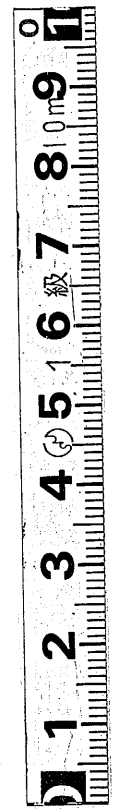


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THE
 S P E E C H
 OF
 THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE,
 IN
 THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
On the 5th of May 1814,
 ON THE SUBJECT OF
 THE CORN LAWS.

LONDON:
 PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND;
 AND J. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY.
 1814.

INTRODUCTION.

THE subject of the Corn Laws, on which this Speech was made, is of such infinite importance to every part of the community, as to render it unnecessary to offer any apology for printing it: But as accompts are frequently referred to in it, the publication would in any event have been fit, in order to afford the means of detecting errors, if any shall have been unintentionally fallen into, much more effectually than could have been done in the course of the debate.

The decision of the House operates as a motive for desiring to have it distinctly understood, as early as possible, what was said upon the question.

The haste in which these sheets have consequently been sent to the press, with much public business to attend to, may have occasioned some inaccuracies, for which it is hoped a reasonable allowance will be made.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

RESOLUTIONS,
June 1813.

1.—THAT it is expedient that an Act, made in the 44th year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled, "An Act to regulate the importation and exportation of Corn, and the bounties and duties payable thereon;" and also an Act, made in the 45th year of the reign of His present Majesty, for explaining and amending the said Act of the 44th year, be repealed; except only so far as the said Act of the 44th year repeals any part of an Act, made in the 31st year of the reign of His present Majesty, intituled, "An Act for the regulating of the importation and exportation of Corn, and the payment of the duty on Foreign Corn imported, and of the bounty on British Corn exported."

2.—That it is expedient that so much of the said Act of the 31st year of His present Majesty's reign, as regulates the exportation of Corn from Great Britain, for victualling or providing any of His Majesty's forces, forts or garrisons, or the exportation of Corn to certain places from certain ports in Great Britain, as described in the Table marked (C.) in the said Act; and also so much of the said recited Act as prohibits the exportation of Corn from Great Britain, be repealed.

3.—That it is expedient that so much and such parts of any Act or Acts passed by the Parliament of Ireland,

land, as regulate the exportation or importation of Corn, or as grant or allow any duties or bounties thereon, be repealed.

4.—That it is expedient, that the exportation of Corn and Grain, from any part of the United Kingdom, should be permitted at all Times without the payment of any duty, and without receiving any bounty whatever.

5.—That it is expedient, that Ireland should be divided into four maritime districts, and four inland districts; and that the prices of Corn and Grain within them should be taken and returned to the Receiver of Corn Returns, in like manner as in England.

6.—That it is expedient, that the duty on the importation of Corn, Grain and Flour, into any Part of the United Kingdom, should be regulated by the aggregate average price of Corn and Grain in the whole of the twelve maritime districts of England; *the four maritime districts of Scotland; and the four maritime districts of Ireland.*

7.—That it is expedient, that the importation of Corn and Grain, into the United Kingdom, should be permitted, whatever the price thereof may be in any part of the said United Kingdom; subject *only* to the following duty, (that is to say,) Whenever the average price of Wheat, Rye, Barley, Bere or Bigg, Oats, Pease or Beans, *throughout the whole of the United Kingdom,*

Kingdom, shall exceed the total amount of the average price of each such Corn or Grain respectively, within England, for the twenty years ending on the 15th day of November then next preceding, together with a sum equal to one-fifth part of such average price added thereto, then and in such case a duty shall be paid on the importation of each such Corn or Grain respectively into any part of the United Kingdom, at and after the rate of 1s. for every quarter of such Corn or Grain respectively: And whenever the average price of any such Corn or Grain respectively shall be less than the amount of such average price in England and Wales, for such twenty years, with the addition of one-fifth part as aforesaid, by the sum of 1s. or 2s. or any further sum of 1s., then a further and increased duty shall be paid on the importation of each such Corn or Grain respectively, at and after the rate of 1s. for every quarter of such grain imported, in respect of and equal to every shilling by which the price of such Corn or Grain respectively shall be less than the amount of such twenty years average price, with the addition of one-fifth part as aforesaid.

8.—That Corn and Grain, the growth or produce of Quebec, or the other British Colonies or Plantations in North America, may be imported into any part of the United Kingdom, whatever the price of Corn or Grain may be, without the payment of any duty whatever on the importation of the same.

9.—That it is expedient, that no Wheaten Flour, or Meal of Wheat, nor any Oatmeal, nor any other Meal

Meal or Flour, nor any Corn ground, nor any Malt, should be imported into any part of the United Kingdom, from parts beyond the Seas.

10.—That the duty on the importation of Indian Corn and Maize, shall be regulated according to the price of Barley; and such Indian Corn and Maize shall be considered as Barley imported from parts beyond the Seas.

11.—That whenever it shall happen that the price of Wheat, on an average of the eight months preceding the first day of September in any year, shall have exceeded the price at which Foreign Wheat, imported into any part of the United Kingdom, shall be made liable to a duty not exceeding the sum of 5s. per quarter, then and in such case the distillation of spirits from Corn or Grain shall be prohibited in Great Britain until the first day of September then next following: And that whenever it shall happen that the price of Wheat on an average of the eight months preceding the first day of September in any year, shall not have exceeded the price at which Foreign Wheat, imported into any part of the United Kingdom, shall be made liable to a duty of five shillings per quarter; then and in such case the distillation of spirits from sugar shall be in like manner prohibited until the first day of September then next following.

Observation.—The operation of the Seventh Resolution will be as follows:

Importation may always take place; and if, from the 15th November 1813, the price of

Wheat shall be 85s. per Qr	} a duty will be payable of	} 10s. per Qr
Barley - - - 39 do.		
Oats - - - 23 do.		10 do.
Rye, Pease and Beans } 59 do.		10 do.

If the prices of each sort of Corn shall exceed the above prices, the duty will diminish in proportion to the advance of price, shilling for shilling, till it becomes 1s. per quarter.

If the prices shall fall below the above prices, the duty will advance proportionally.

PROPOSITIONS RESPECTING THE CORN TRADE, MAY 1814.

1.—That it is expedient, That the exportation of Corn, Grain, Meal, Malt and Flour, from any part of the United Kingdom, should be permitted at all times, without the payment of any duty, and without receiving any Bounty whatever.

2.—That it is expedient, That the several duties, now payable in respect of all Corn, Grain, Meal and Flour,

Flour, imported into the United Kingdom, should cease and determine: And, that the several duties in the following schedule shall be paid in lieu thereof:

	When imported from the Province of Quebec, or the other British Colonies or Plantations in North America			
	Wheat,	Rye, Beans, and Peas,	Barley, Beer or Bigg,	Oats,
	s. : s. d.	s. : s. d.	s. : s. d.	s. : s. d.
If under - per Quarter	74 - -	50 - -	37 - -	24 - -
High Duty do. -	- : 24 3	- : 24 3	- : 24 3	- : 24 3
If at or above - per Qr.	74 - -	50 - -	37 - -	24 - -
but under - do. -	77 - -	52 - -	39 - -	25 - -
First Low Duty -	- : 2 6	- : 2 6	- : 2 6	- : 2 6
If at or above - per Qr.	77 - -	52 - -	39 - -	25 - -
Second Low Duty -	- : 0 6	- : 0 6	- : 0 6	- : 0 6
When imported from any other Foreign Country:				
If under - per Quarter	84* - -	56 - -	42 - -	28 - -
High Duty - -	- : 24 3	- : 24 3	- : 24 3	- : 24 3
If at or above - per Qr.	84 - -	56 - -	42 - -	28 - -
but under - -	87 - -	58 - -	44 - -	29 - -
First Low Duty - -	- : 2 6	- : 2 6	- : 2 6	- : 2 6
If at or above - per Qr.	87 - -	58 - -	44 - -	29 - -
Second Low Duty -	- : 0 6	- : 0 6	- : 0 6	- : 0 6

N. B. The remainder of the schedule to be formed according to the principle of the schedule of the act of 44 Geo. III. c. 109.

* Mr. Rose observed in the debate, that the Irish average being included would make a difference of 6s. a quarter; and that 84s. including the Irish average (as proposed) would of course be equal to 90s. in the average of England and Scotland, as provided in former acts: 90s. therefore is the price to be compared with 63s. in 1804.

3.—That

3.—That it is expedient, That the duty on the importation of Corn and Grain, into any part of the United Kingdom, should be regulated by the aggregate average price of Corn and Grain in the whole of the twelve maritime districts of England and Wales, the four maritime districts of Scotland, and the FOUR MARITIME DISTRICTS OF IRELAND.

S P E E C H.

AS far as the Resolutions now moved by the Honourable Baronet differ from those he brought forward last year, they are in some degree less exceptionable; but I hope to be able to shew, that the adoption of these would be seriously injurious to the best interests of the country, and that no proceeding of any sort should be founded on the Report made last year.

One of these, to allow the exportation of Corn at all times, without any restraint whatever, is offered to us, without even a mention of it in the Report. I will therefore make some observations upon it, before I proceed to comment on that Paper, on which the House is now called upon to proceed.

This Resolution is not for the repeal of one of those laws that has long been dormant in our Statute Book, without having been called into notice, but is at once to do away a system very long since established, and invariably acted upon for more than four centuries and a half.

The first prohibition of the export of Corn to be found in our Statutes is in the 34th Edw. 3d, 1360; and from that time to the present, there has not been one reign in which that principle has not been recognized, by some parliamentary proceeding, with the exception

(12)

exception of those of Edw. 5th and Richard 2d, who together were not upon the throne two years and a half : And we are now desired, on the sole authority of the Honourable Baronet, to adopt an entirely new principle, without a suggestion having been offered in favour of it from any quarter whatever. It perhaps may be fit that we should abandon a system acted upon for more than 450 years, and sanctioned by the wisest and most experienced men ever since; but it seems to be too much to require us to do so hastily, and to put to hazard, without full enquiry, the subsistence of the people, in times of the severest calamity and greatest distress.

With proper respect for the talents and judgment of the Honourable Baronet, it is surely not too much to expect, that he would offer to our consideration, in a matter of such infinite importance, something more than his own opinion. In the Report before us, such as I shall shew it to be, there is not a syllable that has an allusion to the permission for allowing Corn to be sent out of the country without any restraint, in times of the greatest scarcity : On the contrary, it is there proposed to act on the long-established principle; and prices are proposed for the regulations of the export.

The remainder of the Resolutions certainly arise out of the Report. I feel it incumbent on me, therefore, to call the attention of the Committee to the superficial view taken therein of the matter referred to them, and of the inaccuracies which are to be met with, nearly throughout the whole of it.

The subject is a dry one; but as it affects all descriptions of people in the kingdom, I trust I shall

be

(13)

be permitted to go fully into it. I promise, however, to do that with as little waste of the time of the House as I can.

It is hardly necessary for me to premise, that I should hold myself inexcusable if I were to convey an insinuation that the Honourable Baronet meant to mislead the House by any mis-statement : A certainty of detection must have prevented such an intention, even if he had not been restrained by better motives, which I am persuaded invariably govern his conduct. He must, however, permit me to say, that he did not apply such a degree of industry on the occasion as is required from the Chairman of every Committee to which an inquiry is referred.

I will freely confess, that at no time in my parliamentary life was I ever so astonished as at the proceeding attempted in the last Session. I was perhaps struck the more forcibly with the Resolutions then proposed by the Honourable Baronet, from their having been sudden and unexpected to me; for I had not the remotest apprehension of any innovation respecting the Corn Laws of this country generally, till I heard the Resolutions moved. I knew, indeed, that a Committee had been sitting respecting Corn, of which the Honourable Baronet was Chairman; but I thought the enquiry related only to some internal regulations in Ireland, never having heard, by any accident, that a revision of the Corn Acts in Great Britain, as well as in the other part of the United Kingdom, was in contemplation.

In former instances, when any material alteration was intended on the subject, the proposals were brought

brought

brought forward early in the Session, and full time allowed to deliberate on the propositions.

In 1773, The Bill (after proceedings in the Committee) was read the first time December 15th, and was not out of the House till the 2d of April following.

In 1791, The Bill was brought in December the 16th; and it did not pass this House till the 27th of May following.

