迪著作中关于波罗的海海港的详尽统计，1800 年英国小麦进口量很大，其中 47% 来自柯尼斯堡、埃尔宾和但泽这三个港口，34% 仅来自但泽。除此之外，其他波罗的海港口也很重要。因此，只要拿破仑不仅在德国的北海沿岸，而且在波罗的海南岸，在一定程度上在波罗的海东岸，都能使自己的意志占上风，他就不可能阻碍英国的粮食供应。因此，问题在于，他究竟是如何看待这一任务的，他采取了哪些措施来完成这一任务？

## **FOOD POLICY OF NAPOLEON AND HIS OPPONENT**

## **拿破仑及其对手的粮食政策**

It is on this point that the accepted views have been determined by the conclusions of Dr. Rose in the article referred to above. They come to this, that Napoleon not only did nothing to hinder British imports of foodstuffs, but actually sought to encourage the exports of corn to that country with the object of ruining the enemy through the unfavourabletrade balance which would be the consequence thereof. But this account gives a misleading impression both of the measures and of the motives of Napoleon, and it is not borne out by the letters cited by Dr. Rose in its support.

正是在这一点上，罗斯博士在上述文章中的结论确定了公认的观点。他们的结论是，拿破仑不仅没有阻止英国进口食品，实际上还试图鼓励向英国出口玉米，目的是通过由此造成的不利贸易平衡来摧毁敌人。但是，这种说法对拿破仑的措施和动机都造成了误导，而且罗斯博士为支持这种说法而引用的信件也没有证明这一点。

It is true that the notion of, ruining the enemy by imports fitted in very well with the economic conceptions of Napoleon and of many of his contemporaries, as has been sufficiently shown in the foregoing pages. But the matter of food supplies here took an exceptional position, inasmuch as it was regulated in the continental states, and especially in France, along the lines of the mediaeval ‘ policy of plenty ’ rather than in accordance with the principles of mercantilism, in that it was desired, primarily, to provide for. an abundant supply and not for profitable production and sale. Napoleon did not swerve from the economic traditions of France any more in this department of economic policy than in others ; and it would have been highly peculiar if he had allowed himself to be led by one set of ideas where his own country was concerned and by another set when the enemy was concerned. Nor was that the case, but, on the contrary, his opinion is quite consistent and not at all difficult to explain.

诚然，通过进口毁掉敌人的想法非常符合拿破仑及其许多同时代人的经济观念，这一点在前面的文章中已经充分说明。但在粮食供应问题上，大陆国家，尤其是法国，采取的是中世纪的"富足政策"，而不是重商主义的原则，因为重商主义主要是为了提供充足的供应，而不是为了生产和销售盈利。拿破仑在经济政策的这一领域并没有比在其他领域更偏离法国的经济传统；如果他允许自己在涉及本国时被一套思想所引导，而在涉及敌国时被另一套思想所引导，那将是非常奇特的。事实并非如此，恰恰相反，他的观点非常一致，而且根本不难解释。

The fundamental object of Napoleon’s food policy was, as has just been mentioned, to secure supplies within the country ; and this not only from the same motives that actuated his Bourbon predecessors, but also because of his desire to prevent labour disturbances. Consequently, he is always reminding his French helpers of the danger of being insufficiently provided with foodstuffs, urging them to remember what it had cost him in the Year X (1801-2) to procure a few thousand quintaux of corn, and insisting that it would involve the greatest danger if they had not a ‘ double supply ’. ‘ You have not sufficient experience in this matter,’ he wrote in 1810 to Eugene, the viceroy of Italy. ‘ The corn question is for sovereigns the most important and the most delicate of all. . . . The first duty of the prince in this question is to hold to the people, without listening to the sophisms of the landowners.’ During the difficulties of the winter of 1812 he strove, by the distributionof bread and soup, ' to make the most needy part of the multitude independent ' of food difficulties. Just as before, therefore, he forbade the export of corn when scarcity was apprehended, or even, as in 1810, while awaiting the results of the harvest. And although on August 6, 1810, he had authorized Eugene to permit the exportation of corn from Italy, he wrote to him three weeks later (August 31) : ' It is said that the Italian harvest is bad. Take care that not too much corn is exported and that we do not get into difficulties.' For this reason, too, he authorized his Italian minister of finance in 1813 to permit the export of French and Italian products with the exception of corn and rice, regarding which he wished to have a report first-a policy that marks the special position of food exports-and, in full analogy with this, Napoleon, in January 1812, expressed the opinion that licences for the importation of foodstuffs should be granted without conditions ; that is to say, he waived the customary obligation of exporting goods to the corresponding value.

如前所述，拿破仑粮食政策的基本目标是确保国内供应；这不仅是出于波旁王朝前任们的同样动机，也是为了防止劳工骚乱。因此，他总是提醒他的法国帮手们粮食供应不足的危险，敦促他们记住他在第十年（1801-1802 年）为采购几千公担的玉米付出了多大的代价，并坚持认为如果他们没有“双倍供应”，那将是最大的危险。他在 1810 年写给意大利总督尤金的信中写道："你在这件事上没有足够的经验。玉米问题对君主来说是最重要、最微妙的问题.......在这个问题上，亲王的首要职责是坚持人民的意见，而不是听信地主的诡辩”。在 1812 年冬天的困难时期，他通过分发面包和汤，努力“使最需要帮助的那部分人摆脱食物困难”。因此，和以前一样，他在担心粮食短缺时禁止出口玉米，甚至像 1810 年那样，在等待收成时也禁止出口玉米。虽然 1810 年 8 月 6 日，他授权尤金允许从意大利出口玉米，但三周后（8 月 31 日）他又写信给尤金：“据说意大利的收成不好。注意不要出口太多玉米，以免我们陷入困境”。也是出于这个原因，1813 年他授权意大利财政部长允许法国和意大利产品出口，但玉米和大米除外，因为他希望先得到关于这两种产品的报告--这一政策标志着粮食出口的特殊地位。与此完全类似，拿破仑在 1812 年 1 月表示，应该无条件地发放粮食进口许可证，也就是说，他放弃了出口货物达到相应价值的传统。

The same point of view determined the whole series of measures that the Emperor took in the winter and spring of 1811-12, when, according to his own declaration, there was a real scarcity of corn in Paris. At the same time he deemed it necessary to take more pains than usual to secure quiet in Paris during his absence on the Russian campaign. His feverish zeal to intervene and regulate drove his helpers, especially Pasquier, the eminent prefect of police in Paris, to despair, and afterwards led Chaptal to make the biting remark that Napoleon took every measure that was calculated to further the rise in prices and the shortage of foodstuffs. These measures included the buying up and seizure of corn in the departments adjoining Paris, the taking over of the mills, secret sales by the agents of the government in order to force down prices when they rose in consequence of the previous measures-the only consequence of which was to raise them still farther, and the final result, as the culmination of the abortive ' policy of plenty ', was'the establishment of maximum prices. It should be obvious, on the face of it, that the whole of this series ofmeasures was totally incompatible with the notion that it would injure an enemy to provide him with food.

同样的观点决定了皇帝在1811-1812年冬、春两季采取的一系列措施，当时，根据他自己的声明，巴黎的玉米确实匮乏。与此同时，他认为有必要采取比往常更多的措施，以确保在他出征俄国期间巴黎的平静。他热衷于进行干预和调节，这让他的助手们，尤其是巴黎著名的警察局长帕斯基耶感到绝望，事后夏普塔尔说了一句尖刻的话：拿破仑采取的一切措施都是为了加剧物价上涨和食品短缺。这些措施包括在巴黎周边省份收购和扣押玉米、接管磨坊、由政府代理人秘密销售，以便在价格因之前的措施而上涨时迫使价格下跌--唯一的后果是价格进一步上涨，而作为失败的 "富裕政策"的顶点，最终结果是 "制定了最高价格"。从表面上看，这一系列措施显然与"向敌人提供粮食会伤害他"的思想完全不符。

On the other hand, it certainly did not follow from such a point of view that the export of foodstuffs would be considered inexpedient or even looked at askance, under all circumstances, As soon as the supply of food within the country was considered safeguarded, the general interest for exports showed itself at once ; and the ruler of such countries as North Germany, Italy, and France, which were distinctively countries that exported foods and stimulants, could hardly be imagined as adopting any other standpoint, when in other respects he favoured the mercantilist or ' bullionist ' policy. It was only natural, therefore, that Napoleon, in a letter of 1810 to Gaudin, hi5 minister of finance, which has already been cited once or twice, spoke of his object of favouring, by, means of smuggling, the export of French foodstuffs and the import of precious metals ; and that in the same year he caused Champagny to inform the French ambassador at St. Petersburg-evidently with reference to complaints on the part of Russia-that he granted licences for the exportation of wine and corn as beneficial to his territories, without inquiring too closely as to how the English afterwards treated the vessels provided with licences. Similarly, in a letter of July 28, 1809 (cited by Dr. Rose), to the acting home secretary, Fouche, he bitterly denounced the allegation that he discountenanced export in itself, which he, on the contrary, regarded as being hindered by the British and not by him. ' Exports occur,' he said, ' as soon as there is a possibility of sale.' Not one of these letters, or any other letter known to the writer, contains even a hint of an intention to injure England by the exports of foodstuffs, but, on the other hand, an evident intention to benefit France thereby. The realmotive stands out distinctly in the most celebrated cases when extensive exports of corn from France, Holland, and Flanders to Great Britain took place in the years 1809 and 1810. During 1809 it is stated that about 90,000 tons of wheat, besides other grain, came from those countries ; and of the unprecedented .. imports in the following year-which, without deducting exports, amounted to 353,500 tons of wheat and 135,000tons .of other grain and represented a total value of more than £7,000,000-one-third of the wheat (evidently unground) and half of the flour were said to have come from Napoleon’s empire, all by means of mutual licences. The remarkable thing in this connexion is that not only Napoleon but also many Englishmen considered these large imports from France, under the existing conditions, to be extremely advantageous for the French, and consequently open to grave objection from a British point of view, This was partly because it provided means of disposing of surplus products, and partly because it was an important source of income to Napoleon owing to the huge licensing fees, which, together with freight and insurance, were alleged to raise the price by 30-50s. per quarter, or from $6 15s. to Ell per ton. This mode of thought, which is just as much French as British, was given characteristic expression in a speech in ,the House of Commons (February 19, 1810) by the politician Marryat, the father of the famous novelist, from which we cite the following :

一旦国内的粮食供应得到保障，出口的普遍利益就会立即显现出来；北德意志、意大利和法国等国都是典型的粮食和刺激品出口国，很难想象这些国家的统治者会采取任何其他立场，而在其他方面，他却倾向于重商主义或"金银政策"。因此，拿破仑在 1810 年写给法国财政部长高丹的一封信（这封信已经被引用过一两次）中谈到了他的目标，即通过走私手段促进法国食品的出口和贵金属的进口。同年，他让尚帕尼通知法国驻圣彼得堡大使——显然是为了回应俄国方面的抱怨——他发放了葡萄酒和玉米出口许可证，因为这对他的领土有利，但他并没有仔细询问英国人后来是如何对待获得许可证的船只的。同样，在 1809 年 7 月 28 日写给代理内政大臣福凯的信（罗斯博士引用了这封信）中，他严厉谴责了关于他贬低出口本身的指控，相反，他认为出口是受到英国人的阻碍而不是他的阻碍。他说，"只要有出售的可能，出口就会发生。”在这些信件或作者所知的任何其他信件中，没有一封含有哪怕是一丝通过出口食品来损害英国的意图，但另一方面，却有明显的意图使法国从中受益。在 1809 年和 1810 年法国、荷兰和佛兰德斯向英国大量出口玉米的最著名的案例中，法国的动机非常明显。据说 1809 年期间，除其他谷物外，来自这些国家的小麦约有 9万吨；而第二年前所未有的进口量——不扣除出口量，达到 35万3500 吨小麦和 13万5400 吨其他谷物，总价值超过 700 万镑——其中三分之一的小麦（显然是未磨碎的）和一半的面粉据说来自拿破仑帝国，所有这些都是通过相互许可证的方式进口的。在这方面值得注意的是，不仅拿破仑，而且许多英国人都认为，在现有条件下，从法国大量进口这些产品对法国人极为有利，因此，从英国人的角度来看，会遭到严重反对。著名小说家马里亚特之父、政治家马里亚特在下议院的一次演讲（1810 年 2 月 19 日）中对这种既像法国人又像英国人的思维模式作了典型的表述，我们引述如下：

*The benefit which the enemy derived from the present system of licensing the importation of his grain was much more than many gentlemen imagined. It was a fact that in July last the farmers of France were so distressed by the low price of grain, that they could not pay their taxes. The price was then so low as 27s. the sack, whilst it was known that the French farmer calculated upon a price of 86s. as a fair ‘return for his expences. Buonaparte, being apprized of these circumstances, had no hesitation, of course [sic], in granting licences for the exportation of that grain, which our government readily granted licences to import ; the consequence of which was the raising of the price of that article in France, by the last accounts, above 50 per cent. beyond the rate in July last. Thus were the French corn growers benefited, while Buonoparte’s treasury derived at the rate of 18s. a quarter from the same means. He would then submit it to the serious consideration .ofthe House whether some measures ought not to be immediately taken to put an end to a practice which so materially served the resources of the enemy.*

*敌人从现行的粮食进口许可证制度中获得的好处远远超出了许多绅士的想象。事实是，去年 7 月，法国农民因谷物价格低廉而苦不堪言，以至于交不起税。当时的谷物价格低至每袋 27 苏，而众所周知，法国农民认为 86 苏的价格是对其支出的合理回报。波拿巴获悉这些情况后，当然毫不犹豫 [原文如此]地签发了谷物出口许可证，而我国政府也欣然签发了进口许可证；其结果是，根据最近的账目，法国的谷物价格比去年 7 月的价格提高了 50%以上。这样，法国的玉米种植者从中受益，而波拿巴政府的国库也从同样的手段中获得了每季度 18 个苏姆的收入。然后，他将把是否应立即采取一些措施来制止这种对敌人的资源大有裨益的做法提交下议院认真考虑。*

This leads us to the third motive determining Napoleon’s corn policy, the motive that had decisive weight for more and more of his economic measures the longer the war went on-the need of money. This, and nothing else, dictated the whole of the motley multitude of export licences for corn to French, Italian, and ‘Neapolitan ports, the Hanse Towns, Mecklenburg, Danzig, &e., in combination with special export fees, especially in the last-named place, which was the most important exporting port of all. This fact alone shows that there was no thought of flooding Great Britain with corn, for in that case there would have been no question of export dues, least of all to such amounts as now occurred, which, according to General Rapp, the French commander in Danzig, were 60 francs per ton in 1810, and were so high that they were quite expected to smother the trade of Danzig.