In 1804, The Report was printed 14th of May; and the Bill was passed 26th of July.

Whereas,

In 1813, When the most extraordinary alteration ever attempted was brought forward, the Resolutions were not moved till the month of June, when most of the country gentlemen, as well as those connected with the manufacturing interests, had left town.

And in the present Session, the question is not even stirred till the beginning of May.

I should have thought the late period of the last Session would have been a sufficient reason for delay; and on that ground alone I should have objected to the proceeding, even if I had not been very unaffectedly alarmed at the proposal of a free export at all times, and under all circumstances, as well as at the immense increase of prices, till which importation was to have been allowed.

But when I looked into the Report, I felt great anxiety that it should not be acted upon at all. I could not have conceived it possible, before the Resolutions were

were brought forward, that it would have been attempted to increase, to an extent quite unexampled, the prices of regulation; in some instances, on such averments, and on such evidence, as are to be found in that Report; and in the important one above alluded to, without even a mention of it.

The Report sets out with a statement of the value of Corn imported in the last twenty-one years, and the amount of bounties paid thereupon; a period in which circumstances, unheard of till then, occurred to raise the prices unnaturally, which, it may be hoped, are not likely to be inflicted upon this country and the world again. In the amount of bounties, too, is included the money granted to *indemnify to a certain extent persons who shall import Corn* in a time of the severest distress ever known.

On the ground of this unexampled and *temporary* pressure, we are desired to legislate *permanently*, and to regulate future averages according to prices, freights, insurance, and other charges, beyond all comparison higher than were ever known, and when difficulties were interposed, such as had at no former time ever been experienced.

The Committee next allege, that they have examined into the laws which from *time to time* have been made for regulating the Corn Trade: With what attention and accuracy they did so, will be judged of by the observations I shall have occasion to make. I will here merely observe that they refer to no more than seven laws, one of which was repealed; these will be found to bear a very small proportion to the whole; the total number are more than

than one hundred and twenty; but of those, thirty are from the Rolls of Parliament, and one from Scobell in Cromwell's time; there are, however, nearly thirty that are well worthy of notice. See Appendix, A.

It is my intention to observe upon the Report in the order in which the points occur.

With respect to what is said of the improvement of agriculture in Ireland, I decline entering into any detail, not understanding the subject; but I am ready to concur most heartily in any proposal for the attainment of that object; such a measure (if any is wanting) may, I trust, be accomplished without endangering much mischief to the whole empire.

The first instance the Committee give of their deep research into those laws, which have from time to time been made for regulating the Corn trade, exhibits a most extraordinary mis-conception: On referring to the 15th Ch. 2. c. 7. they say, that act gave freedom to the "Inland Corn Trade, and perhaps contributed more, both to the plentiful supply of the home markets, and to the increase of tillage, than any other law on the statute book." The terms and provisions of this act are so perfectly plain and intelligible, as to render it inconceivable how they could have been mistaken. Instead of giving freedom to the transport of Corn in the home market, it actually prohibits the transport of Grain at times when it would be most important that it should be free, namely, when the prices shall be high.

Not to trust, however, to my own judgement on a matter so perfectly plain as this, let us see what the Committee of Privy Council for the Affairs of Trade, in

in a Report presented to this House in 1790, say respecting that same act; "The ancient laws of this kingdom, which by a false policy restrained the inland trade of Corn, have in general been repealed. The 15th Ch. 2. c. 7. which does not permit the buying Corn to sell again, and the laying it up in granaries, except when the several sorts of Corn are below certain prices therein mentioned, is the only law of this description which will now be found in our statute book, and ought certainly not to remain there any longer." In this opinion the Legislature concurred, and the act was, in consequence, repealed, by the 31st G. 3. c. 30. sect. 2. This law, therefore, which was the subject of the high eulogium of the Committee, fortunately exists no longer.

In referring to the average prices, the Committee are equally unfortunate; they state the average of the twenty years preceding 1666, to have been 57s. 5½d. and of the twenty years subsequent to that year, to have been 46s. 3d. on the authority of "Tracts on the Corn Trade." It has not been usual for Committees of this House, on making Reports, to rely on statements from pamphlets; and we have here a proof that they ought not to do so. In this case such reliance has led the Committee into an error, on which the House might have been induced to act. The prices appear to have been taken from an account kept in Eton College of those in Windsor market; according to which they are correct; but the Prices there stated are of the bushel of nine gallons, till 1792, when, under the 31st G. 3. c. 30. sect. 82. the measure of eight bushels was adopted; to come at the true price, therefore,

therefore, one-ninth must be deducted previous to that year; the averages then will be 51s. 6½d. and 41s. 2d. instead of 57s. 5d. and 46s. 3d.

For the prices in the table that follows, Chalmers' Estimate and Dirom's Enquiry are quoted; on comparing these with the Eton account, the first sum agrees; but as far as I have examined the remainder, the prices are uniformly lower in Mr. Dirom's statement, who seems in all the subsequent sums to have deducted 2-9ths from the Windfor price; 1-9th for the difference of measure would have been correct till 1792, for the reason I have already suggested; but the second 1-9th must be erroneous: If it is deducted on account of the Eton table being made from the best quality of Wheat, as I have somewhere seen suggested, it ought to be, it cannot be supported, because the Wheat there is what is termed Mealing Wheat, which is of a middling quality. For the sake of comparison, however, the table is sufficient, as the variations are, in most instances, uniform; let us therefore examine how far the Committee are supported by the evidence adduced by themselves:

The prices in their tables are as follow;

In the 5 years ending 1701 - 42 s. 8 d.

In the 4 years to 1711 - 49 s. 9 d.

From that year to 1764 the prices were certainly very considerably lower than that;

But in the 5 years to 1769 - 43 s. 2 d.

And in the 5 years to 1774 - 47 s. 9 d.

Which last prices were under the regulations continued from 1688; for there was not even an alteration in the regulating

It is most singular that the Author should attribute the rise of price from 1765 to 1774, to the operation of the Laws of Charles II & King William III. which he himself will prove (see

regulating price of export or import between that year and 1774; and from that year to 1794 the fluctuations were not to any serious amount.

The act of 1773 (commencing 1774) makes an important alteration in the Corn Laws; it repeals the high duty imposed on importation by the 22d Ch. 2. in lieu of which it allows the importation of Wheat when at or above 48 s., and prohibits the export when above 44 s.; which by the act of 1688 had been allowed when under 48 s.: In both cases a bounty of 5 s. was given on the export; and yet we find in the table in the Report, that the average of five years to 1779 was only 40 s. 9 d.; much lower than in the two preceding periods of the same length.

The act of 1791 repeals in a sweeping clause the regulating prices of 1688 and 1773; and many other Corn acts as well as the 15th Charles 2. ch. 7.; and establishes a new principle: No Wheat could, under that law, be exported when above 46 s. (still something lower than those at the Revolution); but with respect to importation, a further protection was given to the Grower of Corn; none could be brought into the country when the price was under 50 s. without payment of a duty of 24 s. 3 d.; if at or above 50 s. and under 54 s. a duty of 2 s. 6 d.; and if at or above 54 s. a duty of 6 d. On this act the Committee make no comment, and their table being brought down only to 1794 (for which no reason is assigned) I am prevented from drawing any inference from that instrument. I have, however, authentic information from another source, to which I shall refer presently.

By
past, during the period, during any way
Laws, in the most effectual manner, by
prohibiting exportation, the raising
importation, duty free

By the act of 1804 the export is allowed with the bounty when Wheat is at or under 48 s. ; if above 54 s. no export. If under 63 s. a duty to be paid of 24 s. 3 d. If at or above 63 s. but under 66 s. a duty of 2 s. 6 d. If at or above 66 s. a duty of 6 d. Here then is a further protection of 13 s. a quarter on importation at the end of 13 years only, above the limitation in 1791.

The Committee in the face of these facts, however, proceed to observe, " That their review of the Corn Laws shews that so long as the system of restraining importation and encouraging exportation was persevered in, Great Britain not only supplied herself, but exported much ; and that the prices were steady and moderate : And that since that system was abandoned, and during the whole period of the continuance of the system that was substituted in its place, of encouraging importation and restraining exportation, that is from 1765 to the present time, Great Britain has not only not supplied herself, but has imported vast quantities from foreign countries ; and also that the price has been progressively advancing, from an average of 33 s. 3 d. for 68 years under the old system, to an average of 88 s. 11 d. for the last nine years under the new one."

That this observation should have found a place in the Report, must astonish Gentlemen who will take the trouble of attending to the statement now submitted to them. In the first place there was no change of system whatever in 1765. The permanent laws regulating

regulating the export and import of Corn at the prices established by the 22d Ch. 2. as to the importation, and by the 1st of Wm. and Mary as to exportation, remained unaltered till 1773. The Acts passed from 1765 to that year were merely temporary, intended only to meet existing scarcity.

This allegation of the Committee must have been made upon mere rumor, which I know had been prevalent ; for it is directly contrary to the fact, of which the Committee had the means of informing themselves. It has certainly been a received opinion that we became a considerably importing country, in consequence of a change of system in 1765 ; but it will be seen by an account in the Appendix, that in the 28 years from 1765 to 1792, when our difficulties commenced, there were 14 years in which the Exports of Wheat exceeded the Imports, five in which they were nearly equal, and nine only in which the Imports exceeded the Exports*.

The assertion that the prices have been progressively advancing for 68 years, is too loose to admit of a correct examination, as the period alluded to, shewing the commencement and termination of that number of years, is not stated ; but it may safely be insisted upon, that in no term of that duration has there been a progressive advance of price ; which will appear from the accounts from Eton College †. The assertion is indeed plainly contradicted by the Tables in the very page of the Report (6), opposite to the one in which it is made, and in page 5, the one being a continuation of the other.

* See Appendix, B.

† See Appendix, C.

The account recorded in Eton College is the most correct authority that can be found on the subject; on reference to that, the mistake the Committee has fallen into respecting the progressive advance of prices will be most apparent and striking. The record begins with 1646.

	s.	d.
Wheat, 10 years to 1655	51	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
to 1665	50	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
to 1675	40	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
to 1685	41	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
to 1695	39	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
to 1705	42	11
to 1715	44	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
to 1725	35	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
to 1735	35	2
to 1745	32	1
to 1755	33	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
In this interval the scarcity was so great, as to have been the occasion of 20 laws having been passed for relief in different ways. } to 1765	39	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
to 1775	51	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
to 1785	47	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
In this period our unexampled difficulties began. } to 1795	54	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
to 1805	81	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Three of these were years of almost famine, and during the whole, such interruptions as were without example. } 8 years to 1813	101	9 $\frac{1}{4}$

The averages thus brought out relieve me from any further comment on the unfounded assertion of the Committee, respecting the progressive advance in the prices of wheat; because they shew that Wheat was cheaper at the end of a period of 140 years than at the beginning of it, namely, from 1646 to 1785, in no

no part of which had there been a progressive increase: After the passing that mischievous Act (as it has been called), in 1773 the average fell to 47s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. which is below that of the 20 years from 1646 to 1665.

The year 1812 is produced as an instance of our becoming an exporting country, from the prices which continued advancing, and a statement is made to prove that. Wheat was that year 128 s.; to what part of the world (except to Iceland and Norway in small quantities) could it be sent at that price: In truth little or none was exported any where, with that exception, but for our armies in the peninsula, as will be seen in the separate account for that year presented from the Customs.

That the importation was greatly short of what was wanted for our home consumption, is most evident from the prices, for Corn was never at any time so dear here as in the last year, not even in the years of dearth 1801 and 1802.

To consider that year therefore as one of great export is most extravagant. But this year of plenty, when the average price of Wheat was, as has been observed, 128s., is however proposed to us as an instance of the advantage of a restricted importation, and to prove, beyond all doubt, which of the two systems, a free or a restricted trade, is the best; and to corroborate most conclusively the general inference from the review of the Corn Laws and the Corn Trade from 1670 to the present time.

But before I quit this paragraph in the Report, I must call the attention of the House to the assertion here made in another shape of the invariable insufficiency

iciency of supply from our home growth from 1764 to 1812. — If the Honourable Baronet would have consulted the accounts of the exports and imports, to which I have already alluded *, he would have found that in 1765, 1766, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1776, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1782, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1789, and 1792, the exports exceeded the imports. — And that in 1772, 1773, 1781, and 1788, the balance against the imports was trifling. In the remaining eight years of the period the imports certainly exceeded considerably the exports.