这就引出了决定拿破仑玉米政策的第三个动机，即随着战争时间的延长，对他越来越多的经济措施具有决定性影响的动机——金钱的需求。除此以外，拿破仑还向法国、意大利、那不勒斯港口、汉斯城镇、梅克伦堡、但泽等地发放了大量杂七杂八的玉米出口许可证，并征收特别出口费，尤其是在最后一个地方，因为那里是拿破仑最重要的出口港口。据但泽的法国指挥官拉普将军说，1810 年的出口税为每吨 60 法郎，其数额之高足以扼杀但泽的贸易。

So far was Napoleon from believing that he was injuring England by the mere fact of supplying her with corn, that he evidently perceived the profit of that supply to his adversary, as indeed is obvious beforehand. In the above-mentioned instructions to Champagny, meant to be forwarded to Caulaincourt, the ambassador in St. Petersburg, he expressly says : ‘ The English, having need of corn, will naturally let them (the vessels) enter and leave, because the corn is a prime necessity for them.’

拿破仑根本不认为他向英国提供玉米是在伤害英国，他显然意识到了向对手提供玉米的好处，这一点在之前就已经显而易见了。在上述给尚帕尼的指示中，他明确表示："英国人需要玉米，自然会让他们（船只）进出，因为玉米是他们的首要必需品。

Since that was the case, however, the question arises whether the Emperor had no thought of giving a new turn to his policy and making a direct effort to starve out England. Thus far we have had no knowledge of this matter ; but some contributions toward an answer to ‘the question have become available through the publication, in 1913, of the first part of the work of the Russian historian, Tarle, entitled Kontinental'naia blokada. Thus in a report dated July 17,1810, Montalivet, the home secretary, wrote to Napoleon as follows : ‘ If our rival is eventually threatened with famine, it would seem to bequite natural to close all ports to him. It would be beneficial to the common cause if all the peoples of the North Sea and the Baltic united to deprive Great Britain of her means of existence.’ But Tarle’s supposition that Napoleon really entertained any ‘ serious plans in that direction at the time seems to be refuted by the fact that his licences for the export of corn were being issued in torrents just then ; and in any case he adhered to exactly the opposite view in the following year, as appears from a particularly illuminative imperial dictated utterance of June 24, 1811, which Tarle has also brought to light. The situation then was stated to be such that there was a scarcity of corn in Great Britain at the same time as there was a surplus thereof in Germany and Poland, which naturally caused the British to import the commodity by sea. The question, therefore, was whether this should be prevented. Napoleon’s answer to this question was in the negative, for three reasons : In the first place, he regarded it as useless because the English would procure the corn from America if they could not get it from the Baltic. Thus it was the limitations to his power over the supplies that here blocked the way. In the second place, it was, according to Napoleon’s declaration, impossible, even with all watchfulness, to prevent Prussia and Poland from exporting. This is undeniably a surprising utterance on the part of a man who was not wont to &knowledge economic impossibilities ; but an explanation of it may possibly be found in his conception that exports are always more natural, and consequently more difficult to prevent, than imports. Finally, in the third place, fiscalism stuck up its head as usual, in that the Emperor debated the question of moving the exports to the Hanse Towns, which were at that time incorporated in his empire, in order thereby to give the French treasury the benefit of the export dues. It is obvious that these reasons do not bear witness to any special zeal to prevent the importation of foodstuffs into Great Britain ; but, like everything else, they show that Napoleon did not overlook the utility to England of those imports, but rejected measures against them owing to their futility. The remarkable thing is that he recognized theunfeasibility of the thing only in this case, while the argument might seem to apply with at least equally great strength to that kind of blockade which he tried to enforce

然而，既然如此，问题就来了，皇帝是否想过重新调整政策，直接饿死英国。到目前为止，我们还不知道这件事；但通过 1913 年出版的俄国历史学家塔尔的著作《大陆封锁》的第一部分，我们对这个问题的答案有了一些了解。因此，在 1810 年 7 月 17 日的一份报告中，内政大臣蒙塔里维特给拿破仑写信如下：“如果我们的对手最终受到饥荒的威胁，关闭所有通往他的港口似乎是很自然的。如果北海和波罗的海各国人民联合起来，剥夺英国的生存手段，这将有利于共同的事业”。但塔尔认为拿破仑当时真的在这方面有什么“严肃的计划”，这似乎被一个事实驳倒了，那就是当时他的玉米出口许可证正在大量签发；而且无论如何，他在第二年坚持了完全相反的观点，这一点从塔尔揭露的 1811 年 6 月 24 日的一份特别有启发性的皇室口谕中可以看出。当时的情况是这样的：英国玉米匮乏，而德国和波兰玉米过剩，这自然导致英国通过海运进口玉米。问题在于是否应该防止这种情况发生。拿破仑对此问题的回答是否定的，原因有三：首先，他认为这样做毫无用处，因为英国人如果不能从波罗的海获得玉米，就会从美洲购买。因此，他在供应方面的权力受到限制，这才是阻碍他前进的原因。其次，根据拿破仑的声明，即使再小心谨慎，也不可能阻止普鲁士和波兰出口。无可否认，对于一个不了解经济上的不可能的人来说，这无疑是一个令人吃惊的言论；但他认为，出口总是比进口更自然，因此也更难防止，这或许可以解释拿破仑的这一言论。最后，在第三点上，财政主义一如既往地抬头，皇帝讨论了将出口转移到当时并入其帝国的汉斯城镇的问题，以便让法国国库从出口税中获益。显然，这些理由并不能证明拿破仑特别热衷于阻止食品进口到英国；但与其他一切理由一样，这些理由表明拿破仑并没有忽视这些进口对英国的作用，只是由于这些措施徒劳无益而拒绝接受。值得注意的是，他只是在这种情况下才认识到这种做法是不可行的，而这个论点似乎至少同样适用于他试图实施的那种封锁。

## **GREAT BRITAIN AND NORWAY**

## **英国和挪威**

Before leaving the subject of food supply, it may be asked whether the policy of Great Britain followed the same lines as that of Napoleon in regard to the unrestricted exportation of corn to enemy countries. It follows from what has previously been said that the question was hardly of importance in more than one case, namely, that of Norway, where, according to the recent work of Worm-Miiller, about a quarter of the normal consumption of corn (raw materials for the distilleries not included) was covered by imports. The motives which guided British policy on this particular point hardly appear with the necessary clearness from hitherto-published materials ; but at least the external facts are not open to doubt.

在离开粮食供应这个话题之前，人们可能会问，在向敌国无限制出口玉米方面，英国的政策是否与拿破仑的政策如出一辙。从前面的论述中可以看出，这个问题在不止一个国家是不重要的，那就是挪威，根据沃姆-米勒最近的研究，挪威大约四分之一的正常玉米消费量（不包括蒸馏厂的原料）是通过进口来满足的。从迄今为止出版的资料中很难看出英国在这一问题上的政策指导动机，但至少外部事实是毋庸置疑的。

In the first years after the bombardment of Copenhagen, (1807-9) Great Britain maintained a rigorous blockade, but apparently with no object other than that of bringing about a relaxation of the rigours of embargo prevailing on the other side, and especially of securing a supply of Norwegian timber. When the needs of Norway prevailed over the somewhat quixotic loyalty of Frederick VI to the Continental System, the importation of food, as well as trade in general, was allowed to continue unhampered, upon the usual system of British licences, to such a degree that the situation was said to border on commercial relations in times of profound peace. So far British policy was apparently guided by the same principles which had dictated her earlier measures, e. g., the prohibitions on the exports of raw cotton and ' Jesuit's bark '. But in the last years of the struggle (1812-13) these methods were again reversed, and a food blockade was brought to bear on Norway-so far as is known, the only serious instance of such a measure in the course of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The blockade could be made exceptionally binding and effective, especially after Sweden and Russia had joined the anti-Napoleonic alliance. A contributory cause undoubtedly was that the need for Norwegian timber, as well as for exports to Norwegian markets, had lost their importance to Great Britain. In other words, the policy which made exports of vital interest had lost a great deal of its force since the palpable breakdown of the Continental System. But even if these conjectures prove to be correct, the incident shows that Great Britain was already at that time more willing than her adversary to use a food blockade as a weapon of war.

在哥本哈根遭到炮轰后的最初几年（1807-1809年），英国维持了严格的封锁，但其目的显然不外乎是为了使对方放松严格的禁运，尤其是为了确保挪威的木材供应。当挪威的需要压倒了腓特烈六世对大陆制度的有些古怪的忠诚时，粮食进口和一般贸易就可以在英国通常的许可证制度下不受阻碍地继续进行，以至于据说这种情况接近于深度和平时期的商业关系。到目前为止，英国政策的指导原则显然与早先的措施相同，例如禁止出口原棉和金鸡纳树皮。但在斗争的最后几年（1812-1813 年），这些方法再次被逆转，对挪威实施了粮食封锁——就目前所知，这是革命战争和拿破仑战争期间唯一一次采取此类措施的严重事件。特别是在瑞典和俄国加入了反拿破仑联盟之后，封锁的约束力和效力尤为突出。其中一个原因无疑是，对挪威木材的需求以及出口商品到挪威，对英国来说已经失去了重要性。换句话说，自从大陆体系明显瓦解以来，使出口成为重要利益的政策已经失去了很大的力量。但是，即使这些猜测被证明是正确的，这一事件也表明，英国当时已经比她的对手更愿意使用粮食封锁作为战争武器。

The weapon, however, came far from gaining general approval even among Englishmen, and naturally it called forth anathemas from the opposite side. The British chargd d'afluires in Stockholm, Foster, openly told the Swedish statesmen that ' the starvation system appeared to him to be blameworthy, difficult to execute, and conducive to numerous dangers '.

然而，即使在英国人中间，这种武器也远未得到普遍认可，自然招致了来自对立面的抨击。驻斯德哥尔摩的英国外交官福斯特公开对瑞典政治家说："在他看来，饥饿制度是值得指责的，难以执行，而且会带来许多危险"。

The result was that Norway came nearer to starvation than any other country during this period, so that her pitiful situation was alleged by Frederick VI as a reason for renouncing his rights to the country in the peace of Kiel in January, 1814. Had it not been possible for spirited Norwegians and Danes to break through the blockade with their small corn vessels, the situation would have appeared all but hopeless in the eyes of contemporaries.

其结果是，在此期间，挪威比任何其他国家都更濒临饥荒，以至于腓特烈六世在1814年1月的基尔和平中把挪威的悲惨处境作为放弃对该国权利的理由。如果不是勇敢的挪威人和丹麦人用他们的小型玉米船突破了封锁，在当时的人看来，挪威的局势就会显得毫无希望。

## **BRITISH SUPPORT OF THE CONTINENT**

## **英国对欧洲大陆的支持**

We may now return to the economic life of Great Britain herself. It has been shown that the more fundamental effects of the Continental System on her organism did not play a decisive part in the issue of the struggle. But as the reader mayremember from part I, chapter IV, it was assumed in French circles that there was a more immediate connexion between the self-blockade of the Continent and the political elimination of Great Britain than that which was provided by its general economic ruin. It was thought, in fact, that, owing to the inability to export, Great Britain would be prevented from supporting the Continent either by means of subsidies or by the maintenance of troops. Miss Cunningham, in the little study that has often been cited in this work, has not only successfully elucidated these ideas and their bearing on the policy of Napoleon but has also, with less success, so far as I can judge, sought to show the validity of that train of thought to such an extent as to prove the correctness of Napoleon's (falsely assumed) object of ruining Great Britain by supplying her with foodstuffs. Miss Cunningham's thesis, indeed, is that the excess of imports gave rise to an export of gold which came near to exhausting the metal reserve of the Bank of England and thus shaking ' the real foundation of the credit system '.x This contention does not appear to give due weight to the real significance of international exchange as that was brought out, not only by Adam Smith, but more,particularly by the leading economists, in the great currency debate which went on during the actual period of the Continental System. To begin with, we must see whether that French line of thought was correct which made British exports the antecedent condition for the making of payments on the Continent ; and in so doing we must connect the matter with the discussion in our first part to which reference has just been made.

我们现在可以回到大不列颠本身的经济生活。事实表明，大陆体系对她的有机体产生的更根本的影响并没有在这场斗争中发挥决定性作用。但是，正如读者可能还记得的那样，在第一部分第四章中，法国圈子里认为，欧洲大陆的自我封锁和英国的政治消灭之间有着比其全面经济崩溃更直接的联系。我们现在可以回到大不列颠本身的经济生活上来。事实已经证明，大陆制度对她的有机体的更根本性的影响在这场斗争中并没有起到决定性的作用。但是，读者可能还记得，在第一部分第四章中，法国人假定，在欧洲大陆的自我封锁与大不列颠的政治消灭之间，存在着比其全面经济崩溃更直接的联系。事实上，人们认为，由于无法出口，英国将无法通过补贴或维持军队来支持欧洲大陆。坎宁安小姐在这本著作中经常引用的那篇小研究中，不仅成功地阐明了这些观点及其对拿破仑政策的影响，而且还试图证明这种思路的正确性，以证明拿破仑（错误地假定）通过向英国提供食品来毁灭英国的目标的正确性，但就我的判断而言，这种努力并不那么成功。事实上，坎宁安小姐的论点是，进口过剩导致黄金出口，几乎耗尽了英格兰银行的金属储备，从而动摇了“信用体系的真正基础'”。这一论点似乎没有对国际交换的真正意义给予应有的重视，因为不仅亚当·斯密，而且尤其是主要经济学家，在大陆体系的实际时期进行的货币大辩论中都提出了这一点。首先，我们必须看一看法国的思路是否正确，这种思路把英国的出口作为在欧洲大陆进行支付的先决条件；在这样做的时候，我们必须把这个问题与刚才提到的第一部分的讨论联系起来。

The kernel of the question, then, is the point that Adam Smith maintained, namely, that both war and other functions are in reality paid for by goods and human efforts (services), and not by money or precious metals. The subsidies that Ght Britain had to pay on the Continent were intended to procure necessaries for her allies, and the same were required for the maintenance of the British troops after Great Britain had begun operations by land. Consequently, the business inhand was either to provide the necessaries direct or else to provide the means with which they might be purchased.

那么，问题的核心就是亚当·斯密所坚持的观点，即战争和其他职能实际上都是由商品和人的努力（服务）来支付的，而不是由货币或贵金属来支付的。英国不得不在欧洲大陆支付的补贴是为了给盟国采购必需品，而在英国开始陆上行动后，英国军队的维持也需要同样的补贴。因此，我们要做的要么是直接提供必需品，要么是提供购买必需品的手段。

If, then, the situation was such that British goods could be imported into the Continent, the simplest arrangement of the matter was that described by Adam Smith, namely, an export of goods from Great Britain without corresponding imports. It was of no consequence whether the British goods were or were not precisely of the kind required by the troops or by the continental governments. Their sale on the Continent created in the latter case British assets which could be used to pay for the domestic goods needed by the troops or by the allies ; that is to say, the purchasers of the British goods in reality paid their debt, not to the British, but to the sellers of the domestic goods that were used by the British troops or by the governments supported by Great Britain. But the fact that the matter was simplified by the possibility of exporting British goods to the Continent by no means implies that the support of the continental governments would have been impossible without the realization of such a condition. If, for instance, we suppose, instead, that no British, but, only transmarine goods, could get into the Continent, the system only needed to be supplemented by the participation of a third country, for instance, the United States, in the operation. At times this was undoubtedly the case with the payments on the Iberian peninsula, where American corn went in great quantities. The assets that Great Britain acquired by her exports in transmarine countries went, under this supposition, to the European mainland in payment for continental imports of colonial goods, that is to say, British exports for the non-European countries paid for British support to the Continent of Europe. In the one case as in the other it was a question of the exchange of commodities, and not of any need of payment in money or in gold and silver. When, therefore, it came about that Wellington wished to make cash payment during his campaigns in Spain and Portugal, this by no means meant that he had to have the requisite amount sent to him in precious metal. The only thing necessary was that the British government should have assets. on the Iberianpeninsula, for instance, in the form of bills of exchange or claims on business establishments there, to an amount corresponding to the requirements of the British army, so far as those requirements could not be satisfied by the supply of goods on British account.

如果当时的情况是英国的商品可以进口到欧洲大陆，那么最简单的安排就是亚当·斯密所描述的那样，即从英国出口商品而不相应进口。至于英国商品是否正是军队或欧洲大陆政府所需要的那种，这并不重要。在后一种情况下，它们在欧洲大陆的销售创造了英国的资产，这些资产可以用来支付军队或盟国所需的国内商品；也就是说，英国商品的购买者实际上不是向英国人还债，而是向英国军队或英国支持的政府所使用的国内商品的销售者还债。但是，英国商品可以出口到欧洲大陆这一事实并不意味着，如果不实现这一条件，就不可能得到欧洲大陆政府的支持。举例来说，如果我们假设没有英国商品，而只有转口贸易商品可以进入欧洲大陆，那么这个制度只需要第三国（比如美国）的参与来补充。毫无疑问，伊比利亚半岛的付款有时就是这种情况，美国玉米大量运往那里。根据这一假设，英国通过在跨海洋国家的出口所获得的资产流向了欧洲大陆，用于支付大陆进口殖民地商品的费用，也就是说，英国对非欧洲国家的出口用于支付英国对欧洲大陆的支持。这两种情况都是商品交换问题，不需要用货币或金银来支付。因此，当威灵顿在西班牙和葡萄牙作战期间希望用现金支付时，这并不意味着他必须用贵金属来支付所需的金额。唯一必要的是，英国政府在伊比利亚半岛拥有资产，例如以汇票或对当地商业机构的债权形式拥有的资产，其数额应与英军的需求相当，只要这些需求无法通过英国的货物供应来满足。

It is true that it is possible to imagine a situation in which Great Britain was cut off from exporting to transmarine countries as well as to the European Continent ; and it would then become a question of what possibilities there would be for supporting the Continent under such conditions. In that case the matter was manifestly hopeless ; for a completely isolated Great Britain-and a country without exports is practically the same as an isolated country-must, no less than a completely isolated European Continent, necessarily imply the impossi-. bility of British help for the adversaries of Napoleon. But this connexion is self-evident to such a degree that it need scarcely be pointed out ; and what is more, the supposition of its existence is so devoid of practical importance that it can never have played any part in the conduct of Napoleon or any other statesman of the time.

诚然，我们可以设想这样一种情况，即英国被切断了向海洋国家和欧洲大陆的出口，那么在这种情况下，支持欧洲大陆的可能性就成了问题。在这种情况下，事情显然是没有希望的；因为一个完全孤立的大不列颠：一个没有出口的国家实际上就等于一个孤立的国家，必然会像一个完全孤立的欧洲大陆一样，意味着英国不可能帮助拿破仑的对手。但这种联系是不言而喻的，几乎无需指出；更重要的是，对这种联系存在的假设是如此缺乏实际意义，以至于它在拿破仑或当时任何其他政治家的行为中都不可能起到任何作用。

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The next question, then, is whether even a diminution of British exports would not have been able to place obstacles in the way of supporting the Continent, inasmuch as the assets held by Great Britain to pay for the support might in that case be expected to be smaller. But even this idea is incorrect, because the decisive thing is not the absolute amount of exports but the amount in relation to imports, i. e., the excess of exports. If only imports were diminished to the same extent as exports, the possibility of giving support would be in no wise altered. It is in the nature of things that the support must be paid for by limitation of domestic consumption when a country cannot count upon borrowing abroad,,a thing which was not to be thought of for Great Britain during the period of the Continental System. The general conclusion thus remains simply this, that exports (including carrying profits and other f,oreign trade profits) must exceed imports by the amount of the support given to foreign countries. It is true that. Britishcommercial statistics for this period are altogether too uncertain to admit of any positive arithmetical proof in such a question ;but it may be mentioned that the British customs statistics for the years 1805-9 show an excess in the trade balance itself (that is to say, apart from freights, &c.) varying between 5,900,000 and 14,900,000 pounds sterling, or, as an average for those five years, amounting to almost precisely £1O,OOO,OOO.

那么，接下来的问题是，即使英国出口减少，是否也不会对支持欧洲大陆的道路造成障碍，因为在这种情况下，英国用于支付支持的资产可能会减少。但即使是这种想法也是不正确的，因为起决定作用的不是出口的绝对数量，而是相对于进口的数量，即出口的过剩。如果只是进口减少到与出口相同的程度，那么提供支持的可能性就不会有任何改变。当一个国家不能指望向国外借贷时，就必须通过限制国内消费来提供支持，这是自然规律。因此，总的结论仍然是，出口（包括结转利润和其他外贸利润）必须超过进口，超过的幅度是给予外国的支持。确实如此。英国在这一时期的商业统计数字太不确定，无法对这一问题进行任何肯定的计算证明；但可以提及的是，1805-1809 年的英国海关统计数字显示，贸易差额本身（即除运费等之外）的超额在 590 万英镑到 1490 万英镑之间，或者说，作为这五年的平均值，几乎正好达到 1000万英镑。

However, still another possibility may be conceived, namely, that the European Continent might take no necessaries at all, either British or continental, or might take only money or precious metals. This was undoubtedly what Napoleon aimed at, although he never even approximately reached his goal. So far as Great Britain succeeded in carrying on military operations on the Continent, however, even this possibility was quite out of the question; for where troops could be landed, it is evident that goods could be landed with still greater ease. And as regards the allies, the matter would have been of importance only in the highly curious situation that the countries in question applied the Continental System strictly and received British subsidies at the same time. For the sake of completeness, however, this line of thought may be followed out. Here, too, the same thing holds good ; the idea to which Adam Smith had given expression, namely, that the precious metals in this connexion were commodities like others and would have had to be purchased by means of British exports. The only difference in the situation from a British point of view would have lain in the fact that precious metals might prove difficult to obtain, as indeed was probably often the case. From the point of view of the Continent, on the other hand, such a form of payment meant that in reality nothing was imported that could serve military purposes ; and consequently the thing could have been of importance only in case one or more of the individual continental states could thereby acquire necessary goods from other continental countries.

然而，还可以设想另一种可能性，即欧洲大陆可能根本不带走任何必需品，无论是英国的还是欧洲大陆的，或者只带走货币或贵金属。这无疑是拿破仑的目标，尽管他甚至从未大致达到过他的目标。然而，只要英国成功地在欧洲大陆开展军事行动 ，就连这种可能性也是不可能的；因为只要军队可以登陆，货物显然就可以更容易地登陆。至于盟国，只有在有关国家严格实行大陆制度并同时接受英国补贴这种极为奇怪的情况下，此事才会具有重要意义。为了完整起见，可以沿用这一思路。在这里，亚当-斯密所表达的观点也是一样的，即贵金属与其他商品地位平等，必须通过英国的出口来购买。从英国的角度来看，情况的唯一不同之处在于贵金属可能难以获得，而事实可能也常常如此。另一方面，从欧洲大陆的角度来看，这种支付方式意味着实际上没有任何可以用于军事目的的进口品；因此，只有在一个或多个大陆国家可以从其他大陆国家获得必要物资的情况下，这件事才可能具有重要性。

If we pause to consider the actual circumstances in greaterdetail, we are immediately impressed by the fact that it was precisely the flourishing period of the Continental System that was marked by quite insignificant subsidies to the continental’ states ; and the reaeon for this is closely connected with the fact just mentioned that efficacy of the self-blockade ceased as soon as Great Britain gained the support of allies on the Continent. For the whole of the sexennial period 1807-12, the sum total of the cash subsidies subsequently reported to Parliament was £14,722,000 ; and it is in the very nature of things that most of this amount fell to countries with which Great Britain had unimpeded intercourse, e. g. (in round numbers), Portugal (1809-12) nearly £6,000,000; Spain (1808- 12) £3,660,000 ; Sicily (1808-18) £1,700,000 ; Sweden (1808-9 and 1812) £1660,000 ; and Russia (1807, before the Peace of Tilsit) £600,000. Altogether these came to £13,580,000, or more than nine-tenths of the total amount. There is no material available for estimating the total amount spent on British military operations on the Continent ; but in 1808-10 the total payments of the British government abroad ran to something over £32,000,000. As has been observed above, however, the military expenses must always have been among those where the normal system of international payments could be employed.

如果我们静下心来更详细地考虑一下实际情况，我们就会立即意识到，正是大陆制度的兴盛时期，对大陆国家的补贴却微不足道；而造成这种情况的原因与刚才提到的事实密切相关，即一旦英国在大陆上获得盟国的支持，自我封锁的效力就会立即停止。在 1807-12 年的整个六年期中，后来向议会报告的现金补贴总额为 1472.2 万镑；正是从本质上讲，这笔款项的大部分落在了与英国有着畅通无阻的交往的国家手中，例如：（按整数计算）：

葡萄牙（1809-12年）近600万英镑；西班牙（1808-12）366万英镑；西西里岛（1808-18）170万英镑；瑞典（1808-9年和1812年）166万英镑；以及俄罗斯（1807年，提尔西特和平之前）60万英镑。总金额为1358万英镑，占总金额的十分之九以上。没有可用的材料来估计英国在欧洲大陆军事行动的总支出；但在1808-10年，英国政府在国外的付款总额超过了320万英镑。然而，正如上文所述，军事费用必须始终属于可以采用正常国际支付制度的费用之一。

As a matter of fact, however, we have the seemingly incompatible facts that, on the one hand, Great Britain had great difficulties with her payments on the Continent, and, on the other hand, was exposed to an outflow of precious metals, which constantly threatened the bank reserve and was usually connected with the heavy decline in the rates of exchange on England. It might thus seem as if Napoleon was right after all in trying to read the success of his war against the credit of England in the decline of the exchanges and in the difficulties of payment. But the true connexion was quite different.