In the concluding observation respecting Corn, the Committee say it appears to them, that “ if the regulating price for allowing importation is made, a VERY HIGH ONE, it is the best possible protection the grower can have.” Here I agree with them, (almost the only instance in the whole Report.)

The Committee were not satisfied with the attempt to make Wheat VERY DEAR; but in the conclusion of their Report, they recommend a measure which would deprive the consumer of his best resource in a time of great scarcity, by prohibiting altogether the importation of Flour; thereby intending to put us entirely into the hands of the miller.

It is perfectly well known that our supply from America is nearly confined to Flour, as Wheat is too bulky an article to admit of importation, except in very inconsiderable quantities; and that in times of great scarcity we have had an abundant supply of Flour.

But we are told that such a prohibition exists in Ireland. — Why, Sir, such a measure may be a very

* See Appendix, B.

innocent,

innocent, or even an useful one, in a country where the supply of Grain is so abundant as to render it unnecessary almost at any time to import; but it would be a most mischievous one here. It is said, however, the millers would like it; of that there can be no doubt; but without running into the common-place prejudices against them, I do not think they are the class of His Majesty's subjects who stand most in need of the protection of the Legislature.

To support this proposition, however, the Committee insert in the appendix a paper from some millers in Lancashire, stating gravely that a prohibition of the importation of Flour is necessary, in order to ensure a supply of bran for the manufactures. Sir, I should be ashamed of wasting the time of the House in attempting to prove that we should not incur the risk of starving the men who work in the manufactories in order to ensure a supply of chaff. I should indeed be inexcusable if I were to do so, as the resolution is not yet again brought forward.

I come now to the Resolutions, which are as extraordinary as the facts and arguments on which they are founded.

The one for allowing a free export is not in the Report, as has been already observed.

The 1st proposes the repeal of the 44th of the King.

The 2d, that the averages shall be taken and returned in Ireland as in England.

The 3d, that the exportation of Grain shall be regulated by the aggregate average price of Grain in England, Scotland, and Ireland; a very considerable innovation,

innovation, calling for particular attention ; the effects of which, if adopted, I shall have occasion to examine presently.

The 4th and 5th excited a great degree of alarm ; and I think with very just cause. It was by these proposed, that there should be no restraint upon the export till Wheat should be 90s. 2d. a quarter, and other Grain in proportion ; and that till Wheat should be 105s. 2d. a quarter, and other Grain in proportion, the importation should be subject to a prohibitory duty. This is reduced in the present Resolutions to 84s. both excluding the Irish average, which would add 6s. to each.

I have already stated, that a great rise in the prices fixed by Parliament for regulating exportation and importation appeared to me highly objectionable ; and I know Mr. Pitt was prevailed upon reluctantly to concur in those which were enacted in 1804 : but here is a proposition at once nearly to double the amount of the protecting price for exportation, and nearly to treble that for importation, instead of increasing by a few shillings a quarter, as in former instances.

The import prices now proposed, it is admitted, are more moderate, but appear to me to be still much too high, and ought not to be adopted, as before observed, without a patient enquiry ; these are 27s. a quarter higher than in 1804, and 40s. higher than in 1791. A rise to that extent in 23 years!

By the act of 1804, Wheat could not be exported when above 54s. By the Report, it was proposed, the export should not be restrained till it should be 90s. 2d. which, in effect, would be under the proposed regulation,

regulation, of including Ireland in the average, till it should be 96s. 2d. a quarter. This is demonstrable, because the average of Ireland in the last 21 years was 66s. and in England 78s.* The importation is to be subject to a duty of only 6d. by the act of 1804, when the price shall be 56s. By the Report it would not be importable at the lowest duty till it should be 135s. 2d. ; allowing for the Irish average, which would at least be 141s. nearly three times the limit of 1804.

It is true, that the prices here quoted were to be in force only till February in this year ; from which time the averages were to be taken according to the prices in the preceding twenty years, which, for the present, would have made very little difference. The average of the last twenty years is 77s. 4d., to which adding $\frac{1}{7}$, as proposed by the Committee, the price for allowing export would be 88s. instead of 90s. 2d. and for import, adding $\frac{1}{7}$ to 77s. 4d. as proposed, it would be 132s. 7d. instead of 135s., which prices would not certainly be lower for some time to come ; probably never, if the proposed measure should be adopted ; as in many years of the period of twenty years they were lower than even in the late plentiful season, and the immense prices proposed would infallibly raise them in future : But any further comment upon that proposition is unnecessary, as it is not again brought forward.

Not satisfied with the powerful effect of their own statements to induce us to adopt a measure calculated to allow a free export, and to prohibit an import of

* See Appendix, D.

Grain

Grain to the extent of the prices stated, they call to their support the testimony of four witnesses, very respectable in their characters I am persuaded, and three of them appear to be intelligent on the circumstances with relation to which they speak, deserving certainly of great attention if the enquiry had been confined to Irish agriculture; but not bearing on the general Corn Trade of the whole empire, it will be necessary for me only to call the attention of the House to the opinions they express about protecting prices, and to a few of their statements.

Mr. Wakefield, when asked, what advance in the importation price would be sufficient to secure an adequate preference to the grower of Corn in any part of the United Kingdom over the foreign grower? answers, "I hardly think I can answer that question, not having considered it lately."

Mr. Killaly thinks 42s. a barrel, about equal to 70s. a quarter, when delivered in Dublin, would be a fair protection to the grower. Let it be remembered, that the protecting price proposed was 141s. In another part of this gentleman's evidence, he says, the price of labour is little increased, but that rents have been doubled in ten years; to pay which he thought 70s. a quarter sufficient. The proposal, therefore, of 141s. as a protecting price, is utterly inconceivable. In Tullamore, land increased £50 per cent. in ten years.

Mr. Callaghan was not prepared to say what would be a protecting price, but thinks, what would have been a protecting maximum in 1804, would be a starving price now*. In another part of his evidence,

* Which can be accounted for only by the rapid rise of rents. he

he says, however, that the advantage derived to tillage, by a free export of grain from Ireland to foreign countries, *might be purchased too dearly under certain circumstances.*

Mr. Grierson thinks, that the price in the Dublin market should be 50s. a barrel, equal to about 83s. a quarter, for the best sort of wheat*. He is also of opinion, that the land now in tillage might be made to produce one half more. And all the witnesses agree that the growth of wheat has increased, and that tillage has been extended.

I here close my observations on the Report; which, from the detail I have felt myself compelled to enter into, I am afraid may have been tiresome to the House. But it appears to me to be of high importance that the mis-statements of the Committee (made involuntarily I am persuaded) should be corrected, not only as they may otherwise influence the conduct of Members of this House, but for the purpose of counteracting the mischief which has been done by their having been adopted as correct throughout the country.

What occurs to me further upon the general subject, I will state as briefly as I can.

I have brought under the notice of the House the protecting prices recommended by the Committee, and have shewn not only how disproportionate they are to any former instances, but how much higher they are than the witnesses examined by the Committee think would be sufficient.

If we refer to another authority, which the advocates for high prices will not object to, it will appear,

* Probably not exceeding 80s. for Middling Wheat. that

that those in the Report are higher than are sufficient to meet the great and rapid increase of rents. I allude to Mr. Curwen, who I may be permitted to name, as he is no longer a Member of the House; a gentleman whose attention to every part of this subject has not been exceeded by any one; nor do I believe there is an individual in this country who values more highly than he does the importance of encouraging agriculture, as opposed to promoting manufactures; under an impression on his mind, that the latter should not for a moment be put in competition with the former; persuaded that the stoppage of manufactures, generally speaking, would have no important consequences, nor would be lastingly felt, conceiving, as he did, that the individuals engaged in the manufactories would in a short space of time fall into other channels of employment. He has stated those opinions both in Parliament and in print, for which no blame can be imputable to him, because I am sure they are sincere; nor do I refer to them for the purpose of combating them, which it would not be fair to do in his absence; but I think it a duty to shew, that the views of a most zealous agriculturalist are more limited than those of the Committee, for protecting the growth of Corn. In his Address to the Workington Society in 1811, he tells them, "that the *exorbitant rents* which have been given for land, do not appear to be warranted, as long as the Corn Laws remain as they are. Sixty-six shillings, the rate at which importation may be made, is now greatly too low; it ought at least to be 80s."

Where

Where there has been any alteration in the rents in the last two or three years, I believe they have fallen; the *exorbitancy* alluded to by Mr. Curwen must, I think, have prevented any rise in them. We see, then, the price he thought would be a protecting one against importation, was 61 s. a quarter below that of the Committee, as their 135 s. would have become 141 s. by including Ireland in the average. It is now proposed to be 90 s. including the Irish average; which is still 27 s. higher than 1804, and 40 s. higher than in 1791, when the whole subject was most fully considered, first in the Privy Council, and afterwards in Parliament.

My own view of the subject is, THAT THE GROWER OF CORN SHOULD BE VERY EFFECTUALLY PROTECTED, TO THE EXTENT OF THE PRICE BEING HIGH ENOUGH TO ENSURE HIS BEING ABLE TO PAY A FAIR RENT, AND TO HAVE A REASONABLE PROFIT TO HIMSELF; BUT WHEN THAT OBJECT SHALL BE SECURED, THE CONSUMER SHOULD THEN HAVE EVERY POSSIBLE FACILITY OF SUPPLY AT A PRICE NOT EXCEEDING THE PROTECTING ONE.

In this I have the good fortune to agree with the Committee of Privy Council, who, in the conclusion of the Report to the King in 1790, afterwards presented to this House, say, "That in forming the regulations then suggested by them, they had endeavoured equally to provide for the prosperity of the grower of Corn, and the necessities of the consumer." "The interests of the grower and consumer are supposed by some to be at variance: To reconcile them as much as possible, is the end which every wise Government

" Government should endeavour to attain. The in-
 " terest of the consumer is entitled to the first con-
 " sideration, so far as to preserve him, in every pos-
 " sible contingency, from scarcity and distress; and as
 " distress for want of this necessary article of subsist-
 " ence cannot long exist in any country without
 " exposing it to those commotions which frequently
 " happen in times of dearth, it is not likely that the
 " grower of Corn would enjoy the fruits of his in-
 " dustry in safety, unless due attention is paid to this
 " first and capital object: But this point being once
 " secured, the interests of the grower should, in the
 " next place, occupy the particular attention of the
 " Legislature. The production of Corn is the first and
 " most important occupation of the subjects of every
 " country, and on its success rests the main support
 " and prosperity of every other trade: For the sake
 " of the consumer, therefore, the most liberal encou-
 " ragement and protection should be given to those
 " employed in it; for without offering proper incitements
 " to their industry, plenty can never be procured; for
 " these reasons it will be found, perhaps, on due con-
 " sideration, that the interests of the grower and
 " consumer, well understood, are less at variance
 " than at first they may appear. In the advice which
 " the Committee have thought it their duty to offer
 " to Your Majesty, they have aimed at discovering
 " the point of union at which these interests meet;
 " and they humbly refer to the judgement of Your
 " Majesty how far they have accomplished the object
 " they had in view."

Consistently

Consistently with these opinions, it appears to be
 desirable in the first place to come to a determina-
 tion what the prices should be at which importation
 should be allowed and exportation restrained; taking
 it for granted that no one now entertains the remotest
 idea of an entirely free trade in corn, which would
 be equally mischievous to the grower and consumer.

Whatever deference may be due to the opinions
 of eminent writers on this subject, I do not believe
 that in the present state of things any one will be
 found to recommend that measure. The low value
 of land and wages of labour in the northern parts
 of the continent, occasion the prices of Corn to be
 generally so much cheaper there than here as would
 enable the merchant, after paying ordinary freight
 and insurance, (especially in peace,) to sell at prices
 here below what the British farmer could afford to
 pay his rent at; this is decisive against a free
 import. There have been no importations from
 Dantzic for a considerable time, but the last average
 price I have seen was 36s. 3d.; and the charges from
 thence into the port of London are now 26s. which in
 the war were 82s.* I am however not aware how
 the present measure of allowing a perfectly free ex-
 port, and creating additional difficulties in the way of

* IN WAR.		Now.	
Shipping Charges	- - 10s.	Insurance	- - - - 2s.
French Licence	- - - 10	Freight	- - - - 14
Insurance	- - - - 17	Shipping Charges	- - - 10
Freight	- - - - 45		
	<hr/>		
	82s.		26s.

Import

C

import

import can be considered as consonant with the opinions of authors who recommended a free trade in Corn.