但事实上，我们有这样一个看似不 patible 的事实：一方面，英国在欧洲大陆的支付遇到了巨大困难，另一方面，贵金属外流，不断威胁着银行储备，而且通常与英国汇率的严重下跌有关。由此看来，拿破仑试图从汇率下降和支付困难中解读他对英国信用战争的成功，似乎是正确的。但真正的联系是完全不同的。

First, as regards the difficulty of financing the military operations on the Continent, we may say that that difficulty was mainly due to bad financial organization, and also to anapparently ineradicable notion of the unimportance of the war in the Iberian peninsula. Wellington had many occasions to complain of the inadequacy of pecuniary support and the shortage of the most necessary things, while at the same time huge sums were dissipated in far less important ways, even on the Continent, such as for the notorious and thoroughly abortive expedition to the island of Walcheren, off the coast of Holland, in 1809. As regards the modus operandi, Wellington had to obtain funds by drawing bills on the British treasury and selling them on the spot, that is to say, without there being any available British assets ; and as there was an entire lack of organization, this could not take place without a heavy decline in their value. Nathan.Mayer Rothschild, the greatest financial genius of the house of Rothschild and its true founder, who at this time had already moved from Frankfurt to London, mentioned to Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, in the course of a conversation many years afterwards, that once during this period he set about buying up, on the one hand, a great number of Wellington’s bills on the British government, which were under par, and, on the other hand, gold, which was sold by the East India Company; and by so doing he declared that he compelled the government to come to an agreement with him, on the one hand, to prolong the bills which it had no means to pay, and, on the other hand, to pass over the gold, for which Wellington was very hard pressed. ‘ When the Government had got the money,’ he said, with well-founded contempt, ‘ they did not know how to get it to Portugal. I undertook all that, and I sent it through France. It was the best business I ever did.’

首先，关于在欧洲大陆进行军事行动的资金困难，我们可以说，这种困难主要是由于糟糕的财政组织造成的，也是由于伊比利亚半岛战争不重要这一明显不可动摇的观念造成的。威灵顿曾多次抱怨财政支持不足，最需要的东西短缺，而与此同时，巨额资金却被浪费在了不那么重要的地方，甚至是在欧洲大陆，比如1809年对荷兰海岸外的瓦尔克伦岛进行了臭名昭著的远征。至于运作方式，威灵顿不得不通过从英国国库提取钞票并当场出售的方式来获取资金，也就是说，英国没有任何可用资产；由于完全缺乏组织，如果钞票的价值不大幅下降，就不可能做到这一点。内森·梅耶·罗斯柴尔德是罗斯柴尔德家族最伟大的金融天才，也是其真正的创始人，此时他已经从法兰克福搬到了伦敦，他在多年后的一次谈话中向托马斯-福威尔-巴克斯顿爵士提到，在此期间，他曾经一方面着手购买大量低于面值的英国政府的惠灵顿票据，另一方面购买东印度公司出售的黄金；他宣称，通过这种方式，他迫使政府与他达成协议，一方面延长政府无力支付的钞票的偿还期，另一方面转手黄金，而威灵顿对黄金非常渴求。政府拿到钱后，"他不无轻蔑地说，"他们不知道如何把钱送到葡萄牙。我承担了这一切，并通过法国把钱运到了葡萄牙。这是我做过的最好的生意。

Apart from this scanty and late item, which is as meagre as most of the contributions to the history of the house of Rothschild, we seem to know hardly anything about the actual manner in which the Continent was financed by the British government under the Continental System. On the other hand, we have a somewhat fuller knowledge of the circumstances during the next period, that of the Wars of Liberation and of the Hundred Days in 1813-15, owing to the materials collected in a biography of the politician J. C. Herries, the commissaryin chief in the British financial administration of that time (1811-16), on which the German economic historian, Professor Richard Ehrenberg, has based that part of his study of the'house of Rothschild, Even at that time, with the greatly multiplied continental expenses for both subsidies and military requirements, the financing was at first managed partly by very cumbrous movements of silver from England, and partly, and more particularly, by bills drawn from the Continent on the British treasury in London. These last the continental governments and generals afterwards had the greatest difficulty in selling, and therefore they declined heavily in value. But now there was gradually carried out, through N. M. Rothschild, a change of system by which bills and coins were privately bought up on the Continent, with the result that difficulties of placing bills and the consequent dislocations in the exchanges almost ceased. Thus Herries states in his official report that during 1813. bills on Holland and Frankfurt for £700,000 were bought up without depressing the exchange, while a payment of £100,000 on the old methods would, in his opinion, have had ten times as great an effect upon the exchanges. The whole of this account shows clearly enough that the difficulties lay in the matter of technical organization and were not due to any profound economic obstacles in the way of payments on the Continent ; for it is manifest that such obstacles, had they existed, would no less fully have lain in the way of Rothschild's purchases of commercial paper on the Continent, that is to say, his acquisition of continental assets on British account. What the change of system implied, therefore, was to organize the support in the main on the lines of international payments in general.

除了这篇稀少的晚期文章，我们似乎对英国政府在大陆制度下资助欧洲大陆的实际方式知之甚少。另一方面，我们对下一个时期，即 1813-15 年解放战争和百日战争期间的情况有了更全面的了解，这要归功于在政治家 J. C. 赫里斯的传记中收集的材料。德国经济史学家理查德·艾伦伯格教授在研究罗斯柴尔德家族时，也是以这本传记为基础的。即使在当时，由于欧洲大陆在补贴和军事需求方面的开支大大增加，资金的筹措起初一部分是通过从英国调运白银来解决的，另一部分，尤其是通过从欧洲大陆向伦敦的英国国库提取票据来解决的。后来，欧洲大陆的政府和将军们在出售这些票据时遇到了最大的困难，因此它们的价值严重下降。但现在通过罗斯柴尔德逐渐改变了制度，由私人在欧洲大陆购买纸币和硬币，结果是纸币投放的困难和随之而来的兑换混乱几乎停止了。因此，赫里斯在他的官方报告中指出，1813 年期间，荷兰和法兰克福的70 万镑的票据被买走，却没有压低交易所的汇率，而按照旧方法支付 10万镑，他认为对交易所的影响会是旧方法的十倍。整个叙述清楚地表明，困难在于技术组织问题，而不是因为在欧洲大陆支付时遇到了任何深刻的经济障碍；因为很明显，如果存在这些障碍，罗斯柴尔德在欧洲大陆购买商业票据，也就是用英国人的名义购买欧洲大陆的资产，也会遇到同样的障碍。制度的改变意味着主要是按照一般的国际支付方式来组织支持。

But it was recently mentioned that in the earlier stage Rothschild sent gold to Wellington on the account of the British government, and that the later payments on the Continent were partly effected by sending silver. One thusgets the impression, in spite of all that has been said, that precious metals were necessary, at least at times, in order to support the Continent. This evidently needs explanation ; and the explanation mainly lies in the state of British currency during the Napoleonic wars.

但最近有人提到，在早期阶段，罗斯柴尔德以英国政府的名义向威灵顿寄送黄金，而后来在欧洲大陆的支付部分是通过寄送白银来实现的。尽管如此，但人们还是得到了这样的印象：至少在某些时候，为了支持欧洲大陆，贵金属是必要的。这显然需要解释；而解释主要在于拿破仑战争期间英国的货币状况。

As has been mentioned in part I, Great Britain had had an irredeemable paper currency ever since 1797 ; but before 1808 this currency had only in particular years shown any great deviations from its par value. The quotations for gold do not appear to have been very reliable at the time, but the rates of exchange on Hamburg and Paris, both of which, characteristically enough, were quoted in London without intermission during the whole course of the last Napoleonic war, make the matter sufficiently clear. In 1808, however, a great change set in. Especially from 1809 the exchanges began to show a very remarkable fall, i. e., the amount of foreign money to be obtained for £1 sterling declined heavily. The average depreciation for 1809 is given by Mr. Hawtrey as 21 and 23.3 per cent. as compared with Hamburg and Paris, respectively. This gave rise to a great controversy--which offers a number of points of contact. with the discussion during the recent war-concerning the connexion between the changes in the value of gold and the rates of exchange, on the one hand, and the decline in the value of the British paper currency, on the other hand, and also concerning the true cause of the latter phenomenon. The first important contributions to this controversy were made by Ricardo in the late summer a,nd autumn of 1809 in the form of three articles published in the Morning Chronicle, which were followed up in December by a celebrated pamphlet, the title of which, The High Price of Bullion a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes, sufficiently expresses his point of view. In this pamphlet, Ricardo, who at that time was known only as a successful and highly respected broker on the Stock Exchange, laid down what is called the quantity theory of money and laid the foundation of his still unpresagedfame as the most acute of economic theorists. In order to test the question, the House of Commons in February 1810 appointed a committee, known as the Bullion Committee, 'whose report, framed entirely in the spirit of Ricardo, was announced in June but did not come before Parliament until the following spring. The discussion was carried on with great zeal outside Parliament as well, simultaneously with an almost continuous rise in the price of gold. According to the computations of Mr. Hawtrey, that rise was 36.4 per cent. in 1813 (that of silver being 36.7 per cent.), while the fall in the exchanges had already culminated in 1811 with 39.1 per cent. and 44 per cent. on Paris and Hamburg, respectively. During these long discussions there also arose the question of the cause of the export of gold and its connexion with payments on the Continent ; and it may be said that in the course of this discussion the connexion was made clear in all essentials, especially by Ricardo.

正如第一部分所提到的，大不列颠自1797年起就有了一种不可兑换的纸币；但在1808年之前，这种货币只是在特定的年份才会严重偏离其面值。当时的黄金报价似乎并不十分可靠，但汉堡和巴黎的汇率（这两个地方的汇率在拿破仑战争的整个过程中从未间断地在伦敦报价）足以说明问题。然而，1808 年发生了巨大的变化。特别是从 1809 年开始，交易所开始出现非常显著的下跌，也就是说，1英镑可以换取的外国货币数量大幅下降。根据霍特里先生的统计，1809 年与汉堡和巴黎的平均兑换率分别为 21%和 23.3%。这引发了一场巨大的争议——这场争论与最近的战争也有许多联系点。在最近的战争中，人们讨论了黄金价值和汇率的变化与英国纸币价值下降之间的联系，另一方面是关于纸币价值下降的真正原因。这引起了一场巨大的争论--这场争论与最近战争期间的讨论 ，一方面是关于黄金价值和汇率的变化与英国纸币价值下降之间的联系，另一方面是关于纸币价值下降的真正原因。1809年夏末秋初，李嘉图在《纪事晨报》上发表了三篇文章，对这一争论做出了最初的重要贡献，随后在12月又发表了一本著名的小册子，书名《金银条块价格高昂是银行券贬值的证明》充分表达了他的观点。在这本小册子中，李嘉图——当时他还只是证券交易所一位成功的、备受尊敬的经纪人——提出了所谓的货币数量论，并奠定了他作为最敏锐的经济理论家的基础。为了检验这个问题，下议院于 1810 年 2 月任命了一个委员会，即 "金银委员会"，"该委员会的报告完全按照李嘉图的精神编写，于 6 月公布，但直到第二年春天才提交议会。在金价几乎持续上涨的同时，议会外也在热火朝天地进行讨论。根据霍特里先生的计算，1813 年的涨幅为 36.4%（白银的涨幅为 36.7%），而交易所的跌幅在 1811 年已经达到顶峰，巴黎和汉堡的跌幅分别为 39.1%和 44%。在这些漫长的讨论过程中，还出现了黄金出口的原因及其与欧洲大陆支付的联系问题；可以说，在讨论过程中，特别是李嘉图阐明了这一联系的所有要点。

As a starting-point in this discussion Ricardo took the case where a country, owing to failure of the harvest, has to embark upon unusually large imports of corn ; but he maintained that the payment of subsidies to a foreign power formed a still more marked instance of the same thing. Now, if the country in question, that is to say, Great Britain, had R metallic system of money and no ' redundant currency ', that is,. not a greater quantity of money in relation to the quantity of commodities than other countries, there was, in his opinion, no occasion for the export of precious metals. In that case, corn, like the subsidies, would be paid for by exports of commodities in the usual way, as has been explained at length above. If, on theother hand, there prevailed a ' superabundant circulation ', that is, a greater quantity of money in the subsidy-paying country than in the country to which the subsidies were paid, it meant that the value of money was lower or the price-level of commodities higher in the former place than in the latter, in which case the precious metals flowed to the place where their value was highest ; in other words, an export of gold took place. Or, as also explained by him, if money or gold was export.ed instead of commodities, this was due to the fact that the transaction could be settled more cheaply in this way. In that case gold or money was what stood relatively lowest in value in the paying country (Great Britain), as compared with its value in the other country, and consequently people fulfilled their obligations at a smaller sacrifice if they paid with money or gold than if they paid with commodities. Otherwise, if the value of money was the same in both countries, the export of gold would never be worth while, but the payment must take the form of commodities. Ricardo did not dispute absolutely, it is true, that the transmission of gold could take place in all events ; he considered it highly improbable, however, because in that case the gold would have gone to a country where its purchasing power was less, or at least not greater, than in the country from which it came. But both he and his opponents were agreed that in that case the gold must soon flow back to the former country ; and even if this factor played a larger part than Ricardo supposed, it could never explain that onesided movement of precious met.al from Great Britain to the Continent that exhausted the gold reserves of the Bank of England and therefore gave rise to such great anxiety.

李嘉图把一个国家由于歉收而不得不大量进口玉米的情况作为讨论的起点；但他坚持认为，向外国支付补贴也是同样情况的一个更明显的例子。现在，如果有关国家，即英国，拥有金属货币体系，没有 "多余的货币"，即货币数量相对于商品数量并不比其他国家多，那么他认为就没有必要出口贵金属。在这种情况下，玉米和补贴一样，将按照通常的方式通过出口商品来支付，这一点上文已经详细解释过了。另一方面，如果出现 "超额流通"，即补贴支付国的货币量大于补贴接受国，这意味着前者的货币价值低于后者，或商品价格高于后者，在这种情况下，贵金属就会流向其价值最高的地方；换句话说，黄金就会出口。或者，正如他所解释的那样，如果出口的是货币或黄金而不是商品，那是因为这样的交易结算方式更便宜。在这种情况下，黄金或货币在付款国（英国）的价值相对于在另一国的价值来说是最低的，因此，人们在履行义务时，如果用货币或黄金支付，比用商品支付所付出的牺牲要小。否则，如果货币在两国的价值相同，黄金的出口就永远没有价值，而必须以商品的形式支付。诚然，李嘉图并不完全否认黄金的流通在任何情况下都可能发生；但他认为这是极不可能的，因为在这种情况下，黄金会流向一个其购买力低于或至少不高于其来源国的国家。但他和他的反对者都认为，在这种情况下，黄金很快就会流回原国；即使这个因素的作用比李嘉图想象的要大，它也无法解释贵重金属从英国向欧洲大陆的单向流动，这种流动耗尽了英格兰银行的黄金储备，因此引起了如此大的焦虑。

The outflow of gold was thus an evidence that money had a lower value in Great Britain than on the Continent. But if Great Britain, like the Continent, had been on a metallic basis, this dissimilarity would have been removed by the outflow, inasmuch as the quantity of money would have been diminished in the former place and augmented in the latter. As it was, Great Britain had a paper currency which stood far below its nominal value in gold ; and in that case the export of goldcould continue for any length of time without.restoring equilibrium, because the vacuum was constantly being fikd with new notes. Thus it was not the payment of subsidies or any extraordinary export of corn that caused the outflow of gold, but ' the superabundant circulation ', or, in other words, the lower value of money in Great Britain.

因此，黄金外流证明了货币在大不列颠的价值低于欧洲大陆。但是，如果大不列颠和欧洲大陆一样是以金属为基础，这种差异就会因黄金外流而消除，因为前者的货币量会减少，而后者的货币量会增加。在这种情况下，黄金的输出可以在没有任何储备平衡的情况下持续很长时间，因为真空中不断有新的纸币出现。因此，造成黄金外流的原因并不是支付补贴或玉米的异常出口，而是 "过剩的流通"，或者换句话说，是大不列颠货币价值的降低。

This account, which goes to the root of the matter, can be regarded as conclusive in all essentials and needs to be supplemented only in one or two points, which are also touched upon by Ricardo. If the country in question has a mixed paper and gold circulation, as was the case with Great Britain, not only the paper money but also the metallic money declines in value within the country. In other words, prices rise in whichever currency they are quoted, inasmuch as they are both legal tender and their combined quantity has been increased. It is precisely this circumstance that drives out the ' better ', that is, the metallic money, because people get more goods for that in other countries.

这一论述直指问题的根本，可以认为是所有要点的结论，只需在一两点上加以补充 ，李嘉图也提到了这一点。如果有关国家的纸币和黄金混合流通，就像英国的情况那样，那么不仅纸币，而且金属货币在国内都会贬值。换句话说，无论使用哪种货币，价格都会上涨，因为它们都是法定货币，而且它们的综合数量已经增加。正是这种情况导致了 "更好的 "货币，即金属货币的淘汰，因为人们在其他国家可以用金属货币买到更多的商品。

If, then, it was the case, on the whole, that the export of gold had its root in the depreciation of British currency, it should nevertheless be added, in common fairness, that a payment of subsidies in itself, regarded as an isolated phenomenon and without any connexion with the depreciation of the currency, would also set going a definitive export of gold from the subsidy-paying country, inasmuch as it would diminish its stock of commodities ; and an unchanged relation between the quantity of money and the quantity of commodities-in other words, an unchanged comparative price-level-would thus require a corresponding diminution on the other side of the equation. But the quantity of goods is exposed to so many changes in different directions that this matter is probably of no practical interest whatever.

如果说，从总体上看，黄金出口的根源在于英国货币贬值，那么，为了公平起见，还应该补充一点，即补贴支付本身，如果被视为一种孤立的现象，与货币贬值没有任何联系，也会导致补贴支付国黄金的确定出口，因为这会减少其商品库存；货币数量与商品数量之间的关系不变，换句话说，相对价格水平不变，就会要求等式的另一方相应地减少商品数量。但是，商品数量在不同方向上的变化是如此之多，以至于这个问题可能没有任何实际意义。

The argument brought forward against all this by Ricardo's opponents, especially by Malthus in the Edinbwgh Rmitw, in February 1811, was that a great export of corn, or claims to subsidies on the part of the continental states, need not evoke among them a greatly increased demand for ' muslins, hardware,and colonial produce ’, and that, therefore, it might be necessary for Great Britain to pay instead with money, which was always welcome. Applied to the payment of subsidies, however, this argument was particularly unfortunate, as the function of the subsidies was quite obviously that of procuring goods for the work undertaken by the continental powers, as has been explained at length above ; and consequently for our purpose the objection can be dismissed without further ado. For the sake of completeness, however, it may be added that the same conditions prevail in other cases. No country sells corn except to get something else instead ; and no country has 60 much of all commodities that it cannot use more. The origin of these commodities is a matter of no importance, as we have already seen ; and the limitation, in Malthus’s instance, to the articles of British trade itself is consequently quite unjustifiable. The only exception, which is scarcely treated by Ricardo, but which is discussed in detail, from a somewhat different standpoint, in the report of the Bullion Committee, would be if a country had some special reason to increase its stock of precious metals, e. g., to form a war fund or to pass from a paper to a metallic currency. The Bullion Committee here showed the untenability of the supposition that the Continent had any such increased need of gold as could explain the course of development in Great Britain.

李嘉图的反对者，特别是马尔萨斯 1811 年 2 月在《爱丁堡邮报》上针对这一切提出的论点是，大量出口玉米或大陆国家要求补贴，并不一定会引起它们对 "薄纱、五金和殖民地产品 "的需求大幅增加，因此，英国可能有必要用货币来代替支付，而货币总是受欢迎的。然而，将这一论点应用于补贴的支付上就显得尤为不幸，因为补贴的作用显然是为大陆列强所从事的工作采购物资，这一点已在上文 ，因此，就我们的目的而言，这一反对意见无需赘述。不过，为了完整起见，还可以补充说，在其他情况下也存在同样的条件。没有一个国家出售玉米不是为了换取其他东西；也没有一个国家拥有 60 种商品，以至于无法使用更多。正如我们已经看到的那样，这些商品的来源并不重要；因此，马尔萨斯的例子中，仅限于英国贸易本身的商品是非常不合理的。唯一的例外，李嘉图几乎没有涉及，但在金银委员会的报告中却从一个略有不同的角度进行了详细的讨论，那就是如果一个国家有一些特殊的原因需要增加贵金属的储备，例如为了形成战争基金或从纸币转为金属货币。金银委员会在此表明，认为欧洲大陆对黄金的需求增加，从而可以解释英国的发展历程，这种假设是站不住脚的。

The gist of all this is, therefore, that the export of gold from Great Britain can be regarded neither as a necessary condition nor a necessary consequence of the payment of subsidies to the Continent, but had its essential cause in the deterioration of the currency. From this, two conclusions follow. In the first place, the British government could have prevented, not only the export of gold, but also the permanent fall in the rate of exchange (to be carefully distinguished from the temporary dislocation occasioned by especially large payments on the Continent) by raising the value of money. Whether in that case the remedy would have been less harmful than the disease, after the depreciation had gone so far, it is not easy to say ; but that matter need not be discussed in this place, as it is at allevents clear that the Continental System, as such, was not the cause of the situation, or at any rate not one of its principal causes.

因此，这一切的要旨是，英国的黄金出口既不能被视为向欧洲大陆支付补贴的必要条件，也不能被视为其必然结果，而其根本原因在于货币的恶化。由此可以得出两个结论。首先，英国政府本可以通过提高货币的价值，不仅防止黄金的输出，而且防止汇率的永久性下跌（这一点要与向欧洲大陆支付特别巨额款项所造成的暂时性混乱仔细区分开来）。在这种情况下，在贬值如此严重的情况下，补救措施是否会比疾病的危害更小，这一点并不好说；但这个问题不需要在这里讨论，因为很明显，大陆制度本身并不是造成这种局面的原因，或者说至少不是主要原因之一。

In the second place, from the standpoint of the payment of subsidies, it cannot even be regarded as having been necessary to let the export of gold or silver continue when the British government had once ceased to keep the currency at par with gold. From a purely formal point of view, it had obtained the possibility of independence in this respect by the Bank Restriction Act, that .is to say, by making bank notes irredeemable ; nor was there any insuperable obstacle in the way of this expedient in actual fact. Strictly speaking, the Continent needed no importation of either gold or silver ; and it is far from the case, of course, that all the payments of the British government on the Continent were effected by the export 'of precious metal. For the moment it is not possible to state the relation between the total foreign payments and the transference of coin on behalf of the government except for the two years 1808 and 1809 ; but even the figures for those two years show how casual the proportion was.In 1808 the foreign payments of the government (here, as elsewhere, the figures refer to all countries outside the British Isles, and not merely the Continent of Europe) amounted to £10,235,000, while the exports of precious metal on public account amounted to at least £3,905,000,or, if we include that sum which was paid for the purchase of silver dollars (without our being able to see whether they were purchased inside or outside the country) to £4,543,000, or over 44 per cent. of the whole. The principal part in this matter was played by over twenty remittances, principally silver, to the Iberian peninsula to a total of more than £2,666,000, and also £855,OOO in silver to Gothenburg, sums which the British government could not contrive to provide in a more convenient fashion. In the year 1809, on the other hand, when the total payments abroad were larger thanin the previous year (amounting to £12,372,000), the exports of precious metal on account of the government reached only £1,206,OOO, according to the lower calmlation, and 1,290,000, according to the higher calculation ; that is to say, at the most only 12.25% per cent. of the total payments. Now if it was regarded as necessary, out of regard for British ‘ prestige ’ or for any other cause, not to let so much metal go out of the country as actually did, these mere figures make it clear (and the idea is confirmed by the experiences of the recent war) that it would have been quite possible to avoid sending out gold or silver. Even if one had not been able to come to this conclusion by theoretical methods, it follows from the practical experience gained by Rothschild’s rearrangement of the system of foreign payments in 1813, that these payments did not involve any inevitable need for the export of gold or silver ; and for other purposes such export was, considering the general position of currency policy, a somewhat purposeless means of limiting the fall in value of British currency to a negligible extent, without restricting the circulation of bank notes.

其次，从支付补贴的角度来看，当英国政府一旦停止保持货币与黄金平价时，甚至不能认为有必要让黄金或白银的出口继续下去。纯粹从形式上看，英国通过《银行限制法》，也就是通过规定纸币不可兑换，获得了在这方面独立的可能性；而在实际中，这一权宜之计也没有遇到任何不可逾越的障碍。严格来说，欧洲大陆既不需要进口黄金，也不需要进口白银；当然，英国政府在欧洲大陆的所有支付都是通过出口贵金属来实现的，这与事实相去甚远。除了 1808 年和 1809 年这两年外，我们暂时无法说明对外支付总额与代表政府的钱币转移之间的关系；但即使是这两年的数字也显示出两者之间的比例是多么的微妙。1808年，政府的对外支付（这里的数字和其他地方一样，指的是不列颠群岛以外的所有国家，而不仅仅是欧洲大陆）达到了1023.5万英镑，而以公共账户出口的贵金属至少达到了390.5万英镑，如果我们把购买银元（我们无法知道这些银元是在国内还是国外购买的）所支付的金额计算在内，则达到了454.3万英镑，占总额的44%以上。其中最主要的是汇往伊比利亚半岛的20多笔汇款，主要是银元，总额超过266.6万镑，还有汇往哥德堡的85.5万镑，英国政府无法以更方便的方式提供这些款项。另一方面，1809 年的对外支付总额比上一年多（达 1237.2 万镑），但政府的贵金属出口额按较低的计算方法仅为 120.6 万镑，按较高的计算方法为 129 万镑，也就是说，最多仅占支付总额的 12.25%。现在，如果出于对英国 "威望"的考虑或任何其他原因，认为有必要不让那么多的金属流出国境，而实际上确实是这样做的，那么仅凭这些数字就可以清楚地看出（最近战争的经验也证实了这一观点），避免黄金或白银外流是完全可能的。即使人们无法通过理论方法得出这一结论，但从罗斯柴尔德在1813年重新安排对外支付体系所获得的实践经验来看，这些支付并不涉及任何不可避免的黄金或白银输出需求；而且从其他目的来看，考虑到货币政策的总体立场，这种输出是将英国货币价值的下跌限制在微不足道的范围内，而又不限制钞票流通的一种无目的的手段。

## **BRITISH CREDIT SYSTEM**

## **英国信用制度**

The above largely supplies the answer to the question that still remains, namely, as to the importance of the Continental System in relation to the solidity of the British credit system. If it was considered that the credit of Great Britain stood and fell with the metallic reserves of the Bank of England, neither Napoleon’s measures nor the depreciation of the currency would have prevented the preservation of the gold reserve, as has just been shown. It is true that the very conception of the importance of the metallic reserves for the credit of a country with a paper currency lacks support both in theory and in experience, although popular notions to this effect have been diligently nourished at all times ; and it is difficult to see what inconveniences would have followed if the metallic reserves of the Bank of England when it did not redeem its notes, had had to sink to the same level as at the Bank Restrictionof 1797 or even lower. But if it had been desired to avoid that state of things, then, as has been said, there would have been no insuperable difficulties, as is also shown by the experiences of the following years.