If there shall be no restraint on export, Corn may in a time of scarcity be sent out of the country to some other places where the want may be more urgent than here, and so the price be enhanced beyond all possible means of the labourer and manufacturer purchasing. We are told, however, that this is not likely to occur, because such places may be supplied from the north of Europe; but we know from experience, that a scarcity has not unfrequently happened at the same time throughout this quarter of the world.

Without regarding that consideration, it is proposed that the export shall be completely free, but that the import shall remain fettered with difficulties and disadvantages as at present, and under prices greatly increased.

The determination respecting prices should of course depend upon the rents the farmers pay; but whether that should be according to the *exorbitant rents* alluded to by Mr. Curwen, or according to more moderate ones, I am afraid it will be difficult to settle; even if those should be insisted upon, I am inclined to believe, on enquiry of the most intelligent and experienced surveyors in valuing estates at the time Mr. Curwen wrote, that the price of Wheat at 80s. a quarter, would afford a sufficient protection to the grower.

Under the existing laws the export is free from all embarrassment as soon as the price falls below the prescribed limits; but it is not so with regard to importation; in the way of that there are great discouragements

agements and difficulties, even with ports in Europe; and impossibilities respecting supplies from the Black Sea, from whence quantities to almost any extent may be had, when the navigation is not interrupted by the Turks.

This arises from the system established for regulating the import; the prices are taken according to the averages of the preceding six weeks, and the returns, which are to guide the importation, are sent to the ports every three months; after which the importers are exposed either to a prohibition or a high duty.

The supply of Wheat in times of scarcity is principally from Poland. The foreign market is governed chiefly by the London prices. We have been considered as the consumers of the surplus produce of that country; and when England has drawn deeply, it has been procured from *the interior*: the quantities to be had at the *shipping ports* on the continent at any given time, are seldom considerable. The proprietors of the great estates in Poland are not in the habit of sending large supplies to the coast in quest of buyers; preferring to keep their produce on their own estates to hazarding a precarious sale for it at the seaside. Corn cannot therefore be had *immediately* on its being written for from hence, when the demand is pressing.

In late years it was hardly possible to write to Dantzic, Bremen, or Koningsberg to get the cargo here in time; the uncertainty of doing so must indeed at all times be considerable. From Odeffa, and neighbouring ports, through which immense supplies might be derived from Poland, by the Bog, the Dniester and

the Dnieper, it would be hopeless to attempt an importation. It would therefore require that the period should be extended.

It may be worthy of consideration, whether the averages should not be taken annually in the latter end of December to govern the importations for a year; because, by the close of the year, a judgment might be formed of the scantiness or abundance of the preceding harvest.

That may be objectionable, but some extension of the time seems to be necessary. It would also be a highly beneficial measure to permit Corn to come here freely at all times from all places, and in ships of any country with which we are in amity, as other provisions may now be brought, instead of being restrained to British ships, or ships of the country from whence the importation is made; for however friendly I have been throughout my public life to the interests of our navigation, I think the supply of the people a higher consideration than a temporary suspension of the 12th Ch. 2. to an inconsiderable extent.

Any new facility of this sort, or of additional protection to warehousing, could not be said to be injurious to farmers, while it would be the best protection against monopoly, and the best security against the ill consequences of a scarcity.

Nor would such regulations be likely to operate against our exchange, as the Grain would probably be sent here on foreign account, and would not be paid for by us, except in the event of necessity obliging us to take it out for home consumption: we should likewise derive considerable advantage from various sources,

sources, of commission, landing charges, warehouse rent, re-shipping, &c. &c. In which case it would possibly be prudent not only to give up the duties on warehousing, but to give further encouragement to it.

The Committee of Privy Council in 1791 strongly recommended the measure of warehousing; they say, "There is no regulation in our system of the Corn Laws that is more beneficial, and more deserves therefore to be extended and improved, than those provisions that permit the warehousing of Foreign Corn. This regulation tends to secure to us a very important branch of commerce; it enables our merchants, who receive Corn from the Americans in payment of their debts, to lodge it here, either for the home or foreign market, as occasion may require; it is also the only method of forming magazines of a public nature in this country against times of distress and scarcity, without prejudice to the British Farmers and Growers of Corn." The Report then goes on to recommend that the measure shall be carried into effect by the public defraying the expence of warehouses and officers. What the Committee of Privy Council allude to with respect to the Americans, applies to all foreigners who take our manufactures*. This has been carried into effect by the

* In another part of the same Report there is the following passage: "In other countries magazines are formed by their respective Governments, or by the principal magistrates of great cities, as a resource in times of scarcity. This country has no such institutions. The stores of Corn are here deposited

the law of 1791, except as to relief from warehouse rent and low duties.

As the Irish average, as now proposed, is to be included, it will be worthy of consideration, whether provision should not be made for putting the British and Irish consumer on the same footing; to compensate the difference of the average, which, in a period of 21 years selected by the Committee, has been shewn to be 12s. in Ireland below that of Great Britain.

The average in Great Britain	- -	78s.
Do. in Ireland	- -	66s.

Average of United Kingdom	- -	72s.

The adoption of that average would necessarily operate very unequally upon the respective countries; as in Ireland when Wheat would be cheaper by 12s. a quarter than in Great Britain, no more duty would be chargeable than in England; while the effect of including in this measure the Irish average with the British would deprive the English consumer of the advantage of importing Foreign Corn at a low duty.

“ in the barns and stacks of wealthy farmers, and in the magazines of merchants and dealers in Corn, who ought by no means to be restrained, but rather encouraged, in laying up stores of this nature; as, after a deficient crop, they are thereby enabled to divide the inconvenience arising from it as equally as possible through every part of the year; and by checking improvident consumption in the beginning of scarcity, prevent a famine, which might otherwise happen before the next harvest. The inland trade of Corn ought therefore to be perfectly free,” &c.
The

The Committee tell us “ that if the regulating price for allowing the importation of Corn is made “ A VERY HIGH ONE, it will be the best possible protection the grower can have;” and they at the same time recommend *most strongly*, that the free exportation “ of it should be allowed to all countries “ till the price becomes what may be considered A “ VERY HIGH ONE.” All this is very good for the grower, but what becomes of the consumer? The labourers and manufacturers, and not only those, but others in the lower ranks in life, and a large proportion in the middling ranks also, have endured, with patient resignation, the most severe and trying privations in unexampled years of scarcity; looking forward, with hope, to better times; ought we then by any measure of ours to frustrate that hope? Or ought we not rather to give them every possible facility of supply, consistently with the interest of the grower, where that shall be necessary and attainable? I am compelled to say, that their interests appear not to have been sufficiently attended to in the Report.

Independently of considerations of humanity, we should not be carried away by the arguments in favour of agriculture exclusively, however important it is to attend to those, and with all due respect for the opinions coinciding with Mr. Curwen's, it must be admitted that the manufacturing interests in this country deserve the most attentive and watchful care of the Legislature, not merely for the sake of the industrious and meritorious work people, a sufficiently

strong

strong one, but to counter-act as far as we can the cheapness of labour in other countries, arising principally from more moderate prices of Corn.

In the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, before referred to, it is observed, "that the condition of the country labourer certainly requires that the price of Corn should be low, that he may be enabled by his wages to purchase what is necessary for his subsistence as soon as the price of Wheat passes 48s. The Legislature have thought it their duty to attend to the necessities of the poor, and to encourage the importation of Foreign Wheat by allowing it at very low duties." This statement was in 1791; and in 1813 it was proposed to give them no protection by importation till the price (including the Irish average) should be 141s. a quarter!! nearly three times the limit previous to 1791. The present proposal of 90s. appears to be still much too high; it is considerably higher than the witnesses examined by the Committee, and Mr. Curwen thought necessary.

Now I have a firm persuasion, as I have before stated, that the interests of the grower and of the consumer, rightly understood, are by no means incompatible; but in the Report of the Committee, all consideration is for the grower, HIGH PRICES were their leading, if not their sole object; and the mode of obtaining it is subject to very little uncertainty, which we may learn from experience.

46-49-50

The limits for exportation and importation were not altered from 1688 to 1773: From 1715 to 1765 the averages taken at ten years were below 40s.; during

during the greatest part of that time below 36s. as has been shewn; whereas in the eight years previous to 1773, till which year the new system did not take place, the average became so high as £2. 10s. 10d. in the two years to 1765 it had risen to 44s. 6d. inclusive*. In 1773 the price limited for export, as has been shewn, was 44s., which in 1688 was 48s. and in the eighteen years from 1774 to 1791 inclusive, when the next alterations took place, the average was £2. 9s. 8½d., something less than in the eight years preceding.

In 1791 the complete revision of the Corn Laws took place, aided by the report already alluded to by the Committee of Privy Council for the Affairs of Trade; the whole subject was then most fully considered; many of the laws which had long been in force were repealed, several new provisions were made; and it was enacted, that when Wheat was under 44s. it should be exported on a bounty of 5s. and that when it was above 46s. there should be no export; and if under 50s. there should be a prohibitory duty on importation; but if above 50s. and under 54s. on a duty of 2s. 6d.; and if at or above 54s. on a duty of only 6d.

These regulating prices continued till 1804, during which period the average of the thirteen years was £3. 14s. 5½d.

In 1804, the last act, regulating prices, was passed: Under this law there was a restraint of the exporta-

* See Appendix, C.

tion

tion of Wheat when it should be above 54s.; here was an increase of 8s. above 1791, a greater advance than had ever before been made; and the average, from 1805 to 1813, inclusive, was £5. 0s. 3d. In these two last periods there certainly were years of scarcity, and most unusual difficulties in the way of importation; but with all due allowance for those occurrences, the increase of the averages were most extraordinary. May it not then be asked, if it took place to that amount, on a rise of a few shillings on the export price, as fixed by law, what might have been expected from a rise of 42s. at once; that is, from 54s. to 96s.; 90s. nominally, but becomes 96s. by adding the Irish average? And may I not still ask what may be now expected from the operations of the Resolutions moved by the Honorable Baronet this afternoon? X

Hitherto I have confined my observations to the care of the immediate consumer; but ought we to exclude from our minds the effect that would inevitably be produced on our poor rates, and the price of labour; in truth, no very small proportion of the latter is in many instances paid out of the former; I mean when the labourer has more young children than it is possible for him to maintain from his weekly wages; the allowance made to paupers out of the work-house is generally according to the price of the quartern loaf.

The whole charge incurred for the poor would, I think, be estimated low at £6,000,000. The money actually expended for their support in 1803, was

£4,267,000.

From 1805 to 1813, the answer shows that the Law of 1794 was totally inefficient, as the Ports must have been always open for importation. The price of grain never was so low as to be distributed monthly. Besides from the year 1796 to

£4,267,000*, since which, in many parishes, the rates, from the pressure of the times, have been nearly doubled. It must be apparent, therefore, that the price of Bread is of considerable importance to those who contribute to the maintenance of the poor, as well as to the lower and middling classes of society. The effect of that on the price of labour is not less evident, the one ought to rise with the other; labour became much higher in 1799 and 1800 with the dearness of Corn, and it has been reduced in many parts of the country since the price of Bread has fallen.

There are however other considerations which press strongly on my mind: I allude to the revenue, and to the consumers of beer and other articles produced from Grain: The first belongs more immediately to my Right Honourable Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but it should not be held to be a light one, in the present time especially, when the produce of some of our taxes may be affected by fraudulent practices on the return of peace.

The import price of Barley under the Act of 1804 was 31s. 6d. the Report recommends its being raised to 54s. 2d. a difference of more than 22s. a quarter. I believe somewhat more than three barrels of beer is brewed from a quarter of malt; but rating it at only three barrels, an addition of 5s. a quarter would make an increase of 1s. 8d. a barrel, and consequently an

* It appears by a return to parliament, that the whole sum raised in that year by poor's rates, was £5,348,000. the difference was paid for militia, highways, &c.; this charge is more than double the amount of the average of 1783-4 and 5, and more than triple that of 1776. With these facts before us, my conjecture of £6,000,000. must be thought much below the real amount.

eventual under temporary Laws, prohibiting exportation, & permitting free importation of grain. It is impossible then to understand on what principle this rise may be maintained by the

eventual rise of 2os. a quarter of malt would add at least 6s. 8d. a barrel to the price of strong beer, equal to two-thirds of the duty now payable on the article: As the brewer would however naturally indemnify himself for his additional capital, the rise of 2os. a quarter in barley would operate to nearer 3-4ths than 2-3ds of the duty; from 3-4ths to about one penny a quart on porter. A reference to accounts will shew, that this is not a mistaken view of the subject. Grain was at its highest price in 1813; and in that year the duty on strong beer was about £240,000 less than in 1812: And on a comparison between 1813 and the average of the three preceding years, the result would be nearly the same; and the price to the consumer was raised considerably.

Important as this consideration is, as to the brewery, it is not the only one we should have in our contemplation; because, in proportion to the high price of malt, the temptation offers itself to use other and cheaper ingredients instead of it.

Such practices have been in use for more than a century, in times when Grain was at extremely low prices*. Laws have been passed for the prevention of them,

* By the 13th of W. 3. ch. 5. sugar, honey, foreign grains, Guinea pepper, liquor, or fyrup made from malt and water (beer druggists it seems were then known), Coculus Indiæ and other *unwholesome materials* were prohibited to be used. The prohibition of these articles was further enforced by statutes in the reign of Queen Anne, in which acts broom and wormwood were included. These protections for the health of the people, and against frauds on the revenue, were, however, found so ineffectual, that a law was passed so lately as in 1802, 42 G. 3. ch. 38. sect.

them, and for the punishment of the offenders; but detections in this case are extremely difficult; notwithstanding which, convictions for using drugs in beer are perhaps more frequent, proportionably, than in any other excisable commodity. The fraudulent brewer has a further inducement to use the forbidden articles than the cheapness of them, as he is thereby enabled to get rid of the compare which the officer makes of the quantity of beer brewed with that of malt used; and I ask, ought we then lightly to add greatly to the inducements that persons who have no regard for their character have for using noxious articles instead of Malt?

I shall not be suspected, I am sure, of meaning to convey the remotest reflection on any of those carrying on manufactories of beer, who are protected equally by their characters, and by their being above temptation; but that the practices continue to prevail, the numerous convictions, both in the summary jurisdiction and in the Exchequer, afford a certain proof of.

If we look to the distillery, the importance to the revenue will be found to be not less: The increase of 2os. a quarter on malt would, I think, be 1s. a gallon on spirits.

Now, it seems to have been generally admitted, that it is desirable to have the duty on this article carried as high as it can be, without lessening the consumption.

sect. 20. increasing the penalty from £20. to £200. for using *noxious and unwholesome drugs*, vitriol, grains of Paradise, opium, &c. and at length enacting, that *no ingredients shall be used in making beer except malt and hops.*

If,

If, therefore, the price of grain raises the cost of the spirit 1s. a gallon, to that extent the revenue, when malt is used, must suffer. I know I am supported in these opinions by a person of the very best experience in the revenue of excise; and in the latter case, not only by him, but by persons most conversant in the manufacture. In Scotland and Ireland the private distillation is chiefly from grain, but in England from sugar and molasses, chiefly the latter. In proportion, therefore, as the price of barley and malt is increased to the entered distiller, the profits to the fraudulent one would be increased. If I am right in my estimate of 1s. a gallon, it would be nearly £300,000 a year on corn spirits.

My Right Honorable Friend cannot be ignorant of the frauds to which I allude, in that branch of the revenue; they are, I believe, trifling in England, compared with what they are in Scotland and in Ireland; but even here I should, on conjecture, estimate them from 1-6th to 1-8th of the consumption of the country.

The losses to the revenue I have here stated, and of increased prices to the consumer, are on a supposition of the prices of Grain being raised to those proposed by the Honorable Baronet, which will certainly not invariably be the case; but the measure is avowedly to obtain HIGH prices for Grain, and in proportion as that shall succeed, the consequences above referred to will follow.

Here again I call upon the House to consider whether we should not be cautious of putting the revenue to so much hazard, and of offering such

strong

strong inducement to the fraudulent manufacturer to attempt an escape from the duty. The estimates here suggested are made on the prices recommended by the Committee; those now proposed by the Honorable Baronet are about one third lower; to that extent, therefore, the mischief apprehended will be less.

Let me next ask if the landed Gentlemen will have all the advantages from the high price of Corn that are held out to them? I have already noticed the effect that would inevitably be produced on the poor's rates, and the price of labour, by dearness of grain, and that in many instances the increased price of bread *directly* raises the price of labour.

We are told, however, the farmer wants further encouragement to induce him to produce more grain, and the owner of the soil to put more land in tillage, of which no proof is adduced; but we have strong presumptive evidence to the contrary. In the ten years from 1801 to 1811, our population in England alone * increased 1,448,000: In that period the average excess of importation above exportation of wheat was 586,814 quarters; but in that period are included two years of the greatest scarcity ever known in this country. Excluding those, the average excess of importation of the other eight years was 388,789 quarters. If we look to the twenty-seven years from 1773 (the year in which the act was passed which has been so much exclaimed against) to 1799 inclusive,

* I state the increase of the population in England only, because the account of imports and exports of Grain are confined to England.

we

we shall find the excess of imports above the exports on an average to be no more than 140,000 quarters annually*; within which period we had not only an immensely increasing population to provide for, but great numbers of the labouring classes acquired the habit of using the best wheaten bread, who before consumed flour from rye or barley, or a coarser sort from wheat: And considering how large a proportion of those classes have little other food than bread, it is not wonderful they should supply themselves with that of the best quality.

If, with the knowledge of these facts, we reckon the consumption at only a quarter a head annually, according to the common computation, which I am persuaded is rather below the quantity, it will be seen to what immense an extent our tillage must have been increased in late years.

The number of Inclosure Acts have also been on the increase for some time past; and notwithstanding the immensely high prices which have offered a strong inducement to the extension of tillage, the land now in cultivation is capable of very great improvement. Mr. Grierson, a Gentleman intelligent in Irish agriculture, tells us, that land in tillage might be increased one half. And Mr. Curwen in the publication (before alluded to) in 1811, says, "I cannot say how much I have been astonished with the appearance of the country from Ferry-bridge to Newark: This, with little exception, is as fine a Corn district as any in England; but how wretchedly cultivated! The rents not half what are paid in the

* For these quantities see Table B, in the Appendix.

" Lothians;

" Lothians; the soil equal, &c." And in another part of the same work, the author, who is a very competent judge, tells us, "the cost of a good and bad crop is nearly the same; the profit in a failing crop is little, if not attended with loss; the injury to the land, much and certain." If then the extraordinary encouragement offered by prices in a time of famine, were not a sufficient inducement to increase the quantity of Corn produced, which might have been effected to a great extent at little or no additional expence, what rational expectation can be entertained that any additional rise of prices, computed on ordinary occurrences, will tempt persons to put large parcels of new land into tillage, (attended with an infinitely larger expence than the improvement of existing cultivation) beyond the advantages they already have. But if large quantities of land now uncultivated, or in pasture, shall be brought into tillage, may not the present grower look upon that as injurious to him by lowering the prices?

The Committee hold out, to captivate one description of people, an expectation that by increased cultivation bread will become cheap; and to another, that raising the prices of importation and lessening those for exportation, Corn will be dearer; the attempts made to reconcile these two objects can hardly mislead any one, notwithstanding the very ingenious arguments used; at the time those are urged, it is acknowledged that HIGH PRICES is the object in view; and we know from experience that must be obtained by the means proposed.

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Fully

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Fully aware of the difficulty of the subject on which I have troubled the House at so much length; I have considered it most deeply; and if I am not greatly mistaken, the land owner will profit by the measure in an infinitely smaller proportion than the labourers in agriculture and in manufactures, and the class of society next above those, will suffer from it.

The former have in most instances been partially, at least, indemnified by an addition to their wages, or in some other way; but the others have not, and indeed could not have been, to any extent. These descriptions of people have borne the pressure with a degree of patience that cannot be too highly commended; ought we then, as soon as we are blessed with a plentiful season, to turn short upon them, and to adopt a measure which is to render it certain, as far as the interposition of the Legislature can be effectual, that the price of bread shall permanently be above double what it was before the unexampled miseries of the late war were inflicted upon us*.

Other points which have been thought of some importance are also entirely left out of sight, both in the Report and in the Resolutions. Nothing is suggested respecting some permanent provision to ascertain when it shall not be allowed to distil from Grain; a measure loudly called for to prevent speculation and uncer-

* The price of the quartern wheaten loaf, for a series of years before 1794, fluctuated from 6d. to 7½d.; the price for importation, as proposed to be regulated, is 9os. a quarter, which would make the quartern loaf 13½d.

tainty,

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tainty, equally mischievous to the manufacturer and to the revenue: Nor is any mention made of giving facility to importation, when by law this should take place.

I trust enough has been said, to convince every one that a more comprehensive view of the subject should be taken before so great a change in our Corn Laws is acquiesced in. Let me repeat that we are called upon to give up, on the mere suggestion of the Honorable Baronet, the regulations restricting the export of Corn at all times, and under whatever circumstances of distress we may be in, without bestowing an hour of our time to enquire whether an alteration of that magnitude is fit or not; which regulations commenced in an early period of our history, and have been varied according to circumstances in every reign since; even in the time of the Commonwealth.

In support of the other Resolutions regulating the export and import trade in Corn of the whole empire, it is true we have a Report from a Committee; but such a one as I believe this House has never yet acted upon. Let me ask, Gentlemen, if they think they ought to risk such consequences as have been pointed out on the miserable authority they have before them, full of errors and mistakes, and with no other evidence than that of two or three Gentlemen, whose means of information are confined to the agriculture of Ireland.

The infinite importance of a *full* enquiry would well warrant a delay till the next session, when, in a time of settled peace, it might be entered upon more satisfactorily, and with a better prospect of success, than we can entertain a hope of at present.

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I earnestly

I earnestly intreat, therefore, for the credit of the House, and for the satisfaction of the Country, we may not take this Report for our guide, but proceed in a manner consistent with the infinite importance of the subject. I will detain the House no longer; but I cannot fit down without offering my thanks for the attention with which they have honored me.

It is known that the House went into a Committee on the Corn Laws, in which the Resolutions for an unlimited export was immediately voted; after which the Honorable Baronet waived his Resolutions for specific duties, and at once agreed to a Scale of Prices, which an honorable friend of mine took out of his pocket, on the sudden. These, I observed, may be entitled to some preference over the others, on account of the gradation, but equally unfit to be adopted, as arising out of no enquiry or investigation whatever. It was only a few days before that a plan of a gradation of prices was left at the Office for Trade, by the Honorable Baronet, as intended to be moved by himself.

APPENDIX, A.

ACTS, &c.

RESPECTING THE EXPORTATION AND IMPORTATION OF CORN,

AND SUCH AS HAVE RELATION TO THE PRICES THEREOF.

*The Acts, &c. to which this Mark * is prefixed appear to be most worthy of Attention.*

- 1225. 9H. 3. c. 25. Only one Measure of Corn throughout the Realm.
- 1266. 51H. 3. Stat. 6. Mode of ascertaining the Price of Wheat, by which the Price of Bread shall be regulated.
- 1325. 8 & 9 Ed. 2. } * Proclamation, on account of the Scarcity of Corn, that no
Rot. Parl. } Wheat shall be used in the Brewery : On a Petition from
Vol. 1. 340. } Winchester.
- 1324. 17 Ed. 2. } * Corn may be exported from Ireland into England, on Security
Rot. Parl. } that it shall not be carried to the Scotch or other Enemies.
Vol. 1. 458. }
- 1335. 9 Ed. 3. c. 1. Corn may be bought and sold freely throughout the Realm,
as well by Foreigners as Denizens.
This is confirmed, 25 Ed. 3. in the Rolls of Parliament,
Vol. 2. p. 231. See also An^o 1370.

*1339. 13 Ed. 3. } *Writs to be directed to Sheriffs, and to Mayors, &c. at the
Rot. Parl. } Sea Ports, to prevent the Exportation of Corn, without the
Vol. 2. 106. } King's Licence.

1350. Stat. 25 Ed. 3. } All Measures shall be according to the King's Standard, and
Stat. 5. c. 10. } the Quarter of Corn shall be Eight Bushels.

1360. Stat. 34 Ed. 3. } * Prohibits positively the Exportation of Grain, except to the
c. 20. } King's Possessions in France.
Repealed by 21 Ja. 1. c. 28. sect. 11.