上述内容基本上回答了仍然存在的问题，即大陆体系对于英国信用体系稳固性的重要性。如果认为英国的信用与英格兰银行的金属储备同生共死，那么无论是拿破仑的措施还是货币贬值，都不会妨碍黄金储备的保存，这一点刚才已经说明了。诚然，金属储备对纸币国家信用的重要性这一概念本身在理论和经验上都缺乏支持，尽管这种流行观念在任何时候都被大力灌输；如果英格兰银行的金属储备在不赎回其纸币时不得不下降到与 1797 年银行限制时相同的水平，甚至更低，很难说会带来什么不便。但是，如果希望避免出现这种情况，那么，如前所述，就不会出现无法克服的困难，随后几年的经验也证明了这一点。

It is a quite different and far more searching question, to what extent the British credit system could have been thrown into disorder by the general difficulties and dislocations caused to British economic life by the Continental System in combination with a number of other factors. As regards the credit of the state, nothing of the kind occurred. The system of the national debt was so firmly founded that it resisted the strain without difficulty, though the cost of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars certainly appears, for various reasons, to have been much greater than would have been the case if the borrowing had been effected in some other way. The private credit system, on the other hand, had not yet attained the same vital position in the economic life of the country as it has now. The new large-scale industry was to a predominant extent based on its own capital, and was mainly extended with the help of its own profits-a fact which is seldom properly emphasized. Consequently, the harm that could be involved by a dislocation of credit can probably be measured by the results of the crisis of 1810-11-that is to say, bankruptcies by the merchants with reaction on the manufacturers from whom they bought their goods. Besides, it is an open question whether the credit system of a country can be regarded as being so delicate as it has long been the fashion to make out. The experience of the recent war has largely suggested that our credit organization has a much more robust physique than anyone had previously suspected

一个完全不同的、更值得探究的问题是，大陆制度与其他一些因素结合起来给英国经济生活造成的普遍困难和混乱，会在多大程度上使英国的信用制度陷入混乱。在国家信用方面，没有发生任何类似的情况。尽管由于种种原因，革命战争和拿破仑战争的代价似乎比以其他方式借贷，但国债制度的基础是如此牢固，以至于它能够毫无困难地抵御压力。另一方面，私人信贷系统在国家经济生活中还没有达到现在这样重要的地位。新的大规模工业在很大程度上是以自有资本为基础的，而且主要是在自身利润的帮助下发展起来的--这一事实很少得到应有的强调。因此，信贷失调可能造成的危害，也许可以用 1810-11 年危机的结果来衡量，也就是说，商人的破产会对他们向其购买货物的制造商造成影响。此外，一个国家的信用体系是否能像人们长期以来所认为的那样微妙，也是一个未决问题。最近战争的经验在很大程度上表明，我们的信用组织的体质比任何人以前怀疑的都要强健得多。

# CONCLUSION

# 结论

# COMPARISON WITH THE PRESENT DAY

# 与今日之比较

THE Continental System had little success in its mission of destroying the economic organization of Great Britain, and most of the things it created on the Continent lasted a very short time. The visible traces that it left in the economic history of the past century are neither many nor strong. Indeed, it is difficult to find any more obvious and lasting effect than that of prolonging the existence of the prohibitive system in France far beyond what was the case, not only in Great Britain, but also in Prussia. Thus there are good grounds for doubting that the material development of our civilization would have been essentially different if this gigantic endeavour to upset the economic system o€ Europe had never been made. In general, it is true that what sets its mark on the course of economic development-largely in contrast with what is political in the narrower sense-is that which can be used as a foundation for further building, where cause can be laid to cause. Isolated efforts to destroy the texture of economic society, even if they are made with a giant’s strength, can generally do little more than retard the process of development, and gradually they disappear under the influence of what may be called in the fine-perhaps too fine-phrase, ‘ the self-healing power of nature ’ (vis medicatrix naturae).

大陆制度在摧毁英国经济组织的任务中收效甚微，它在欧洲大陆创造的大多数东西都持续了很短的时间。它在上个世纪的经济史上留下的痕迹既不多也不明显。事实上，很难找到比它更明显、更持久的影响了，那就是它延长了禁酒制度在法国的存在时间，远远超过了它在英国和普鲁士的存在时间。因此，我们有充分的理由怀疑，如果不曾进行过这种破坏欧洲经济制度的巨大努力，我们文明的物质发展是否会有本质的不同。一般说来，在经济发展进程中打下烙印的，与狭义的政治发展形成鲜明对比的，是那些可以用作进一步建设的基础的东西，是那些可以把原因归结为原因的东西。破坏经济社会结构的孤立努力，即使是以巨人的力量做出的，一般也只能延缓发展进程，而在可以用 "自然的自愈力"这一精妙——也许是过于精妙——的说法的影响下，这些努力会逐渐消失。

However, the Continental System mainly had immediate ends in view. It was in the fist place a link in a life-and-death struggle, where, as is always the case under such circumstances, the thought of the future had to be relegated to the background. The fact that the future effects were small, therefore, is a thing which, strictly speaking, touches the heart of the Continental System no more than it touches the heart of other trade wars. It is true that in all such struggles people count on the mostfar-reaching and profound effects in the future from the victory that they wish to win to-day ; but the only thing that they understand clearly is their desire to win the victory. First and foremost, therefore, the question is, to what degree the Continental System served this its immediate aim.

然而，大陆制度主要是为了眼前的目的。它首先是一场生死搏斗中的一个环节，在这种情况下，对未来的考虑总是被置于次要地位。因此，未来的影响很小，严格地说，这一点对大陆制度的影响并不亚于对其他贸易战的影响。诚然，在所有这些斗争中，人们都希望今天的胜利能在未来产生最深远的影响；但他们唯一清楚明白的是，他们希望赢得胜利。因此，首要的问题是，大陆体系在多大程度上实现了这一直接目标。

So far as the answer to this question lies in the sphere of economics-and the present book has no concern with what lies outside that sphere-the answer has already been given in the preceding pages, and is mainly in the negative. But no detailed explanations need be given as to why just the failure of the Continental System, even as a pure measure of trade ' war, makes it especially important to confront it with the phenomenon that corresponds to it in our own day, the trade war in the shadow of which we still live at the time of this writing. If any point should have stood out clearly from the foregoing survey, it is surely the paradoxical character of the Continental System ; and so far the contrast with the present day has consisted in the very setting here given to the subject. But from a purely economic point of view every trade war is, strictly speaking, a paradox, for it is directed against intercourse which is profitable to both parties and therefore inevitably inflicts sufferings on its author no less than its intended victims. Consequently, the property of the Continental System of being an economic paradox does not render superfluous a comparison with the present time. Perhaps such a comparison derives still greater interest from the light it seems to cast over the general development of society during the past century in its connexion with economic conditions. But as the materials for such a survey have been largely given in the preceding chapters, these last few pages will to some extent have the character of a summary.

只要这个问题的答案属于经济学范畴——本书并不关心经济学范畴之外的问题——那么答案就已经在前面几页中给出了，而且主要是否定的。但无需详细解释为什么仅仅是大陆制度的失败，即使是作为一种纯粹的贸易战措施，就使得我们特别有必要将其与我们今天的贸易战现象--我们在撰写本书时仍然生活在贸易战的阴影下--进行对立。如果说前面的论述有什么突出的地方，那肯定就是大陆制度的矛盾性；迄今为止，与当今的对比就在于这里所描述的主题。但从纯粹的经济角度来看，严格说来，每一场贸易战都是一个悖论，因为它针对的是对双方都有利可图的交往，因此不可避免地会给它的发动者和它的目标受害者带来痛苦。因此，大陆制度作为一种经济悖论的特性，并没有使与当今时代的比较变得多余。也许，这种比较更能引起人们的兴趣，因为它似乎能使人们看到上个世纪社会的总体发展与经济条件的关系。不过，由于前几章已经提供了进行这种调查的大部分材料，最后这几页在某种程度上将具有总结的性质。

The relatively limited effect of the Continental system on the economic life of Europe was primarily due to the autarchy of the different countries, that is, their far-reaching economic seu-sufficiency in all vital matters. The speedy conclusion of the blockade of France at the outbreak of the revolutionary wars was undoubtedly connected, not only with the particularideas with which we have become acquainted, but also with %he slenderness of the prospects of starving a country in the position of France ; and to a lesser degree the circumstances were the same with regard to a food blockade of the British Isles. On the other hand, it may be taken for granted that a blockade of the latter kind would now be effective if it could be carried out. But even with regard to its practicability the situation is altered. Nowadays such a blockade demands, almost inevitably, the command of the seas, as the countries that now produce corn are so many and so scattered that it can hardly be possible to command them all by land ; and the same holds good of the majority of products other than foodstuffs, even of the majority of raw materials. The possibility of blockading a country simply by power over the sources of supply has therefore been enormously reduced since the time of Napoleon with regard to all the main commodities of world commerce. Such a possibility is mainly reduced to a number of important, but quantitatively insignificant, articles, such as certain special metals, potassium, and indigo. Therefore, the possibilities of an effective blockade have been so far diminished that nowadays, to a much greater extent than a hundred years ago, they require power over the transport routes, while formerly there were greater possibilities of becoming master over production itself. In the opposite scale we have the fact that the damage done by blockade, when it can be carried out, is many times greater now than then. Consequently, it is obvious that the blockade of the Continent, which was never even attempted seriously during the Napoleonic wars, is now susceptible of a much wider range.

大陆体系对欧洲经济生活的影响相对有限，这主要是由于不同国家的自给自足，即它们在所有重要问题上都具有深远的经济自足性。毫无疑问，革命战争爆发时迅速完成对法国的封锁，不仅与我们所熟知的特殊理念有关，而且也与使法国这样的国家陷入饥饿的前景渺茫有关；在较小程度上，对不列颠群岛进行粮食封锁的情况也是如此。另一方面，可以肯定的是，后一种封锁如果能够实施，现在是有效的。但即使就其可行性而言，情况也发生了变化。现在，这种封锁几乎不可避免地要求控制海洋，因为现在生产玉米的国家太多、太分散，很难通过陆路来控制它们；食品以外的大多数产品，甚至大多数原材料也是如此。因此，自拿破仑时代以来，就世界贸易的所有主要商品而言，仅凭对供应源的控制力就能封锁一个国家的可能性已大大降低。这种可能性主要减少到一些重要但数量上微不足道的物品，如某些特殊金属、钾和靛蓝。因此，有效封锁的可能性已经大大降低，以至于现在比一百年前在更大程度上需要掌握运输路线，而以前则更有可能成为生产本身的主宰。与此相反的是，封锁所造成的破坏（如果可以实施的话）现在比过去要大很多倍。因此，在拿破仑战争期间甚至从未认真尝试过的对欧洲大陆的封锁，现在显然可以在更大范围内实施。

In addition to these fairly self-evident material reasons for the greater efficacy of a blockade in our own day, there are other reasons which lie in the social or spiritual sphere, and are therefore far less obvious and generally known, but by no means less important. Foremost among these should be placed the increased power of governments in comparison with a hundred years ago. If there is anything which forms the burden of all discussions under the Continental System it is the hopelessness of enforcing obedience to the blockade decrees. ‘ Why not prevent the skin from sweating ? ’ was King Louis’s despairing cry in answer to the threatening complaints about the smuggling in Holland ; and an anonymous report of 1811 in the Berlin national archives expressed the matter in the following way : ‘ To keep the English away from the Continent by blockade without possessing fleets is just as impossible as to forbid the birds to build their nests in our country.’ In the same way a French report to Bonaparte in 1802 declared it to be a hopeless undertaking to prevent the importation of English manufactures that everybody wanted; and as we know, Napoleon himself justified his failure to try to prevent the export of corn to England on the ground that such measures were futile. No one who has followed the foregoing account can doubt the correctness of these opinions ; and as has been said already, the food supply of Norway during the years of rigid blockade depended on blockade-breaking. In contrast with all this, we are confronted with the fairly indisputable fact that during the recent ‘war both the belligerent parties were able, without any noteworthy leakages, both to exclude the enemy’s goods, when they deemed it expedient, and to prevent their own goods from leaving the country. No country has been able to get her food supply through blockade-breaking.

在我们这个时代，除了这些相当不言自明的物质原因使封锁更有效之外，还有其他一些社会或精神领域的原因，这些原因 ，虽然远没有那么明显和广为人知，但却同样重要。在这些原因中，最重要的是与一百年前相比，政府的权力得到了加强。如果说有什么东西构成了大陆制度下所有讨论的负担，那就是强制遵守封锁法令的无望。“为什么不防止皮肤出汗？”这是路易国王对荷兰走私威胁性控诉的回答。柏林国家档案馆 1811 年的一份匿名报告以如下方式表达了这一问题：“不拥有舰队而通过封锁使英国人远离欧洲大陆，就像禁止鸟儿在我国筑巢一样不可能”。同样，1802 年法国向波拿巴提交的一份报告也宣称，阻止进口人人都想要的英国产品是一项毫无希望的事业；我们知道，拿破仑本人也曾为他未能阻止向英国出口玉米而辩解，理由是这种措施是徒劳的。与此形成鲜明对比的是，在最近的战争中，交战双方都能够在他们认为有利的情况下排除敌方的货物，并阻止自己的货物出境，而没有出现任何值得注意的泄漏，这是一个相当无可争辩的事实。没有一个国家能够通过打破封锁获得粮食供应。

In a manner corresponding to the utterances just cited, Stephen speaks of the great difficulties involved in preventing the conveyance across the sea of enemy goods disguised as neutral ; while, on the other side, those who had command of the sea during the recent war revealed a remarkable capacity to prevent, not only this, but also the exportation to the enemy from neutral territory of goods produced from imported raw materials, and even the exportation of a neutral country’s own goods when they had to be replaced in some way or other by goods imported by sea. The ‘ import trusts ’ that have been established in different countries created guaranties which were altogether lacking during the Napoleonic wars, and which fundamentally changed the nature of neutral trade. Highly significant, too, is the insurance of enemy cargoes, which developed into a perfect system under the Continental System, with a special provision for the underwriter that he should abstain from the right to have the insurance annulled on the ground of the enemy origin of the cargo, while there was no mention of anything of the kind during the recent war.