1363. 37 Ed. 3. } * Proclamation against exporting Corn without Licence.
Rot. Parl. }
Vol. 2. 277. }

1364. 38 Ed. 3. } The Commons in the North pray that no Corn may be allowed
Rot. Parl. } to pass the Marches of England into Scotland.
Vol. 2. 287. }

1371. 45 Ed. 3. } * Corn may be freely bought and sold throughout the Kingdom.
Rot. Parl. }
Vol. 2. 305. }

1376. 50 Ed. 3. } * Corn may be exported when not prohibited by the Council.
Rot. Parl. }
Vol. 2. 350. }

* In this Year there is an Entry in the Parliament Roll of a Contract by Merchants of Hull and Lynne to deliver a Quantity of Wheat at 9s. a Quarter. Rot. Parl. Vol. 2. p. 109.

1378. 2 Rich. 2. } * Corn may be bought and sold by Natives and by Merchants
Rot. Parl. } Aliens Wholesale or by Retail in any Part of the Realm
Vol. 3. 47. } freely.

1382. 6 Rich. 2. } * No Corn to be exported except to Berwick, and to the King's
Rot. Parl. } Possessions in France, on Forfeiture of the Grain and Vessel,
Vol. 3. 141. } without Licence from the Council: And those who shall
and 396. } have Licence, to produce Proof of their having conformed
thereto.

1383. 7 Rich. 2. } Corn shall not be sent into Scotland, either by Land or Water,
Rot. Parl. } without a special Licence from the King.
Vol. 3. 164. }

1389. 13 Rich. 2. } Horse Provender to be charged according to the Price of Corn.
Rot. Parl. }
Vol. 3. 269. }

1390. 14 Rich. 2. } The Commons pray that Proclamation may be made for the
Rot. Parl. } due Observance of the Statute of Measures; and that the
Vol. 3. 281. } Houses of Brewers and others who buy Corn by the Measure
of Nine Bushels instead of Eight, may be searched for false
Measures.

1391. Stat. 15 Rich. } Corn to be sold only by the Quarter of Eight Bushels.
2. c. 4. }

1391. Rot. Parl. } The same Provison.
Vol. 3. 291. }

Rot. Parl. Vol. 4. p. 14. The same Provison.

Rot. Parl.
 Vol. 3. p. 455. 2 H. 4.
 493. 4 H. 4.
 546. 6 H. 4.
 568. 7 H. 4.
 612. 9 H. 4.
 635. 11 H. 4.
 648. 13 H. 4.
 Vol. 4. p. 6. 1 H. 5.
 16. 2 H. 5.
 64. 3 H. 5.
 Vol. 5. p. 228. 31 H. 6.
 508. 4 Ed. 4.
 Vol. 6. p. 154. 14 Ed. 4.
 238. 1 R. 3.
 269. 1 H. 7.

* Corn exempted from Duty on *Importation* in all these Acts of Subsidy; the last for the Life of Henry the 7th.

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* Permits the Exportation of Corn, on Payment of the Subsidy: No Limitation of Prices; but the Council may refrain it when necessary.

1393. 17 Ric. 2. c. 7. Almost in the same Words as the preceding.

1425. 4 Hen. 6. c. 5. *Exportation* allowed without Licence, when Wheat is 6s. 8d. a Quarter, and Barley 3s. *This seems to have established the Principle of regulating the Export by Price.*

20 Hen. 6. c. 6. continues this for 10 Years.
 23 Hen. 6. c. 5. makes this Law of the 15th perpetual; reciting, that the Maritime Counties cannot have a Market for their Corn, unless it shall be allowed to be carried by Sea.

Import not allowed when Wheat does not exceed 6s. 8d.

1463. 3 Ed. 4. c. 2.

* Grain not to be imported when Wheat does not exceed 6s. 8d. Rye 4s. Barley 3s. *This seems to have established the Principle of regulating the Import by Price.*

1496. Stat. 12 Hen. 7. c. 5. Repealed by 21 Ja. 1. c. 28. sect. 11.

Act for Weights and Measures, provides that Corn shall be sold by the Measure of Eight Gallons to the Bushel, and what the Gallon shall weigh; and that all other Gallons shall be broken.

1533. 25 Hen. 8. c. 2.

* Privy Council to regulate the Prices of all Victuals. 1552. 5 & 6 Ed. 6. c. 14. against Engroffers, altered by 5 Eliz. c. 12. sect. 7.

1552. Stat. 5 & 6 Ed. 6. c. 14. sect. 12.

* Act against Regraters: Allows Corn to be transported freely from one Port to another, by Licence from Three Justices; and that it may be bought up and engrossed when at or under 6s. 8d. a Quarter.

And there are other Acts respecting licencing Dealers in Corn.

Wheat if above 6s. 8d. no Export. 1554. 1 & 2 Ph. & M. c. 5.

Prohibition to *export* without Licence, except when Wheat shall not exceed 6s. 8d. Rye 4s. and Barley 3s.

Export from Suffolk and Norfolk when Wheat is not above 6s. 8d. 1558. 1 Eliz. c. 11. sect. 11.

Corn may be *exported* from Suffolk and Norfolk, when the Prices do not exceed, Wheat 6s. 8d. Rye 5s. Barley 3s. 4d. and Oats 2s.

Wheat not exceeding 10s. may be exported. 1562. 5 Eliz. c. 5. sect. 26.

* *Exportation* allowed when Wheat shall not exceed 10s. Rye 8s. Barley 6s. 8d. See 13 Eliz. c. 13.

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1570. 13 Eliz. c. 13. }
 from the ori- }
 ginal Roll. }

* Corn may be exported on a Duty of 1s. a Quarter to Places in Amity, not prohibited by any Restraint or Proclamation, in square-rigged Vessels, British-owned, at such Times as the Prices thereof shall be so reasonable and moderate when no Prohibition shall be made either by the Queen's Proclamation or by Order of Council, or by Order of Judges of Affize, or at the Quarter Sessions.
 When exported hereafter by Special Licence, and not under this Act, a Duty of 2s. a Quarter on Wheat.

* Exportation allowed when Wheat shall not exceed 20s. on a Duty of 2s. a Quarter. (80)

* Exportation allowed when Wheat shall not exceed 26s. 8d. on a Duty of 2s. a Quarter; but may be prohibited by Proclamation, either throughout the Kingdom, or from any Part of it.

* Exportation allowed when the Price of Wheat shall not exceed 32s. on a Duty of 2s. a Quarter; but may be prohibited by Proclamation.

1627. 3 Ch. 1. c. 4. }
 fect. 24. }

The same as the preceding.

1656. Cromwell's }
 Ordinances, }
 c. 5. }

Corn may be exported, when Wheat is not above 40s. on a Duty of 1s. a Bushel.

* Exportation allowed when Wheat shall not exceed 40s. on a Duty according to the Rates in the Schedules to the Act, which appears to be 20s. a Quarter on Wheat.

1660. 12 Ch. 2. c. 4. }
 fect. 11. }

Wheat not exceeding 40s. may be }
 exported on a high Duty. }

1623. 21 Ja. 1. c. 28. }
 fect. 3. }

Wheat not exceeding 32s. the same }
 Prohibition. }

1663. 15 Ch. 2. c. 7. }
 fect. 2. }

Wheat not exceeding 48s. may be }
 exported. }

1670. 22 Ch. 2. c. 8. }
 and 22 & 23 }
 Ch. 2. c. 12. }

Wheat not exceeding 53s. 4d. im- }
 ported on a high Duty. }

1685. 1 Ja. 2. c. 19. }
 22d Ch. 2. }

1688. 1 W. & M. }
 Stat. 1. c. 12. }

Wheat not exceeding 48s. may be }
 exported with a Bounty. }

1698. 10 W. 3. c. 3. }
 1699. 11 W. 3. c. 1. }
 1700. 11 & 12 W. 3. }
 c. 20. }

1709. 8 Ann. c. 2. }

Exportation allowed when Wheat shall not exceed 48s. on a Duty of 5s. 4d.

To ascertain the Measure of Corn; to be only the Winchester Bushel of Eight Gallons throughout the Kingdom.

* Exportation allowed on Payment of the Subsidies, although the Prices shall be higher than those stated in the Act 15 Ch. 2. on Payment of the Subsidy.
 And Importation, if it shall not exceed 53s. 4d. on a Duty of 16s.; and when it shall exceed that, and be under 80s. on a Duty of 8s.
 This Act is explained by 5th Geo. 2. c. 12.

1685. 1 Ja. 2. c. 19. }
 22d Ch. 2. }

And is further explained by 2d Geo. 2. c. 18. and 5th Geo. 2. c. 12.

This Act is repealed by 31 Geo. 3. c. 30.

1688. 1 W. & M. }
 Stat. 1. c. 12. }

Wheat not exceeding 48s. may be }
 exported with a Bounty. }

1698. 10 W. 3. c. 3. }
 1699. 11 W. 3. c. 1. }
 1700. 11 & 12 W. 3. }
 c. 20. }

1709. 8 Ann. c. 2. }

Exportation suspended.
 Bounty suspended till 1709.
 * Duties on Grain exported to cease.
 Importation suspended for a Year.

1732. 5 G. 2. c. 12. } To explain the 1st of Ja. 2. c. 19. and 22 Cha. 2. c. 13. as
See 2 G. 2. c. 18. } to ascertaining Prices of Corn, and Mode of Export.

1738. 11 G. 2. c. 22. To punish Persons who shall obstruct the Exportation of Corn,
or the Removal of it from one Part of the Kingdom to
another.

1741. 14 G. 2. c. 3. } Exportation suspended.
1742. 15 G. 2. c. 35. }

1757. 30 G. 2. c. 1. Ditto.

— 30 G. 2. c. 7. Importation Duty-free.

— 30 G. 2. c. 1. } Exportation suspended, and Importation allowed in Neutral
& 9. } Ships.

1765. 5 G. 3. c. 31. To discontinue Bounties on Export, and Duties on Import.

— — — — c. 32. To enable the King to prohibit the Export for a limited Time.

1766. 6 G. 3. c. 3. Importation from America Duty-free.

— — — — c. 5. To prohibit the Export.

1767. 7 G. 3. c. 3. Ditto, and to stop Diffillation.

— — — — c. 4. American Corn free of Duty.

— — — — c. 5. Importation free generally.

— — — — c. 7. Indemnity for Order in Council to prohibit Exportation.

— — — — c. 11. Further allowing Importation.

— — — — c. 22. Ditto.

1768. 8 G. 3. c. 1. To prohibit the Export, and stop Diffillation.

— — — — c. 2. To allow Importation, &c.

1769. 8 G. 3. } To prohibit the Export, and allow the Import, and to stop the
1st Sess. c. 1. } Diffillation.

— 2d Sess. c. 1. Ditto.

1770. 10 G. 3. c. 1. Ditto.

— — — — c. 39. Regulating the Mode of requiring and ascertaining Prices of
Grain. Repealed, 31 G. 3. c. 30.

1771. 11 G. 3. c. 1. To prohibit the Export, allow the Import, and stop the Dif-
tillation.

1772. 12 G. 3. c. 1. Ditto, as respects Export and Diffillation.

— — — — c. 33. Allowing Importation.

1773. 13 G. 3. c. 1. } Ditto.
& 2. }

— — — — c. 3. To stop the Export and Diffillation.

— 13 G. 3. c. 43. * Prohibits the Export when Wheat shall be above 44s. and Im-
port allowed when at or above 48s. on a Duty of 6d. and
when Wheat shall be under 44s, a Bounty of 5s. on the Ex-
port. Repealed, 31 G. 3. c. 30.
And explains the Mode of ascertaining Prices.

Export prohibited, when Wheat
shall be above 44s.
Import, when at or above 48s.
When under 44s. a Bounty of 5s.

Under this Act Foreign Corn may be warehoused for Exportation: Or may be taken out for Home Consumption, on Payment of the Duties due on Importation, at the Time the Corn shall be taken out.

1780. 20 G. 3. c. 31. Corn exported in Neutral Ships, entitled to Half the Bounty. This Act revived and further continued by 21 G. 3. c. 29. and 22 G. 3. c. 13. sect. 6.

1781. 21 G. 3. c. 50. For further regulating and ascertaining the Importation and Exportation of Corn.

1783. 23 G. 3. c. 1. Corn may be imported in British or Neutral Vessels, on the low Duties and Two £5. per Cents. for a few Months.

— 23 G. 3. c. 53. The King allowed by Proclamation to admit the Importation into some Counties in Scotland for 4 Months.

— 23 G. 3. c. 81. To prohibit the Exportation of Corn, with a Bounty, during the Operation of the Two preceding Acts.