斯蒂芬在谈到防止敌国货物伪装成中立国货物跨海运输的巨大困难时，以一种与上述言论相对应的方式说道；而另一方面，在最近的战争中，那些掌握着制海权的人却显示出了非凡的能力，他们不仅能防止这种情况，还能防止从中立国领土向敌国出口用进口原材料生产的货物，甚至还能防止中立国自己的货物出口，因为这些货物必须以某种方式由海运进口的货物所取代。各国建立的 "进口信托 "提供了拿破仑战争时期完全没有的保障，从根本上改变了中立国贸易的性质。同样重要的是敌方货物的保险，在大陆制度下，它发展成了一个完善的体系，并为承保人作出了特别规定，即承保人应放弃以货物为敌方来源为由要求取消保险的权利，而在最近的战争中，却没有提到任何类似的规定。

Most striking of all is the contrast with regard to the export of gold and transactions in gold at rates above par. There is a famous eighteenth-century utterance by Bishop Berkeley to the effect that it is impossible to make a prohibition of the export of precious metals effective without building a brass wall round the whole country; and the majority of writers on the monetary system a hundred years ago were agreed on this point. Thus, for instance, the somewhat lower value of gold in specie than gold in bullion in England was explained by the existence of somewhat greater risk of exporting the former, because it was forbidden by law ; ' but,' says Ricardo, ' it is so easily evaded, that gold in bullion has always been of nearly the same value as (i. e., very little above) gold in coin '.During the recent war, on the other hand, in Germany and France, for instance, gold was seen pouring into the coffers of the banks of issue in spite of its far higher value than the paper money given in exchange ; and consequently there has been scarcely any mention of smuggling gold out of the country, although such export would have yielded st large profit if it could have been successfully performed.

最引人注目的是黄金出口与高于面值的黄金交易之间的对比。伯克利主教在十八世纪有一句名言，大意是如果不在全国各地筑起铜墙铁壁，就不可能有效禁止贵金属出口。例如，在英国，实物黄金的价值略低于金块黄金，其原因是出口前者的风险更大，因为法律禁止出口前者。“但是”，李嘉图说，“这个风险很容易逃避，金块黄金的价值一直与硬币黄金的价值几乎相同”。另一方面，在最近的战争期间，例如在德国和法国，尽管黄金的价值远远高于兑换的纸币，但人们还是看到黄金源源不断地涌入发行银行的国库；因此，几乎没有人提到过将黄金走私出境的事情，尽管这种出口如果能够顺利进行的话，会产生巨大的利润。

This general weakness of governments a hundred years ago constitutes the constantly recurring justification for the frequent concessions toward disobedience to the prohibitive regulations existing on paper. Thus, for instance, Perceval in the House of Commons in 1812 justified the licences for the importation of lace and muslin on the ground that they would A be imported illegally if permission were not given for it ; and about the same time Lord Bathurst declared in the House of Lords that the only effect of the abolition of licences would bethat British subjects would continue the trade with neutral foreigners as dummies and resort to every conceivable dodge and device to avoid detection. ' In fact,' concluded the British minister of commerce, in words which might stand as a motto for the entire policy of licences, ' we only permitted him (the merchant) to do that openly which \*he would surely [sic} do clandestinely '.

一百年前，政府的这一普遍弱点，构成了对不遵守纸面上现有的禁止性规定的频繁让步的不断重复的理由。例如，1812 年佩瑟瓦尔在下议院为进口蕾丝和薄纱的许可证辩护，理由是如果不给予许可，它们就会被非法进口；大约在同一时间，巴瑟斯特勋爵在上议院宣称，废除许可证的唯一后果是英国国民将继续与中立的外国人进行假货贸易，并采取一切可以想到的躲避和手段来避免被发现。“事实上”，英国商务大臣总结道，“我们只允许他（商人）公开做他肯定会秘密做的事。”

It is of great moment to determine the causes of this enormous difference in the effectiveness of governments then and now. Some of the causes are more or less temporary, that is to say, they are due to the peculiar conditions governing the carrying-on of wars both then and now, especially then ; but others, so far as one can judge, express a tendency in development which deserves particular attention. When, in discussions as to the possibilities of state intervention in some respect or other, reference has been made to older precedents, people have usually failed to see to what an extent those old measures were ineffective, and have therefore completely misunderstood the connexion between cause and effect.

确定当时和现在的政府在效力上的这种巨大差异的原因是非常重要的。其中有些原因或多或少是暂时的，也就是说，它们是由于当时和现在，尤其是当时进行战争的特殊条件造成的；但其他原因，据我们判断，表达了一种值得特别关注的发展趋势。在讨论国家在某些方面进行干预的可能性时，人们通常会提到以前的先例，但他们通常没有看到这些旧措施在多大程度上是无效的，因此完全误解了因果之间的联系。

The most profound change, so far as one can see, consists in the increased honesty and efficiency of public administration. In the preceding pages sufficient evidence has been given of the corruption of the executive powers under the Continental System, so that no further evidehce is necessary. To some extent the situation was undoubtedly affected by the reluctance with which people conformed to the Continental decrees, which was especially the case in the non-French states of the Continent; however, this factor played no part at all in England, and only a small part in France. We must, therefore, search deeper for the causes, and in so doing we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the majority of European states and also Great Britain--perhaps the latter above all--did not until the nineteenth century attain an executive organimtion on whose sense of duty and incorruptibility it was possible to rely. Therefore, while in our day it is possible to entrust an executive with functionsthat put these qualities to the test, such was not the case a hundred years ago, and is even now not the case in countries with an executive organization of the older type. It need not be further elaborated what consequence this involves with regard to the possibility of state intervention and the state management of economic undertakings, As a matter of fact, these possibilities vary largely according to the nature of the executive in each individual country.

就目前而言，最深刻的变化在于提高了公共行政的诚信和效率。前面几页已经充分证明了大陆制度下行政权力的腐败，因此无需再作进一步证明。在某种程度上，人们对大陆法令的不情愿无疑影响了局势的发展，这种情况在大陆上的非法国国家尤为突出；然而，这一因素在英国根本不起作用，在法国也只起了很小的作用。因此，我们必须更深入地探寻原因，而这样做时，我们几乎无法回避这样一个结论，即大多数欧洲国家和英国——也许尤其是英国——直到 19 世纪才拥有了一个可以依赖其责任感和廉洁性的行政机构。因此，虽然在我们今天，可以让行政机构承担起考验这些品质的职能，但一百年前的情况并非如此，甚至现在在拥有老式行政机构的国家也并非如此。这对国家干预和国家管理经济活动的可能性产生了什么影响，无需赘述。事实上，这些可能性在很大程度上因各国行政机构的性质而异。

It is true that the palpable overstraining of government functions during the recent war has led to a more or less marked relapse both as to the law-abidingness of subjects and the integrity of officials ; and it is quite conceivable that history will thus repeat itself. So far, however, the difference between now and then remains very great ; and at least one factor appears to work in the direction of keeping up this distinction. For, furthermore, technical development has played into the hands of the governments to an extent that people in general have not fully appreciated. It is especially the network of cables and lines of communication of every sort, which practically form a completely new factor in the economic life of the nineteenth century, that have brought about this result ; for it is obvious that power over this system creates a possibility of control over almost everything that falls under the head of intercourse, and over much that falls under the head of production. Within a country it is especially railways and highpressure electric transmission lines that create this power, while both within and between countries a part of the same function is performed by the telegraph cables. The last-named have created a possibility for censorship and a possibility for counteracting revolutionary measures on the part of citizens or foreigners, and also on the part of the enemy ; and with the help of the railways it is possible to throttle almost all domestic industrial production and most of the imports or exports that it is desired to hinder. It is true that quite recent events have served to show various features which point to a certain degree of emancipation from the supremacy of a rigid system of lines, namely, wireless telegraphy and aerial navigation. But the latter is still, from an economic point of view, little more than the music of the future ; and even the part played by wireless telegraphy during the war, though certainly not altogether insignificant, was remarkably restricted, while the former types of communication are the genuine reality which for the present place resources hitherto undreamt of in the hands of governments-so long as they can hold them. Of course, anarchy can throw the system into pieces, or factions can get hold of these engines of power and destroy them ; but this in no wise alters the fact that they have increased enormously the strength of an undisputed government.

诚然，在最近的战争中，政府职能明显过度紧张，这或多或少地导致了国民守法程度和官员廉洁程度的下降；完全可以想象，历史将会重演。然而，到目前为止，现在与过去的差别仍然很大；至少有一个因素似乎在起作用，使这种差别得以保持。此外，技术的发展也在一定程度上为政府提供了便利，而这一点一般人还没有充分认识到。尤其是各种电缆和通信线路网络，它们实际上构成了 19 世纪经济生活中的一个全新的因素，是它们带来了这一结果；因为很明显，对这一系统的控制权使人们有可能控制几乎所有属于交往范畴的东西，以及属于生产范畴的许多东西。在一个国家内部，尤其是铁路和高压输电线创造了这种力量，而在国家内部和国家之间，电报电缆也发挥了同样的作用。最后提到的这些东西为审查创造了可能性，也为抵制公民或外国人以及敌人的革命措施创造了可能性；在铁路的帮助下，几乎所有的国内工业生产和大部分想要阻碍的进出口都有可能被扼杀。诚然，最近发生的一些事件表明，无线电报和空中导航等各种技术在一定程度上摆脱了僵化的线路系统的束缚。但从经济的角度来看，后者仍然只是未来的音乐；甚至在战争期间，无线电报所起的作用虽然肯定不完全是微不足道的，但却受到了极大的限制。当然，无政府状态可能会使这一制度支离破碎，派别也可能掌握并摧毁这些权力引擎；但这丝毫不会改变这样一个事实，即它们极大地增强了无可争议的政府的实力 。

It is highly significant, in connexion with this increased strength of governments, that almost the only point one can speak of any real improvement in the treatment of the neutrals since the beginning of the last century is with regard to captures at sea. Here, indeed, a strictly military governmental organization has not only taken the place of the purely private and acquisitive enterprises of the privateers, but at the same time has also put an end to the pecuniary interest of naval officers and crews in the seizure of neutral cargoes ; and this means at least the abolition of that kind of high-handed treatment which had its sole root in the desire of private gain.

自上世纪初以来，几乎只有在海上俘获方面，中立国的待遇才有真正的改善，这与政府实力的增强有关。在这方面，严格的军事政府组织不仅取代了私掠船的纯粹私人和攫取性企业，同时也结束了海军军官和船员在攫取中立国货物中的金钱利益；这至少意味着废除了那种以私利为唯一根源的高压待遇。

With these deeper dissimilarities between the past and the present may be associated others which have a more temporary character, but are nevertheless of great interest. One of them, which must strike every careful observer, is how completely that character of ' a political war of religion ', which was first noticed by Lars von Engestrom, disappeared in the sphere of economics, and to what an extent an open and acknowledged intercourse existed among the belligerents. The licence system as such is one huge example, of this, but there are other still more striking ones. Thus, for instance, it appears from many details that journeys to an enemy country were by no means unusual, Napoleon told the deputies of the French Chamber of Commerce in his speech to them in March 1811, that he was well aware of these journeys ; and he does not seem to have taken them at all with a tragic air. From the continentalstates, of course, no feeling of hostility to Great Britain was to be expected ; but it is nevertheless remarkable that Englishmen seem to have lost hardly anything by their continental debtors. All this, however, referred to private individuals ; but the grandest example of economic co-operation between the enemies occurred on account of the governments themselves. This was what was known as the Ouvrard Affair, which pops up many times in the contemporary sources-most in detail in the memoirs of the great Parisian speculator, Ouvrard, but perhaps most authoritatively in Mollien’s memoirs-and which is one of the most astounding of the economic events of the period. The affair had to do with what was, for the conditions of those times, a colossal remittance of silver to an amount of 37,000,000 francs, which Spain was to make to France from Mexico through the mediation of the Anglo-French-Dutch banking firm of Hope & Co. of Amsterdam, with which Baring Brothers of London and the ultraspeculative banker, Ouvrard of Paris, worked. As the British controlled the sea, however, the transference could only be effected by British war-ships fetching the money from Vera Cruz in 1807, and conveying it to a European port on Napoleon’s account. Mollien’s comment on this is : ‘ Thus three powers which were waging war ci outrarwe could suddenly make a kind of local truce for an operation which did not seem likely to benefit more than one of them ’ ; and he goes on : ‘ When Napoleon expressed to me some inquietude regarding the fate of such an important remittance, I was able to answer him, with a confidence that the result fully justified, that the enemy hands that I had chosen would not prove faithless hands.’Even though future researches should reveal many transactions from the recent war of which we now suspect nothing, yet it must be regarded, to put itmildly, as improbable that any of them will prove to show such a measure of working agreement between deadly enemies.

过去与现在之间的这些更深层次的差异，可以与其他一些更具有暂时性但却非常有趣的差异联系起来。每一个细心的观察者都会发现，由拉尔斯-冯-恩格斯特洛姆首次注意到的"宗教政治战争"的特征在经济领域是多么彻底地消失了，交战双方之间的公开和公认的交往达到了何种程度。许可证制度本身就是一个很好的例子，但还有其他更突出的例子。拿破仑在 1811 年 3 月对法国商会的代表们发表讲话时说，他很清楚这些旅行，而且他似乎根本没有带着悲剧色彩。当然，大陆国家对英国没有敌意是意料之中的；但值得注意的是，英国人似乎几乎没有因为他们的大陆债务人而失去任何东西。然而，所有这些都是针对个人而言的，但敌人之间经济合作的最伟大范例却发生在政府本身身上。这就是所谓的 "奥夫拉尔事件"，它多次出现在当代的资料中，最详细的是巴黎大投机家奥夫拉尔的回忆录，但最权威的可能是莫利安的回忆录，它是这一时期最令人震惊的经济事件之一。在当时的条件下，这件事关系到一笔高达 3700 万法郎的巨额白银汇款，西班牙将通过阿姆斯特丹的英法荷霍普银行公司从墨西哥向法国汇款，伦敦的巴林兄弟和巴黎的超级投机银行家奥弗拉尔与该公司有合作关系。然而，由于英国控制着海运，只有英国战舰在 1807 年从维拉克鲁斯把钱运到拿破仑的欧洲港，才能实现转移。莫利安对此的评论是：“这样，三个正在进行战争的大国就可以突然在当地休战，而这一行动似乎并不可能使其中一个以上的国家受益”。他接着说：“当拿破仑向我表示对如此重要的一笔汇款的命运有些不安时，我能够回答他，我相信结果完全证明了我所选择的敌人的手不会是不忠实的手。”即使将来的研究会发现最近战争中的许多交易，而我们现在对此毫无怀疑，但是，说得轻一点，我们必须认为，这些交易中的任何一笔都不可能显示出死敌之间有如此程度的工作协议。

One very important reason for this lively economic intercourse with the enemy is undoubtedly the distinctively mercantilist nature of the blockade. When exporting to the enemy was regarded as a patriotic action, regardless of the fact that the trade prohibitions with the enemy forbade it on paper, this really cut off the possibility of a political or economic war of religion ; and it was no longer possible in that case to avoid forming commercial ties with enemy subjects, so that governments had to take the consequences. Accordingly, the methods of the recent war in severing all commercial ties led, in quite another degree, to the establishment of a gulf between the combatants that was not merely material but also mental.