1787. 27 G. 3. c. 13. The Consolidation Act; made no Alteration in the Prices or Duties.

1789. 29 G. 3. c. 58. For better regulating and ascertaining the Importation and Exportation of Corn.

1790. 30 G. 3. c. 1. Indemnity for Orders in Council prohibiting Exportation of Corn; and for the Governor of Canada for admitting Corn in American Vessels. Foreign Corn legally warehoused, may be exported from such Warehouse.

Wheat, &c. may be imported on low Duties, and may be warehoused.

30 G. 3. c. 42. continues the preceding Act for a few Months more.

31 G. 3. c. 4. further continues the preceding Acts.

1791. 31 G. 3. c. 30. * This Act makes important Alterations; it repeals all the Acts respecting the Importation and Exportation of Corn; and also all the Duties thereon, except such Provisions as relate to Malt: and particularly the 15 Ch. 2. c. 7. — 1 J. 2. c. 19. — 1 W. & M. c. 12. — 10 G. 3. c. 39. — 13 G. 3. c. 43. — 21 G. 3. c. 50. — 29 G. 3. c. 58.

When Wheat shall be under 44s. a Bounty of 5s.

When above 46s. *no Export.*

On Importation, if under 50s. a Duty of 24s. 3d.

If at or above 50s. and under 54s. a Duty of 2s. 6d.

If at or above 54s. a Duty of 6d.

With a Table of Duties for Ireland and Quebec.

Corn may be warehoused for Exportation; or taken out for Home Consumption, on Payment of the Duties due at the Time when the same shall be taken out; with an Addition of 2s. 6d. to the first low Duty.

If at one Port the high Duties shall be due, a Vessel may go to another Port where the low Duties only shall be due.

Maritime Counties, and those in Scotland, divided into Districts.

Mode of regulating the Prices according to a Six Weeks Average; except Oats, which are to be regulated by Prices during Twelve Weeks.

When Wheat under 44s. *Export* allowed, with a Bounty of 5s.

When above 46s. *no Export.*

* Importation, if under 50s. Duty of 24s. 3d.

— if at or above 50s. and under 54s. Duty of 2s. 6d.

— if at or above 54s. Duty of 6d.

Inland Districts settled.
Exportation from, and Importation into Scotland, regulated.

The King in Council, Parliament not sitting, may permit Importation, or prevent Exportation, when the average Price of the whole Kingdom shall be at or above the Price which Foreign Corn shall be allowed to be imported at, according to the low Duties in Table D. of the Act, which is 2s. 6d. and to recall such Permission to export and import.

[This last is varied by 33 G. 3. c. 65. which provides for Prices from Ireland and Quebec.]

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1793. 33 G. 3. c. 3. *Indemnification for Orders in Council.*

Foreign Corn may be warehoused.

The King may prohibit the *Export*, during *present Session*, and permit the Importation.

— 33 G. 3. c. 65. Mode of taking Averages altered.

The King's Authority to permit *Export* and stop *Import* to be governed by Prices formerly settled.

1795. 35 G. 3. c. 4.

* The King may permit the *Import*, or prevent the *Export* of Corn, *without regard to Prices*. *Importation* in Neutral Vessels allowed.

The King's Power extended to other Articles of Provisions.

1796. 36 G. 3. c. 3.

Unlimited *Importation* allowed free of Duty, and positive Prohibition of *Export*, in *Neutral* as well as in British Ships.

— 36 G. 3. c. 21.

Large Premiums given on Corn *imported*, to secure *Importers* having certain Prices, in *Neutral* as well as in British Vessels, till 500,000 Quarters shall be imported; and then the Premiums reduced.

1797. 37 G. 3. c. 7.

Continues the 36 G. 3. c. 3. to permit *Importation*, and restrain *Exportation*.

— 37 G. 3. c. 83.

Repeals so much of the preceding Act as relates to Barley, Oats, &c.

1798. 38 G. 3. c. 10.

Continues the Prohibition to *export*, and the Permission to *import*, according to the Act 37 G. 3. c. 7. as far as respects Wheat, &c.

* 1799. 39 G. 3. c. 87.

* The King may prohibit the *Import*, or permit the *Export* of Corn generally, without regard to Prices, in *Neutral* as well as in British Vessels. Extended to other Articles of Provisions.

Continued 39 & 40 G. 3. c. 9. till September 1800.

1800. 39 & 40 G. 3. }
c. 8. sect. 3. } To stop the Distillery, &c. Continued, 41 G. 3. c. 3.
& 5. }

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* This Act has been continued by several Laws from Year to Year, and is now in force during the War.
Vide 51 G. 3. c. 14.

1800 39 & 40 G. 3. } Premiums to ensure certain Prices.
c. 29.

— 41 G. 3. c. 2. To authorize the King, from Time to Time, to prohibit the Exportation of all Articles used for the Food of Man.

— 41 G. 3. c. 5. The Act 39 G. 3. c. 87. and 39 & 40. c. 9. for enabling the King to allow the Import and to restrain the Export, continued.

— 41 G. 3. c. 10. Premiums granted to ensure Importers certain Prices for Corn imported, in Neutral as well as in British Ships.

American Flour, imported on the Bounty, to be sold within Two Months after landing.

Sales of Flour to be public.

Foreign Wheat, not merchantable, may be warehoused.

To increase Bounties on American Flour.

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1801. 42 G. 3. c. 13. To continue 39 G. 3. c. 87. authorising the King to permit Import and prevent Export, generally, without regard to Prices, and to prevent the Exportation of all Kinds of Provisions.

1802. 43 G. 3. c. 12. Further to continue the preceding Act, authorising the King to permit Importation and to stop Exportation.

1803. 44 G. 3. c. 4. Ditto.

1804. 44 G. 3. c. 109. * Repeals the Prices at which Corn might be exported and imported under the 31 G. 3. c. 30. except the Warehousing Duties.

When Wheat at or under 48s. Export allowed, with Bounty of 5s.
When above 54s. no Export.

Importation, if under 63s. at a Duty of 24s. 3d.

if at or above 63s. and under 66s. a Duty of 2s. 6d.

if at or above 66s. a Duty of 6d.

Export allowed when Wheat shall be at or under 48s. with a Bounty of 5s.

If above 54s. no Export.

Import, if under 63s. on a Duty of 24s. 3d.

if at or above 63s. but under 66s. a Duty of 2s. 6d.

if at or above 66s. a Duty of 6d.

Regulating the Intercourse with Ireland as to Prices.

Under this Act the Averages are now regulated, referring

to the 31 G. 3. c. 30. and explained by 45 G. 3. c. 86.

1805. 45 G. 3. c. 26. To continue 39 G. 3. c. 87. authorising the King to permit the

Importation and prohibit the Exportation of Grain generally.

See c. 86.

— 45 G. 3. c. 86. * No Export of Corn when above the limited Prices for one Week.

1806. 46 G. 3. c. 29. Further Continuation of 39 G. 3. c. 87. till March 1808.

— 46 G. 3. c. 97. * To allow a free Intercourse of Grain between Great Britain and Ireland.

Explained by the 47 G. 3. to extend only to Corn the Growth of each Country.

Previously to the passing this Act there had been temporary Laws for regulating the Intercourse between the

Two Parts of the Empire. 42 G. 3. c. 35.—43 G. 3.

c. 14. & 78.—44 G. 3. c. 65.—45 G. 3. c. 80.—

46 G. 3. c. 29.

1809. 49 G. 3. c. 23. To continue the 39 G. 3. c. 87. authorising the King to permit Importation and to restrain Exportation generally, without regard to Prices—TILL MARCH 1810.

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1810. 50 G.3. c.19. Ditto, till March 1811.
 1811. 51 G.3. c.14. * Ditto, continued till the End of the War; and for Six Months after a Peace.

Various Acts allowing Sugar to be used in the Distillery.

Acts for regulating the Mode of taking Averages.

- 2 G.2. c.18.
- 14 G.3. c.64.
- 17 G.3. c.44. sect. 2.
- 21 G.3. c.50.
- 26 G.3. c.53.
- 29 G.3. c.58.
- 31 G.3. c.30.
- 33 G.3. c.65.
- 41 G.3. c.10.
- 44 G.3. c.109.
- 45 G.3. c.86.

APPENDIX, B.

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of British Wheat and Wheat Flour exported from England, and of Foreign Wheat and Wheat Flour imported into England, in the following Years.

YEARS.	British Wheat and Flour exported.		Foreign Wheat and Flour imported.	
	Quarters.	Busbels.	Quarters.	Busbels.
1697	14,698	6	400	0
1698	6,857	1	845	0
1699	557	2	486	3
1700	49,056	5	4	6
1701	98,323	7	1	1
1702	90,230	4	0	0
1703	106,615	4	50	0
1704	90,313	5	1	6
1705	96,185	1	0	0
1706	188,332	3	77	1
1707	74,155	1	0	0
1708	83,406	3	86	4
1709	169,679	7	1,552	3
1710	13,924	1	400	0
1711	76,949	0	0	0
1712	145,191	0	0	0
1713	176,227	0	0	0
1714	174,821	1	15	7
1715	166,490	2	0	4
1716	74,926	1	0	0
1717	22,953	7	0	0
1718	71,800	0	0	0
1719	127,762	4	20	1
1720	83,084	2	0	0
1721	81,632	6	0	0
1722	178,880	1	0	0
1723	157,719	6	0	0
1724	245,864	6	148	2
1725	204,413	3	12	2
1726	142,183	3	0	0
1727	30,315	3	0	0
1728	3,817	0	74,574	2
1729	18,993	3	40,315	2
1730	93,970	7	75	7
	£ 4			

YEARS.	British Wheat and Flour exported.		Foreign Wheat and Flour imported.		
	Quarters.	Bushels.	Quarters.	Bushels.	
1731	-	130,025	2	4	0
1732	-	202,058	4	0	0
1733	-	427,199	0	7	4
1734	-	498,196	4	6	5
1735	-	153,343	5	9	1
1736	-	118,170	0	16	5
1737	-	461,602	0	32	4
1738	-	580,596	4	2	5
1739	-	279,542	4	22	7
1740	-	54,390	4	5,468	5
1741	-	45,416	7	7,540	2
1742	-	293,259	6	0	7
1743	-	371,431	3	2	5
1744	-	231,984	5	2	0
1745	-	324,839	5	5	6
1746	-	130,646	2	0	0
1747	-	266,906	7	0	0
1748	-	543,387	5	385	0
1749	-	629,049	0	382	0
1750	-	947,602	1	279	5
1751	-	661,416	4	3	0
1752	-	429,279	4	0	0
1753	-	299,608	7	0	0
1754	-	356,270	1	201	0
1755	-	237,459	2	0	0
1756	-	101,936	4	5	0
1757	-	11,226	0	130,343	2
1758	-	9,233	6	19,039	7
1759	-	226,426	0	82	1
1760	-	390,710	4	0	0
1761	-	440,746	2	0	0
1762	-	294,500	0	56	2
1763	-	427,074	3	8	1
1764	-	396,537	5	1	1
1765	-	167,030	0	89,642	5
1766	-	165,953	1	9,387	0
1767	-	5,071	0	444,029	0
1768	-	7,433	1	272,307	6
1769	-	49,892	1	2,903	1
1770	-	75,400	5	15	2
1771	-	10,477	0	2,509	0
1772	-	6,974	0	27,114	0

YEARS.	British Wheat and Flour exported.		Foreign Wheat and Flour imported.		
	Quarters.	Bushels.	Quarters.	Bushels.	
1773	-	7,802	0	57,786	0
1774	-	16,731	0	278,039	0
1775	-	90,413	0	575,250	0
1776	-	220,210	0	21,568	0
1777	-	90,932	0	233,905	0
1778	-	146,637	0	106,616	0
1779	-	232,925	0	5,254	0
1780	-	250,434	0	4,242	0
1781	-	117,247	0	162,278	0
1782	-	163,579	0	81,259	0
1783	-	56,502	0	584,014	0
1784	-	99,039	0	215,817	0
1785	-	141,394	0	107,968	0
1786	-	215,102	0	50,999	0
1787	-	126,960	0	60,245	0
1788	-	89,731	0	149,667	0
1789	-	146,951	0	109,762	0
1790	-	33,822	0	219,351	0
1791	-	74,968	0	463,591	0
1792	-	300,278	0	22,417	0
1793	-	76,869	0	490,398	0
1794	-	155,048	0	327,902	0
1795	-	18,839	0	313,793	0
1796	-	24,679	0	879,200	0
1797	-	54,522	0	461,767	0
1798	-	59,782	0	396,721	0
1799	-	39,362	0	463,185	0
1800	-	22,013	0	1,264,520	0
1801	-	28,406	0	1,424,766	0
1802	-	149,304	0	647,664	0
1803	-	76,580	0	373,725	0
1804	-	63,073	0	461,140	0
1805	-	77,959	0	920,834	0
1806	-	29,566	0	310,342	0
1807	-	24,365	0	400,759	0
1808	-	77,567	0	81,466	0
1809	-	31,278	0	448,487	0
1810	-	75,785	0	1,530,691	0
1811	-	97,765	0	292,038	0
1812	-	46,325	0	129,866	0

1666 to 1672 - £ 2 0 7 1/2
 1672 to 1679 - 2 0 3 1/4
 1679 to 1765 - 1 13 3 1/4
 1765 to 1777 - (2 7 1/2) 0 1 1/4
 1777 to 1794 - 2 11 1 1/2
 1794 to 1812 - 4 8 3 1/4

APPENDIX, C.