与敌人进行这种活跃的经济交往，一个非常重要的原因无疑是封锁所具有的明显的重商主义性质。当向敌国出口被视为一种爱国行为时，尽管与敌国的贸易禁令只是一纸空文，但这确实断绝了政治或经济上的宗教战争的可能性；在这种情况下，避免与敌国臣民建立商业联系已不再可能，因此政府不得不承担后果。因此，近代战争中断绝一切商业联系的方法，在另一种程度上导致了战斗双方之间不仅是物质上的，而且是精神上的鸿沟。

The most obvious difference between the past and the present, of course, is precisely this dissimilarity in the object of the blockade, which has been set forth and discussed in the foregoing account. It is impossible to deny that the blockade of the World War, conceived as a means to the end of undermining the enemy’s power of resistance by economic pressure, had a far morecorrect economicobject thanhadthat of Napoleon. The recent blockade was primarily directed against the enemy’s imports, which procure what can be replaced by neither financial dexterity nor credit, while the Continental System was directed against exports, and therefore had very small prospects of attaining its object. Saying this is not the same as saying under what conditions the present-day policy of trade war may have a chance of attaining its object. Economic life has exhibited a power of adaptation that was completely undreamt of, a possibility of changing its direction with the shortest preparation under pressure of external conditions, which should have greatly diminished hopes of conquering an enemy by such means. In consequence of this the problem of self-sufficiency also has passed into a new phase. The primary thing for a country is, or at any rate should be, no longer to be selfsufficient in peace, but to possess that elasticity throughout its economic organization which creates the power of becomingself-sufficient in war or' on the occasion of any other isolation ; and in complete contrast to what most people have believed, the development of'modern industrial technique and a modern credit system has increased, and not diminished, the prospects . of this. But the discussion of these problems does not belong to an historical account, but to an analysis of the economics of the recent war. Such an analysis has been attempted to some little extent in a preceding work by the present writer, and therefore need not be repeated here.

当然，过去与现在最明显的区别正是封锁目标的这种不同，这一点已在上文阐述和讨论过。不可否认的是，世界大战中的封锁是一种手段，目的是通过经济压力来削弱敌人的抵抗力，其经济目标比拿破仑时期的封锁要正确得多。最近的封锁主要针对的是敌方的进口，而敌方的进口是靠金融手段和信贷都无法替代的，而大陆制度针对的是出口，因此实现其目标的可能性很小。说这些并不等于说当今的贸易战政策在什么条件下有可能实现其目标。经济生活表现出了人们完全想象不到的适应能力，在外部条件的压力下，可以在最短的准备时间内改变自己的方向，这本应大大降低用这种手段征服敌人的希望。因此，自给自足的问题也进入了一个新阶段。一个国家的首要任务不再是，或者说至少不应该再是，在和平时期能够自给自足，而是在其整个经济组织中拥有一种弹性，这种弹性能够在战争中或在任何其他孤立的情况下产生自给自足的能力；与大多数人的看法完全相反，现代工业技术和现代信贷制度的发展增加了而不是减少了实现这一目标的前景。但是，对这些问题的讨论并不属于历史叙述，而是属于对最近战争的经济学分析。这种分析在本文作者的前一部著作中已略有尝试，因此无需在此赘述。

润色者（？）后记

感谢您看完《一个对大陆封锁体系的经济学解释》，本作写于一战左右，因此于今人看来，或许有着不少的历史局限性，但本作依然是研究大陆体系的一篇杰作。

作为伦敦皇家经济学会的成员，在英法争斗中，赫克歇尔无疑在心理上更倾向于英国，这在他的行文中亦能看出。但本作依然详细地介绍解释了大陆体系的前世今生，令人叹为观止。

本作中充斥着大量非英语的短语和俗语，对这些内容本人无法全部以原文形式展现，亦不能保证其翻译的准确性，恳请读者谅解。

遗憾的是，本人的翻译水平完全不足以支持翻译学术性如此高的作品，因此全文都是由deepl翻译后润色，期间免不了缺漏、误译、理解不当的地方，读者如有不同意见，可以与我邮件交流，如有想获取原作pdf的读者，可以自行网上搜索，或与我联系。

大概与作品有关的就说到这了，之后说些与作品无关的话题吧。这是我正经读的第一篇外文学术著作，坦白来说，如果不翻译成中文，我完全阅读不下去。既然这样，我就萌生出一个想法，为何不干脆直接把这部著作全部翻译一遍呢。于是我就付诸行动了。2023年6月23日的中午，我在武汉大学图书馆总馆新建了一个文档，翻译就此起步。而在8月18日的下午，我在家中敲击键盘，写下这篇润色者的后记，总共57日。回想起来，也是感觉有点奇妙。

翻译已经完结，我的心情却有些复杂。一方面，我知道这篇作品的翻译水平属实不尽如人意，拿出来难免贻笑大方；另一方面，我又不愿这部作品尘封在我的文件夹中，只是作为少年狂想的一个纪念象征。因此大概是会找平台给它上传，具体在哪就再说吧。

读书如水中萃血，沙中淘金，壳间拾稻，极耗光阴。愿您找到自己想要的书，并在书中有所收获。

*“HISTORY has rightly been called of old magistra vitae which function is incompatible with that of ancilla fidei or even ancilla pietatis”*

1. Magistra Vitae是一个拉丁语短语，西塞罗在他的《奥拉托雷》（De Oratore）中用作历史的化身，意思是“生命的老师”，其经常被解读为“历史和生活”（Historia est Magistra Vitae），传达了对过去的研究应该作为对未来的教训的思想，是古典、中世纪和文艺复兴史学的重要支柱。此处译者意译为“以史为鉴” [↑](#footnote-ref-0)
2. ancilla fidei 是一个拉丁语短语，意思是“信仰的仆从”（Servant of the Faith）。此处仅译为“信仰” [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
3. ancilla pietatis，是一个拉丁语短语，意思是“虔诚的仆人”（Servant of the Loyalty）或“私人祈祷的助手”。它也是一本由英国神学家和牧师丹尼尔·菲特利（Daniel Featley）于1626年出版的祈祷书的标题。此处仅译为“虔诚” [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
4. 本文写就于1922年，此处可能指第一次世界大战的“站队”问题。本段“最近的世界大战”亦指第一次世界大战。 [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
5. 或指第一次世界大战期间德国对协约国的封锁，如无限制潜艇战。 [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
6. 本文不提供原文的任何引用，感兴趣者可以自行搜索原文 [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
7. 这个问题显然太全面了，不能在此处随意处理。作者想到的是，从中世纪热衷于将货物留在手边到相反的热衷于处置货物，这是重商主义和当今流行的观点的主要特征的一种明显的逆转。（原注） [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
8. 1776年，法国财政部长杜尔哥废止酒类专卖制，允许自由买卖。他还准备进一步规范财政、税收秩序，内容包括节约行政开支、成立贴现银行以便在政府财政危机之时提供应急资金等。然而，在改革的关键时刻，拥有特权的“穿袍贵族”迫使路易十六于1776年5月解除了他的职务 [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
9. 1786年担任法国外交部长的是夏尔·格拉维耶，韦尔热纳伯爵（Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes），此处可能指他在去世前的几个月同英俄两国签订通商条约之事。 [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
10. “背信弃义的阿尔比恩”是在国际关系外交中使用的一种贬义词，指的是英国（或1707年之前的英格兰）君主或政府为追求自身利益而进行的轻率外交，含糊其词，背信弃义的行为。背信弃义表示一个人不遵守自己的信仰或诺言，而阿尔比恩（Albion）是大不列颠的一个古老而又富有诗意的名字。 [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
11. 此处指的可能是1778年伯恩斯托夫向俄国提出的中立联盟，两国将通过“共同的盔甲”来保护他们的航运，并共同寻求说服英格兰同意关于中立国航运的某些廉价原则。这个计划没有被叶卡捷琳娜同意。 [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
12. 此处指的应该是第一次武装中立联盟（The first League of Armed Neutrality），是1780年至1783年间欧洲海军大国的联盟，旨在保护中立航运免受英国皇家海军在美国独立战争和英法战争期间无限搜查中立航运中法国违禁品的战时政策的影响。 [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
13. 因此，如果仅仅就防止与敌人往来而言，纸质封锁不是一个好的手段。但如果就查封、占有商品而言，应该采用纸质封锁 [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
14. 按照共和历，应称为获月熏衣草日 [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
15. 按照共和历，应称为雪月汞日 [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
16. 原文为德语，直译为“关于近代以来各民族在海上贸易中相互伤害的努力。” [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
17. 拉斯卡Lascar是一个盛行于16世纪到20世纪上半叶的概念，可以用于指代任何来自好望角以东——无论是来自南亚次大陆、东南亚、阿拉伯世界或英属索马里——且接受欧洲舰船雇佣的水手或佣兵，此处指的大概率是印度水手。 [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
18. 或许是督政府主席让·鲁贝尔(法语:Jean-François Reubell） [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
19. 按照共和历，应分别称为霜月芦苇日和霜月橄榄日 [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
20. 这里指的应该是蒂普苏丹（Tipu Sultan）（苏丹法特赫·阿里·萨哈布·蒂普；1751年12月1日至1799年5月4日），通常被称为迈索尔之虎，是位于南印度的迈索尔王国的印度穆斯林统治者 [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
21. French diplomat and administrator [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
22. 欧洲北海东南部的岛屿，1714年归丹麦所有，1807年英国海军攻占此岛 [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
23. 路易·让·约瑟夫·莱昂纳德·布尔登·德拉克罗尼，法国大革命时期的一名法国政治家。国家制宪会议的主席和巴黎公社检察长的替代者。在传统观点中他是 "一个狂热的蒙塔格纳德人，一个凶猛的恐怖分子，一个暴力的人，渴求鲜血，腐败和颓废"，但现代历史学家认为他比传统认为的更有同情心。 [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
24. 指一个人尽管准确预言了即将到来的灾难，但ta不被众人相信 [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
25. 认为亚当·斯密是个“乐观主义倾向的经济决定论者”的观点曾十分流行，但当前有学者批评这更像是一种历史神话。参见唐纳德·温奇所著的《亚当·斯密的政治学》 [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
26. 1789年，身在英国的潘恩写下了歌颂法国大革命的小册子《人权》，引起海峡两岸轰动，这本小册子在英国遭到查禁，潘恩被英国政府追捕，被迫旅居法国，在那他受到英雄般的欢迎。尽管后来他便因为反对雅各宾派的恐怖统治而锒铛入狱。 [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
27. 也就是取消了英格兰银行票据可兑换为黄金或白银的规定 [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
28. 结关是指进出口或转运货物出入一国关境时，依照各项法律法规和规定应当履行的手续。 [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
29. 此处可能指法国殖民地 [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
30. 即限制性条款 [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
31. 阿尔及利亚的首都 [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
32. 红字年可能是化用红字日，即任何具有特殊意义或机会的日子。在于古典时期就有这样的用法，例如，在罗马共和国（公元前 509-27年）的日历中，重要的日子用红色表示。在中世纪手稿中，首字母大写和突出显示的单词（称为标题）是用红色墨水书写的。 这种做法在印刷机发明后继续存在，包括在天主教礼拜书籍中。许多日历仍然用红色而不是黑色来指示特殊日期、节日和假期。 [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
33. 伯南布哥（Pernambuco），是巴西的26个州之一，地处东北部。面积9,9万平方千米，首府是累西腓（Recife）。 [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
34. Hope & Co. 是一家存在了两个半世纪的荷兰银行。 1795 年之前，该银行一直位于阿姆斯特丹； 最初它集中在英国。 从 1750 年起，它通过托马斯·霍普 (Thomas Hope) 和他的兄弟阿德里安 (Adrian) 在荷兰东印度公司 (VOC) 的财务中发挥了重要作用。 在七年战争（1756-1763）期间，霍普兄弟从荷兰的中立地位中获利并变得非常富有。 希望家族积极参与荷属加勒比地区和丹麦西印度群岛的事务。他们专门从事种植园贷款，将种植园的全部产品汇给贷方，贷方将监督其销售以确保还款。 通过这种方式，希望家族帮助种植园经济融入了金融家和消费者的全球网络。 [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
35. 拉丁语短语，类似“外柔内刚”，此处意译为“笑里藏刀” [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
36. 英国旧时金币或货币单位，价值21先令 [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
37. when two do the same thing, it is not the same thing [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
38. 《Moniteur》（“通报”）全名为《Le Moniteur universel》（“总汇通报”），1789年在巴黎出版，是代表法国政府的报纸 [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
39. point d'appui means (military) A given point or body upon which troops are formed, or by which they are marched in line or column. or (military) An advantageous defensive support; a foothold. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
40. 100千克，因此进口需求为4500万千克 [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
41. 这是根据第 245 页提供的数字计算得到的，与之前一样，它只适用于大不列颠本土（不包括爱尔兰）。但是与此前不同的是，大不列颠与爱尔兰、海峡群岛和马恩岛的贸易额没有计算在内。 [↑](#footnote-ref-40)