Prices of Wheat per Quarter at Windsor Market*.

YEARS.	Prices of Wheat at Windsor, 9 Gallons to the Bushel.	Prices reduced to the Bushel of 8 Gallons.	Average of 10 Years according to the Winchester Bushel of 8 Gallons.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1646	2 8 0	2 2 8	
1647	3 13 8	3 5 5 3/4	
1648	4 5 0	3 15 6 3/4	
1649	4 0 0	3 11 1 1/4	
1650	3 16 8	3 8 1 3/4	
1651	3 13 4	3 5 2 1/4	
1652	2 9 6	2 4 0	
1653	1 15 6	1 11 6 3/4	
1654	1 6 0	1 3 1 1/4	
1655	1 13 4	1 9 7 1/2	2 11 7 1/4
1656	2 3 0	1 18 2 3/4	
1657	2 6 8	2 1 5 3/4	
1658	3 5 0	2 17 9 1/4	
1659	3 6 0	2 18 8	
1660	2 16 6	2 10 2 3/4	
1661	3 10 0	3 2 2 3/4	
1662	3 14 0	3 5 9 1/4	
1663	2 17 0	2 10 8	
1664	2 0 6	1 16 0	
1665	2 9 4	2 3 10 1/4	2 10 5 3/4
1666	1 16 0	1 12 0	
1667	1 16 0	1 12 0	
1668	2 0 0	1 15 6 3/4	
1669	2 4 4	1 19 5 1/2	
1670	2 1 8	1 17 0 1/2	
1671	2 2 0	1 17 4	
1672	2 1 0	1 16 5 1/4	
1673	2 6 8	2 1 5 3/4	
1674	3 8 8	3 1 0 1/2	
1675	3 4 8	2 17 5 3/4	2 0 11 3/4

* These are the Prices of Mealng Wheat; which is understood, at Eton College, to be of a middling Quality.

YEARS.	Prices of Wheat at Windsor, 9 Gallons to the Bushel.	Prices of Wheat reduced to the Winchester Bushel of 8 Gallons.	Average of 10 Years by the Winchester Bushel.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1676	1 18 0	1 13 9 1/4	
1677	2 2 0	1 17 4	
1678	2 19 0	2 12 5 1/4	
1679	3 0 0	2 13 4	
1680	2 5 0	2 0 0	
1681	2 6 8	2 1 5 3/4	
1682	2 4 0	1 19 1 1/4	
1683	2 0 0	1 15 6 3/4	
1684	2 4 0	1 19 1 1/4	
1685	2 6 8	2 1 5 3/4	2 1 4 1/4
1686	1 14 0	1 10 2 1/4	
1687	1 5 2	1 2 4 1/2	
1688	2 6 0	2 0 10 1/4	
1689	1 10 0	1 6 8	
1690	1 14 8	1 10 9 3/4	
1691	1 14 0	1 10 2 3/4	
1692	2 6 8	2 1 5 3/4	
1693	3 7 8	3 0 1 3/4	
1694	3 4 0	2 16 10 3/4	
1695	2 13 0	2 7 1 1/4	1 19 6 1/4
1696	3 11 0	3 3 1 1/4	
1697	3 0 0	2 13 4	
1698	3 8 4	3 0 9	
1699	3 4 0	2 16 10 3/4	
1700	2 0 0	1 15 6 3/4	
1701	1 17 8	1 13 5 3/4	
1702	1 9 6	1 6 2 3/4	
1703	1 16 0	1 12 0	
1704	2 6 6	2 1 4	
1705	1 10 0	1 6 8	2 2 11
1706	1 6 0	1 3 1 1/4	
1707	1 8 6	1 5 4	
1708	2 1 6	1 16 10 3/4	
1709	3 18 6	3 9 9 1/4	
1710	3 18 0	3 9 4	
1711	2 14 0	2 8 0	
1712	2 6 4	2 1 2 1/4	
1713	2 11 0	2 5 4	

YEARS.	Prices of Wheat at Windfor, 9 Gallons to the Bushel.	Prices of Wheat reduced to the Winchester Bushel of 8 Gallons.	Average of 10 Years by the Winchester Bushel.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1714	2 10 4	2 4 9	
1715	2 3 0	1 18 2 ³ / ₄	2 4 2 ¹ / ₄
1716	2 8 0	2 2 8	
1717	2 5 8	2 0 7 ¹ / ₄	
1718	1 18 10	1 14 6 ¹ / ₄	
1719	1 15 0	1 11 1 ¹ / ₄	
1720	1 17 0	1 12 10 ³ / ₄	
1721	1 17 6	1 13 4	
1722	1 16 0	1 12 0	
1723	1 14 8	1 10 10 ³ / ₄	
1724	1 17 0	1 12 10 ³ / ₄	
1725	2 8 6	2 3 1 ¹ / ₄	1 15 4 ¹ / ₄
1726	2 6 0	2 0 10 ³ / ₄	
1727	2 2 0	1 17 4	
1728	2 14 6	2 8 5 ¹ / ₄	
1729	2 6 10	2 1 7 ¹ / ₂	
1730	1 16 6	1 12 5 ¹ / ₄	
1731	1 12 10	1 9 2 ¹ / ₄	
1732	1 6 8	1 3 8 ¹ / ₂	
1733	1 8 4	1 5 2 ¹ / ₄	
1734	1 18 10	1 14 6 ¹ / ₄	
1735	2 3 0	1 18 2 ³ / ₄	1 15 2
1736	2 0 4	1 15 10 ¹ / ₄	
1737	1 18 0	1 13 9 ¹ / ₄	
1738	1 15 6	1 11 6 ³ / ₄	
1739	1 18 6	1 14 2 ³ / ₄	
1740	2 10 8	2 5 1 ¹ / ₂	
1741	2 6 8	2 1 5 ³ / ₄	
1742	1 14 0	1 10 2 ³ / ₄	
1743	1 4 10	1 2 1	
1744	1 4 10	1 2 1	
1745	1 7 6	1 4 5 ¹ / ₄	1 12 1
1746	1 19 0	1 14 8	
1747	1 14 10	1 10 11 ¹ / ₂	
1748	1 17 0	1 12 10 ³ / ₄	
1749	1 17 0	1 12 10 ³ / ₄	
1750	1 12 6	1 8 10 ³ / ₄	
1751	1 18 6	1 14 2 ³ / ₄	

3 3/4

YEARS.	Prices of Wheat at Windfor, 9 Gallons to the Bushel.	Prices of Wheat reduced to the Winchester Bushel of 8 Gallons.	Average of 10 Years by the Winchester Bushel.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1752	2 1 10	1 17 2 ¹ / ₄	
1753	2 4 8	1 19 8 ¹ / ₂	
1754	1 14 8	1 10 9 ³ / ₄	
1755	1 13 10	1 10 1	1 13 2 ³ / ₄
1756	2 5 2	2 0 1 ¹ / ₄	
1757	3 0 0	2 13 4	
1758	2 10 0	2 4 5 ¹ / ₄	
1759	1 19 8	1 15 3	
1760	1 16 6	1 12 5 ¹ / ₄	
1761	1 10 2	1 6 9 ³ / ₄	
1762	1 19 0	1 14 8	
1763	2 0 8	1 16 1 ³ / ₄	
1764	2 6 8	2 1 5 ³ / ₄	
1765	2 14 0	2 8 0	1 19 3 ¹ / ₄
1766	2 8 6	2 3 1 ¹ / ₄	
1767	3 4 6	2 17 4	
1768	3 0 6	2 13 9 ¹ / ₄	
1769	2 5 8	2 0 7	
1770	2 9 0	2 3 6 ³ / ₄	
1771	2 17 0	2 10 8	
1772	3 6 0	2 18 8	
1773	3 6 6	2 19 1 ¹ / ₄	
1774	3 2 0	2 15 1 ¹ / ₄	
1775	2 17 8	2 11 3 ¹ / ₄	2 11 3 ¹ / ₄
1776	2 8 0	2 2 8	
1777	2 15 0	2 8 10 ³ / ₄	
1778	2 9 6	2 4 0	
1779	2 0 8	1 16 1 ³ / ₄	
1780	2 8 6	2 3 1 ¹ / ₄	
1781	2 19 0	2 12 5 ¹ / ₄	
1782	3 0 6	2 13 9 ¹ / ₄	
1783	3 1 0	2 14 2 ³ / ₄	
1784	3 0 6	2 13 9 ¹ / ₄	
1785	2 14 0	2 8 0	2 7 8 ¹ / ₂
1786	2 7 6	2 2 2 ³ / ₄	
1787	2 11 6	2 5 9 ¹ / ₄	
1788	2 15 6	2 9 4	
1789	3 3 2	2 16 1 ¹ / ₄	

1 13 5 3/4

2 0 1 1/4

YEARS.	Prices of Wheat at Windfor, 9 Gallons to the Bushel.	Prices of Wheat reduced to the Winchester Bushel of 8 Gallons.	Average of 10 Years by the Winchester Bushel.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1790	3 3 2	2 16 1 ³ / ₄	
1791	2 15 6	2 9 4	
1792*		2 13 0	
1793		2 15 8	
1794		2 14 0	
1795		4 1 6	2 14 3 ¹ / ₄
1796		4 0 2	
1797		3 2 0	
1798		2 14 0	
1799		3 15 8	
1800		6 7 0	
1801		6 8 6	
1802		3 7 2	
1803		3 0 0	
1804		3 9 6	
1805		4 8 0	4 1 2 ¹ / ₂
1806		4 3 0	
1807		3 18 0	
1808		3 19 2	
1809		5 6 0	
1810		5 12 0	
1811		5 8 0	
1812		6 8 0	
1813		6 0 0	Average of 8 Years 5 1 9 ¹ / ₄

* From this Year, inclusive, the Account at Eton College has been kept according to the Bushel of Eight Gallons, under the Provision of the Act of 31 G. 3. c. 30. sect. 82.

APPENDIX, D.

AN ACCOUNT of the Average Prices of British and Irish Corn per Quarter, from 1792 to 1812, inclusive.

YEARS.	English Wheat per Quarter.	Irish Wheat per Quarter.	Average of Great Britain and Ireland per Quarter.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1792	42 11	37 5	40 2
3	48 11	44 11	46 11
4	51 8	51 9	51 9
5	74 2	61 0	67 7
6	77 1	60 8	68 10
7	53 1	42 7	47 10
8	50 3	45 2	47 9
9	67 6	61 4	64 5
1800	113 7	99 2	106 4
1	118 3	88 1	103 2
2	67 5	52 1	59 9
3	56 6	49 4	52 11
4	60 1	58 0	59 0
5	87 10	69 2	78 6
6	79 0	67 7	73 4
7	73 3	67 9	70 6
8	79 0	76 7	77 9
9	95 7	78 2	86 11
1810	106 2	78 5	92 4
11	94 6	70 5	82 6
12	125 5	108 3	116 10

Average of Ireland - - - 66s.
 England - - - 78s.
 Great Britain and Ireland 72s.

FINIS.

Strahan and Preston,
 Printers-Street, London.

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ANALISA KANDUNGAN
Kandungan zat-zat kimia dalam sampel

No	Nama Zat	Kandungan (%)		Kandungan (%)	Kandungan (%)
		1	2		
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4
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6
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49
50

Analisa Kandungan
Kandungan zat-zat kimia dalam sampel

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